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When Did Herod the Great Reign?

Andrew E. Steinmann
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Abstract

For about 100 years there has been a consensus among scholars that Herod the Great reigned from 37 to 4 BCE. However, there have been several challenges to this consensus over the past four decades, the most notable being the objection raised by W.E. Filmer. This paper argues that Herod most likely reigned from late 39 BCE to early 1 BCE, and that this reconstruction of his reign can account for all of the surviving historical references to the events of Herod's reign more logically than the current consensus can. Moreover, the reconstruction of Herod's reign proposed in this paper accounts for all of the datable evidence relating to Herod's reign, whereas the current consensus is unable to explain some of the evidence that it dismisses as ancient errors or that it simply ignores.

Keywords

Archelaus; Antipas; Herod the Great; Josephus; Philip; Schürer

The dates for the reign of Herod seem to be well-established: He was named king of Judea by the Romans in 40 BCE, began his reign in Jerusalem after conquering the city in 37 BCE and died in 4 BCE. This is the consensus of the majority of scholars, and has been for at least a century since the publication of Schürer's *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*. The logic for this position is as follows:[1]

1. Herod was named king by Antony and Octavian "in the one hundred eighty-fourth Olympiad, the consuls being Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus for the second time and Gaius Asinius Pollio."[2] The one

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[1] Emil Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, 5 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1896; reprint, revised G. Vermes and F. Millar, eds. 3 vols. in 4; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1973-1987) 1.281 n. 3; 1.2 84 n. 11; 1.327, n. 1.

[2] Josephus, *Ant.* 14.389.

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hundred eighty-fourth Olympiad ran from July 1, 44 BCE to June 30, 40 BCE and Calvinus and Pollio were named consuls in 40 BCE. Thus, Herod was named king in 40 BCE.
2. Herod took Jerusalem "during the consulship at Rome of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus, in the one hundred eighty-fifth Olympiad."[3] The one hundred eighty-fifth Olympiad ran from July 1, 40 BCE to June 30, 36 BCE and Agrippa and Gallus were named consuls in 37 BCE. Thus, Herod began his reign in Jerusalem in 37 BCE.
3. Herod died shortly after a lunar eclipse, but before the Passover.[4] The eclipse is usually taken to be the partial lunar eclipse on March 13, 4 BCE, twenty-nine days before the Passover on April 11.

In addition to these reasons, the reigns of Herod's sons and successors also appear to indicate that he died in 4 BCE. Archelaus was banished in 6 CE after a reign of ten years over Judea, Samaria and Idumea.[5] Herod Antipas lost the tetrarchy of Galilee and Perea in the second year of Gaius (38/39 CE) after a reign of forty-three years according to numismatic evidence.[6] Herod Philip died in the twentieth year of Tiberius (33/34 CE) after a reign of thirty-seven years over Gaulanitis.[7] All of these point to their taking office in 4 BCE.

Despite this widely held opinion that Herod reigned from 40 (37) to 4 BCE, this was neither the consensus before Schürer nor has it gone unchallenged in the last half-century. Most disturbingly, the Schürer consensus assigns only thirty-six years to Herod's reign, thirty-three of them in Jerusalem, whereas Josephus reports the figures as thirty-seven and thirty-four respectively.[8] All early Christian sources place the birth of Jesus after Passover in 4 BCE, with most of them placing it in sometime in late 3 or early 2 BCE.[9] Since Jesus was born before the death of Herod according to Matt 2:1-19, these sources imply that Herod died after 4 BCE. Since the mid-1960's several scholars have challenged the consensus dating of Herod's reign.[10] These challenges led Finegan to abandon the Schürer consensus and to endorse a date of 3/2 BCE for the birth of Christ and a date of 1 BCE for the death of Herod in the revised edition of his *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*.[11] In keeping with the information supplied by Josephus, this revised end date for Herod's reign is chosen to align Herod's death with a total eclipse of the moon on January 10, 1 BCE, about twelve weeks before the Passover on April 11 that year.[12] Since Herod reigned thirty-seven years, he would have been appointed by the Romans in 39 BCE (counting his first official year from the following Tishri, 38 BCE)[13] and begun to reign in Jerusalem in late summer 36 BCE (counting his first official year from Tishri, 35 BCE).

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[3] Josephus, *Ant* 14.487-488, *War* 1.343.

[4] Josephus, *Ant.* 17.167, 213; *War* 2.10.

[5] Josephus, *Ant.* 17.342.

[6] Josephus, *Ant.* 18.252; Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, Rev. ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998) 300, §516.

[7] Josephus, *Ant.* 18.106.

[8] Josephus, *Ant.* 17.191. Schürer claimed that Josephus used inclusive reckoning (1896 edition 1.200-201, Vermes and Millar edition, Schürer, *History* 326-327). If Josephus used inclusive reckoning to arrive at thirty-seven and thirty-four years (i.e., the years 40—4 BCE inclusive totals thirty-seven), such inclusive reckoning is not indicated elsewhere in Josephus. The reasoning is weak, since all of the supposed "inclusive reckoning" adduced in Schürer, *History* 1.200-201 disappears if 38 BCE is taken as Herod's first official regnal year.

While some have sought to answer the challenges in order to defend the Schürer consensus,[14] there remain several unresolved problems with it. In the following discussion, I will seek first to explain the problems others have noted with the 40 (37)—4 BCE dating of Herod's reign, adding a new observation from Josephus that has not heretofore been used in the debate. Then I will note that there is a passage in Josephus that has gone largely unexamined, but that also bears upon the dating of Herod's reign and challenges the Schürer consensus. Where applicable, I will also deal with the arguments used by Barnes and Bernegger to defend the Schürer consensus.[15]

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[9] Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, 284-291, §486-500 and table 139.

[10] Ormond Edwards, "Herodian Chronology," *PEQ* 114 (1982) 29-42; W.E. Filmer, "Chronology of the Reign of Herod the Great," *JTS* ns 17 (1966) 283-298; Paul Keresztes, *Imperial Rome and the Christians: From Herod the Great to About 200 A.D.* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989) 1-43; Ernest L. Martin, *The Birth of Christ Recalculated*, 2nd ed. (Pasadena, CA: Foundation for Biblical Research, 1980); "The Nativity and Herod's Death," in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989) 85-92; Schürer, *History* 326-327.

[11] Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* 291, §500 and 301, §518.

[12] There were no lunar eclipses in 3 or 2 BCE.

[13] Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 295.

[14] Timothy David Barnes, "The Date of Herod's Death," *JTS* ns 19 (1968) 204-219; P.M. Bernegger, "Affirmation of Herod's Death in 4 BCE," *JTS* ns 34 (1983) 526-531.

[15] These objections are confined arguments about the end of Herod's reign, so no discussion of them will appear in the sections discussing the early part of Herod's reign.

However, when using Josephus we must exercise caution, since it is well documented that he was not always accurate in his portrayal of events. Like many other ancient historians, he at times modified events to suit his rhetorical and ideological purposes.[16] Josephus' accounts especially need to be examined when he reports speeches, which are not verbatim transcripts of what was said, but often contain the historian's account of what should have been said, could have been said, or what the historian wanted to have been said given his ideological biases. In addition, when Josephus reports on people's motives or is attempting to convince his audience of the reasons for a person's actions, he may well be embellishing the truth in order to accomplish his rhetorical goal of persuading his readers to adopt his view of events and their causes.

Nevertheless, there is one area in which everyone who attempts to reconstruct the chronology of Herod's reign agrees: Josephus' chronological notices are more-or-less reliable. This can been seen in that all chronologies, both those underlying the Schürer consensus as well as those that have challenged it, make extensive use of these notices and treat most of them as accurate, challenging only a few that are deemed for various reasons to be Josephan mistakes. In the treatment below, I will examine Josephus' chronological statements for accuracy when this can be tested. When it cannot, we will simply have to rely on Josephus' statements and whether they fit well with his other chronological assertions, since he is our only source for these chronological notices.

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[16] The literature on the subject is quite extensive. A modest list relating to historiography is: Robert T. Anderson, "Josephus' Accounts of Temple Building: History, Literature or Politics?" *Proceedings of the Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Bible Societies* 9 (1989) 246-257; Harold W. Attridge, "Josephus and His Works," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael E. Stone (CRINT; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984) 185-232; Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev, "The Reliability of Josephus Flavius: The Case of Hecataeus' and Manetho's Accounts of Jews and Judaism: Fifteen Years of Contemporary Research (1974-1990)," *JSJ* 24 (1993) 215-234; Pieter J.J. Botha, "History, Rhetoric and the Writings of Josephus," *Neot* 31 (1997) 1-20; Magen Broshi, "The Credibility of Josephus," *JJS* 33 (1982) 379-84; Louis H. Feldman, "Flavius Josephus" in *Ancient Greek Authors*, ed. Ward W. Briggs (Dictionary of Literary Biography 176; Detroit: Gale Research, 1997) 234-240; "Josephus (C.E. 37—c. 100)," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, ed. William Horbury, W.D. Davies, and John Sturdy (1999) 901-921; Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, "The Value of Josephus As a Historical Source," *EvQ* 15 (1943) 179-83; Eric D. Huntsman, "The Reliability of Josephus: Can He Be Trusted?" in *Masada and the World of the New Testament*, ed. John F. and John W. Welch Hall (BYU Studies; Provo, UT: Brigham Young, 1997) 392-402; Steve Mason, "Will the Real Josephus Please Stand Up?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 23, 5 (1997) 58-68; Andre Paul, "Flavius Josephus' 'Antiquities of the Jews': An Anti-Christian Manifesto," *NTS* 31 (1985) 473-480; Tessa Rajak, "The Sense of History in Jewish Intertestamental Writing," in *Crises and Perspectives: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Polytheism, Biblical Theology, Palestinian Archaeology and Intertestamental Literature*, ed. A.S. Van der Woude (*OtSt*; Leiden: Brill, 1986) 124-145; Donna R. Runnalls, "The Rhetoric of Josephus," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 300 BCE-A.D. 400*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 737-754; Solomon Zeitlin, "A Survey of Jewish Historiography: From the Biblical Books to the 'Sefer ha-Kabbalah' with Special Emphasis on Josephus," *JQR* 59 (1969) 171-214.

There is a difference, however, in how those who follow the Schürer consensus and those who challenge it reckon the Josephus' dating of the years of Herod's reign. The Schürer consensus reckons the dating as inclusive dates. That is, both the beginning years and the ending years are counted when Josephus reports years of Herod's reign. Thus when some event is reported as happening after three years of Herod's reign, only two actual years have elapsed, since the year Herod became king is counted as one year, his first year of his actual reign, the second year and his second actual year as the third year. This is why, as noted above, the Schürer consensus assigns only thirty-six years to Herod's reign, thirty-three of them in Jerusalem, whereas Josephus reports the figures as thirty-seven and thirty-four respectively. However, those who challenge the Schürer consensus note that there is little evidence that Josephus used inclusive reckoning, and they cite the figures given for the reigns of the high priests contemporary with Herod that are always to be reckoned in actual years.[17]

Bernegger challenged the assertion that Josephus always counted the reigns of the high priests as given in actual years.[18] As proof he cites Josephus' discussion of the Roman tax registration in Syria in 6 CE during which Joazar was deprived of the high priesthood. Josephus states that this took place in the thirty-seventh year after the Battle of Actium.[19] Bernegger then calculates this way: The Battle of Actium took place in 31 BCE. Therefore, one must add only thirty-six years to arrive at 6 CE. However, Bernegger's reasoning only works if one forgets about the date of the Battle of Actium, September 2, 31 BCE. Years after Actium commenced on September 3, not on the following January 1, as Bernegger's calculations assume.[20]

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[17] Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 291-293.

[18] Bernegger, "Herod's Death," 529.

[19] Josephus, *Ant.* 18.26.

[20] Barnes, "The Date of Herod's Death," 209 is more nuanced in his treatment of Actian years noting that they overlap parts of two Julian years. Since he dates the twenty-fifth

This is confirmed by the Actian Games, which were founded by Augustus in honor of his victory at Actium and held on September 2 every four years. Josephus states that the census "happened during the thirty-seventh year of Caesar's victory over Antony at Actium" (αἳ ἐγένοντο τριακοστῷ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν ᾽Αντωνίου ἐν ᾽Ακτίῳ ἧτταν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος). Since the first year after Actium ran from September 2, 31 BCE to September 1, 30 BCE, the thirty-seventh year ran from September 2, 6 CE to September 1, 7 CE. Thus, in this case Josephus was not counting inclusively, since one-third of the thirty-seventh year after Actium took place in 6 CE.

Moreover, Bernegger claims "Josephus did not consistently use any one convention of counting through his works."[21] Yet both the Schürer consensus and the challenge to it rely on Josephus consistently reckoning Herod's reign by the same method, whether that is inclusive or actual reckoning. To hold that Josephus was inconsistent undermines both attempts to date Herod's reign.

Throughout the discussion below, we need to keep in mind that much depends on whether Josephus was using inclusive or actual reckoning and that, despite Bernegger's protest, there is no firm evidence that Josephus used inclusive reckoning for the reigns of the high priests or anyone else during this period.

Problems with 40 BCE as the Starting Date for Herod's Reign

Josephus describes the appointment of Herod as follows:[22]

> Upon this, the senate was irritated, and Antony informed them further that it was to their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king. This seemed good to all the senators, and so they made a decree accordingly. This was the principal instance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only procured him a kingdom which he did not expect, (for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom for himself, which he did not suppose the Romans would grant to him, who used to bestow it on some of the royal family, but intended to desire it for his wife's brother, who was grandson by his father to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcanus by his mother,) but that he procured it for him so suddenly, that he obtained what he did not expect, and departed out of Italy in as few as seven days in all. This young man Herod afterward took care

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Actian year to 7/6 BCE, he would agree with me that the thirty-second Actian year would have been 6/7 CE.

[21] Bernegger, "Herod's Death," 529.

[22] Josephus, *Ant.* 14.385-389.

> to have slain, as we shall show in its proper place. But when the senate was adjourned, Antony and Caesar went out of the senate house, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony also feasted Herod on the first day of his reign. Thus did this man receive the kingdom, *having obtained it in the one hundred eighty-fourth Olympiad, the consuls being Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus for the second time and Gaius Asinius Pollio.*

The chronological information given by Josephus is problematic. There are at least three reasons to doubt Josephus' chronology at this point:

1. The one hundred eighty-fourth Olympiad ended on June 30, 40 BCE. However, Calvinus and Pollio were not appointed consuls until after the Treaty of Brundisium on October 2, 40 BCE.[23] Thus, Josephus is in error.
2. Moreover, Appian contradicts Josephus. He mentions Herod's appointment by Antony, along with a number of other kings. From the context, it is clear that Appian places Herod's appointment in 39 BCE.[24]
3. Even Vermes and Millar in their edition of Schürer note some problem with Josephus' dating, since another passage in Josephus implies that Herod did not journey to Rome until winter, making the earliest date for his appointment late 40 BCE during the one hundred eighty-fifth Olympiad.[25]

Thus, Josephus' notice of Herod's appointment is somehow in error. Either Herod was appointed late in 40 or sometime in 39 BCE, but not in the first half of 40 BCE as Josephus' Olympian synchronism would imply. Relying on *Antiquities* 14.389 to date the beginning of Herod's reign is a dubious proposition.

Filmer supplements this reasoning with other evidence.

> It is agreed that Julius Caesar was murdered in 44 BCE, and that his assassins were defeated by Octavius Caesar and Antony at the battle of Philippi towards the end of

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[23] Edwards, "Herodian Chronology," 30.

[24] Appian, *Civil Wars* 5.8.75. Sections 69-76 cover the year 39 BCE, which can be determined by comparison to Dio's *Roman History.* This was first noted by Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 285.

[25] Josephus, *Ant.* 14.376; Schürer, *History*, 1.281 n. 3.

> 42 BCE. Now Josephus mentions this battle and records that Antony then marched into Asia where he met and fell in love with Cleopatra. This must have been in 41 BCE, and he goes on to relate how Antony at this time appointed Herod and his brother Phasaelius tetrarchs. It was two years after this, he says, after the Parthians had meanwhile conquered Syria, that they deposed Hyrcanus as high priest, and made Antigonus both king and high priest. Two years after 41 BCE is 39 BCE, and it was only then that Herod went to Rome where he interviewed Antony, and got himself appointed king in place of Antigonus. Once again Josephus does not support his own consular dates.[26]

Problems with 37 BCE as the Date for Herod's Conquest of Jerusalem

Although Herod had been named king by the Romans, the Parthians had placed the Hasmonean Antigonus on the throne as king and high priest in Jerusalem. Thus, Herod had to raise an army and, with the help of the Romans, conquer Jerusalem and depose Antigonus. This was accomplished three years later with the help of the Roman general Sossius. Josephus provides the following chronological notice connected with Herod's conquest:[27]

> ... this destruction befell the city of Jerusalem *when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls in Rome on the one hundred eighty-fifth Olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast*, as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned since that which befell the Jews under Pompey, for the Jews were taken by him on the same day. *This was after twenty-seven years' time*. So when Sossius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched away from Jerusalem, and carried Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony. However, Herod was afraid lest Antigonus should be kept in prison by Antony, and that when he was carried to Rome by him, he might get his cause to be heard by the senate. He and might demonstrate, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his sons, however, to have the kingdom, on account of the family they were of, in case he had himself offended the Romans by what he had done. Out of Herod's fear of this it was that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money, endeavored to persuade him to have Antigonus slain, which, if it were done, he should be free from that fear. *And thus did the government of the Hasmoneans cease, one hundred twenty-six years after it was first set up*. This family was a splendid and an illustrious one, both on account of the nobility of their stock, and of the dignity of the high priesthood, as also for the glorious actions their ancestors had performed for our nation. But these men lost the government by their dissensions one with another, and it came to Herod, the son of Antipater, who

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[26] Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 287; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.301, 324, 330.

[27] Josephus, *Ant.* 14.487-491.

> was of no more than a common family and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings. This is what history tells us was the end of the Hasmonean family.

The consular year and Olympiad given by Josephus indicates that Herod took Jerusalem in 37 BCE. It was the Day of Atonement ("the fast") on 10 Tishri in the Jewish calendar, but the third month (September) in the Greek calendar. However, there are two other data given by Josephus in this passage that contradict this:

1. Jerusalem fell to Herod exactly twenty-seven years after it fell to Pompey. Since Pompey took Jerusalem on the Day of Atonement in 63 BCE, the fall of Jerusalem to Herod should be placed on the Day of Atonement in 36 BCE.[28]
2. Josephus states that shortly after Jerusalem's fall Antigonus was taken to Antony, who had him executed. This ended 126 years of the government set up by the Hasmoneans.[29] As far as I know, no one has taken this datum into account. If Herod took Jerusalem and then persuaded Antony to execute Antigonus in 37 BCE as the Schürer consensus holds, then the government set up by the Hasmoneans should have started in 163 BCE. However, no such government is mentioned in any of the sources. On the other hand, if Herod took Jerusalem in 36 BCE, the Hasmonean government should have been founded in 162 BCE. In fact, this is exactly what is reported in both Josephus and 1 Maccabees. In this year Antiochus V made peace with Judas Maccabeus: "…the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with them, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to make use of, and live according to the laws

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[28] See also the discussion in Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 285-286. Filmer believes that Josephus is stating that Jerusalem not only fell on the feast day to both Pompey and Herod, but also on the same day of the week. If he is correct, then Jerusalem must have fallen in 36 BCE, as this was not possible in 37 BCE, the date proffered by the Schürer consensus.

[29] *Ant.* 17.162 states that Herod claimed that he benefited the Jews by rebuilding their temple, something the Hasmoneans had not done in 125 years of their rule. If Herod was counting the end of this period as his official appointment by Rome, which I date to 39 BCE, then it can be said that the Hasmoneans controlled the temple for 125 years. They recaptured it in 164 BCE from the forces of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and controlled it until 39 BCE. Of course, if one follows the Schürer consensus procedure and reads the 125 years inclusively, this would support 40 BCE as the year when Herod was appointed by Rome.

> of their fathers."[30] Thus, it was in 162 BCE that the Hasmoneans first were acknowledged as authorities who could govern according to traditional Jewish law. Subsequently, Judas behaved as if he had such authority over a sovereign state—as exemplified by his treaty of "the Jewish nation" with Rome.[31]

Thus, it would appear that Josephus' own statements contradict his assertion in the very context where he gives the consular year for the beginning of Herod's reign in Jerusalem. Nonetheless, the Schürer consensus could hold that the data given by Josephus here were reckoned by inclusive reckoning, making no conflict. However, that Josephus was not using inclusive reckoning and that these data should be seen as reporting actual years is demonstrated by three more considerations.

First, Josephus also contradicts his own consular year for Herod's conquest of Jerusalem by his chronology of the high priests.[32] He states that Pompey reinstated Hyrcanus II as high priest in 63 BCE and Hyrcanus reigned twenty-four more years (to 39 BCE), followed by Antigonus' reign of three years and three months (or three years and six months).[33] The total is twenty-seven years, three months (or six months). Since Hyrcanus would have been reinstated in September (Tishri) 63 BCE, Antigonus would have been executed in December 36 BCE (or March 35 BCE).[34] This fits well into the sequence of events if Herod conquered Jerusalem in September 36 BCE. The three (or six) additional months would have been the time needed to take Antigonus to Antony, for Antony to receive Herod's bribe and request that Antigonus be killed, and to arrange for Antigonus' execution. Even if the account of Herod's bribe to Antony is discounted as part of Josephus' anti-Herodian, pro-Hasmonean polemic, it is unlikely that Antigonus was immediately executed upon the conquest of Jerusalem, making

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[30] Josephus, *Ant.* 12.382; cf. 1 Macc 6:59.

[31] Josephus, *Ant.* 12.414-419; 1 Macc 8.

[32] This argument was first adduced by Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 287.

[33] Josephus, *Ant.* 20.244-245 reports three years and three months, *Ant.* 14.97 reports three years and six months. Filmer does not note the discrepancy.

[34] Note that if Josephus was using inclusive reckoning, Antigonus' reign would have lasted from Tishri 40 BCE to Tishri 38 BCE, and he would have been executed in December 38 BCE or March 37 BCE. However, the Schürer consensus holds that Herod conquered Jerusalem on 10 Tishri 37 BCE, too late to have been during Antigonus' lifetime if inclusive reckoning was employed by Josephus.

Josephus' overall chronology valid, even if he has embellished the account for his own purposes.

Second, Dio's *Roman History* casts doubt on the Schürer consensus that the conquest of Jerusalem occurred in 37 BCE. Concerning 37 BCE Dio states:[35]

> ...during the following year [37 BCE] the Romans accomplished nothing worthy of note in Syria. For Antony spent the entire year reaching Italy and returning again to the province, and Sossius, because anything he did would be advancing Antony's interests rather than his own, and he therefore dreaded his jealousy and anger, spent the time in devising means, not for achieving some success and incurring his enmity, but for pleasing him without engaging in any activity.

Thus, Sossius would not have helped Herod—a man favored by Antony—capture Jerusalem in 37.[36]

Finally, it should be noted that Herod besieged Jerusalem at the end of a Sabbatical year when food supplies were running low.[37] This was the same situation in mid-162 BCE near the end of a sabbatical year.[38] Thus, Tishri 163-Elul 162 was a Sabbatical year. Since the summer of 162 BCE fell during a Sabbatical year, the summer of 37 BCE could not have been a Sabbatical year. Instead, Tishri 37 BCE-Elul 36 BCE was also a Sabbatical year.[39] Since food supplies would have been adequate at the beginning of the Sabbatical year, Jerusalem could not have fallen to Herod in Tishri 37 BCE as the Schürer consensus holds. Instead, Jerusalem fell at the beginning of the following year (Tishri 36), with the siege taking place during the summer of the Sabbatical year (summer of 36 BCE).

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[35] Dio, *Roman History* 49.23.1-2.

[36] This argument was first adduced by Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 286.

[37] Josephus, *Ant.* 14.475; see the discussion in Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 289-291.

[38] 1 Macc 6:49, 53. That this took place in the summer during the end of a Sabbatical year is necessary, since supplies would have been adequate if it were the fall or winter near the beginning of a Sabbatical year.

[39] Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 289-291. This is confirmed by Ben Zion Wacholder, "The Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles During the Second Temple and the Early Rabbinic Period," *HUCA* 44 (1973) 153-193, esp. 87, 89. In addition, Rodger Young has shown that a proper reading of the *Seder Olam* confirms Wacholder's schedule of Sabbatical years. Rodger C. Young, "Seder Olam and the Sabbaticals Associate with the Two Destructions of Jerusalem: Part I," *JBQ* 34 (2006) 173-179; "Seder Olam and the Sabbaticals Associated with the Two Destructions of Jerusalem: Part II," *JBQ* 26 (2006) 252-259.

Problems with 4 BCE as the Date of Herod's Death

The Eclipse

Unlike the dates for the beginning of Herod's reign, Josephus simply relates that Herod died after a lunar eclipse, but before the Passover. Between 7 BCE and 1 BCE there were three total and one partial lunar eclipses:[40]

Table 1. Lunar Eclipses Between 7 BCE and 1 BCE

Date	Type of Eclipse	Period Between Eclipse and Passover
March 23, 5 BCE	Total	29 days
September 15, 5 BCE	Total	7 months
March 13, 4 BCE	Partial	29 days
January 10, 1 BCE	Total	92 days

Since the eclipse in March of 5 BCE would require Herod's death to have taken place in April of 5 BCE, too early even for the Schürer consensus, that eclipse is not a possible candidate. While the eclipse of September of the same year is possible and has its defenders, it is highly unlikely.[41] It would mean that Herod died in late 5 BCE Since Josephus reports that Herod was nearly seventy years old shortly before his death, and that he was twenty-five years old when his father Antipater named him governor of Galilee in 47 BCE, it follows that Herod was born about 72 BCE. He would have been only 66 or 67 in 5 BCE.[42] Moreover, Josephus gives a detailed discussion of the events between the eclipse and the Passover during the year of Herod's death (see discussion below), and seven months appears to be an excessive amount of time for these to have taken place, even if one discounts some of Josephus' discussion of these events as tainted by Josephus' rhetorical and ideological tendencies.

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[40] Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* 295, Table 142.

[41] Barnes, "The Date of Herod's Death," 204-209; Bernegger, "Herod's Death," 526-531. A good argument against this eclipse as being the one referenced by Josephus is found in Paul L. Maier, "The Date of the Nativity and the Chronology of Jesus' Life," in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989) 117-118.

[42] See Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 293. At death: Josephus, *Ant.* 17.148; *War* 1.647. At when made governor of Galilee: Josephus, *Ant.* 14.158. The Greek text reads fifteen years, but this must reflect a scribal mistake for twenty-five years, as generally acknowledged by all, include scholars on both sides of the debate (Barnes, "The Date of Herod's Death," 209; Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 293). It is difficult to understand Barnes' logic about the date of Herod's death, which he places in 5/4 "with no difficulty at all." He also agrees that Herod was probably twenty-five in 47 BCE and then states that he had to have died before 2 BCE. However, if Herod was twenty-five in 47 BCE, he would have only been 67 or 68 in 5/4 BCE, not "nearly seventy" as Josephus states (σχεδὸν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, *War* 1.647; περὶ ἔτος

The Schürer consensus holds the eclipse to be the one of March 13, 4 BCE. This also presents a problem for Herod's age, since he would have been only 67 or 68 in 4 BCE. But there are more pressing problems for this date. Josephus reports the following events surrounding Herod's death:[43]

1. The day before the eclipse Herod had two prominent Jewish rabbis burnt alive for tearing down a golden eagle he had erected over the temple's eastern gate.
2. The day after the eclipse Herod's chronic illness worsened, and his physicians tried many remedies but were not able to reverse his decline.
3. On the advice of his physicians, Herod traveled from Jericho to Callirrhoe, east of the Dead Sea, to bathe in the mineral waters.
4. When the treatment at Callirrhoe failed Herod returned to Jericho.
5. Now acknowledging that he was dying, Herod sent messengers to summon prominent Jewish elders from all areas of his kingdom. His plan was to place them in custody and order their execution when he died. This would ensure that there was mourning (instead of celebration) following his death.
6. Soon after the elders arrived, Herod received letters from Rome giving him authority to execute his son Antipater for the murder of Pheroras and other treasonous acts. Herod had Antipater killed immediately.
7. Five days later Herod died.
8. Herod had ordered that his burial be at Herodium, about twenty-three miles from Jericho. Arrangements for the funeral procession were begun after Herod died. Before it began the crown jewels and royal regalia were brought from Jerusalem. The military throughout Herod's realm as well as relatives gathered for the procession. Spices to treat the body, requiring 500 domestics to carry them, were acquired.

ἑβδομηκοστόν, *Ant.* 1.647). For Barnes' argument to make sense one must read "nearly" (σχεδόν/περί) in very broad terms, in which case Josephus' notice is useless for deciding between 4 BCE and 1 BCE for Herod's death.

[43] Josephus, *Ant.* 17.156-191.

9. Following Herod's burial there was the normal seven-day period of mourning (Num 19:11-12).
10. After the end of the mourning period there was the customary feast in honor of the dead.
11. After the funeral feast was over Archelaus as the new king held an audience for the people. He made changes in the ranks of the military, conferring promotions on some. He liberated many men made prisoners by his father. He decided a number of legal cases. He also did "many other things."[44] These activities must have required at least several days.
12. The Passover came and immediately afterward, Archelaus left for Rome to have his authority to rule confirmed by Augustus.[45]

Unless one were to hold that Josephus' account of this period was simply manufactured from whole cloth by him or his sources (which would mean that the Schürer consensus is as weak as any other proposal, since it also depends on at least some of the events, such as the eclipse, having happened), we must examine his account of this period closely to see whether or not it could fit into the twenty-nine day period between the eclipse of 4 BCE and the following Passover. Martin estimated that these events would require a minimum of fifty-four days between the eclipse and the Passover if every event outlined above were accomplished as quickly as possible.[46]

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[44] Josephus, *Ant.* 17.233.

[45] Barnes, "The Date of Herod's Death," 207-209 argues that since Archelaus could not have arrived in Rome until May or later, and since Josephus reports that Gaius Caesar was present in Rome when Archelaus was before Augustus (*War* 2.25; *Antiquities* 17.229), this could not have taken place in mid-1 BCE. According to Barnes, Gaius had to have left Rome in early 1 BCE. However, Barnes' reconstruction of Gaius' movements depends on a highly speculative synchronization of the reports about Gaius in Dio, Orosius, Pliny and Suetonius. Not only does he not consider whether or not all of these sources are completely accurate in their reports about Gaius, but he must admit that there are no temporal indicators of Gaius' movements. In addition, he tries to argue (n. 6) that Gaius may have arrived in Syria earlier than January 1, 1 CE, but has only supposition to substantiate his claim. In addition, Barnes argues that this had to happen when Gaius was first made one of Augustus' counselors, and he again cites Dio, who notes that Gaius was introduced into the Senate in 5 BCE. However, Dio is noting when Gaius entered the Senate, and his notice does not say anything about Gaius being invited to be among a select group of counselors as Josephus describes.

[46] Martin, *The Birth of Christ Recalculated*, 29-34; "The Nativity and Herod's Death," 88-89. Even Barnes, who places Herod's death sometime between December 5 BCE and

However, Martin does not give any indication that he considered whether any of these events might have been embellished by Josephus or by his primary source for Herod's reign, Nicolaus of Damascus. Of the twelve events enumerated above, the most likely candidates for rhetorical tinkering would have been Herod's plan to execute the elders (#5) and the lavish arrangements for his funeral (#8).

The account of Herod's plot to ensure mourning at his death could be typical Josephan anti-Herodian rhetoric. However, the general character of this plot is in keeping with what is known about the cruel and bloodthirsty acts of Herod at the end of his reign. Even if it is exaggerated (e.g., Herod planned on killing only a few elders, not the entire group), it is probably not totally invented.

The lavish arrangements for Herod's funeral may have been embellished by Nicolaus of Damascus, a close daily companion of Herod whose account of his reign was unquestionably pro-Herodian. This might account for some of the seemingly overblown lavishness of the funeral (i.e., the fetching of the crown jewels, the large amount of spices and attendants), but cannot be completely fabricated. Surely for what amounted to a state funeral the important military leaders as well as Herod's relatives would have been given the opportunity to be in attendance. Thus, while we might discount some of the rhetorical flourishes of the account of Herod's funeral, we can hardly discount the entire description as fictionalized.

Let us then tally the number of days needed to accommodate the events between the eclipse and the Passover:

Table 2. Tally of Days Elapsed Between the Eclipse and Passover

Event	Days Elapsed	Total Minimum Days Elapsed
2. Herod's physicians tried many remedies.	1 day minimum (more likely 2-3 weeks)[47]	1 (more likely 14-21)
3. Travel from Jericho to Callirrhoe (about 50 miles)	3 days minimum[48]	4

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early April 4 BCE in order to defend the Schürer consensus, admits that more than sixty days are needed for all these events.

47) Even with contemporary medicine, a number of days or even weeks are needed to know in the case of serious maladies whether a particular therapy is efficacious.

48) This would have been at the normal rate of travel. It may have taken longer given Herod's frail condition.

Table 2. (*cont.*)

Event	Days Elapsed	Total Minimum Days Elapsed
4a. Treatment at Callirrhoe	1 day minimum (more likely 1 week or more)	5 (more likely 11 or more)
4b. Return to Jericho	3 days minimum	8
5. The Jewish elders throughout Herod's realm are summoned	6 days minimum[49]	14
6. Herod receives permission to execute Antipater and has him executed	1 day minimum	15
7. Herod's death five days later	5 days	20
8. Funeral arrangements and funeral	5 days minimum[50]	25
9. Seven days of mourning	7 days	32
10. Feast in Herod's honor	1 day	33
11. Archelaus' initial governance	7 days	40
12. The Passover	1 day	41

Thus, at least forty-one days are needed for the events between the eclipse and the Passover. A more likely tally that would take into account reasonable medical practice by Herod's physicians would add at least about three weeks, bringing the tally to sixty-two days minimum. This fits well within the ninety-two days between the 1 BCE eclipse and the Passover allowing for a less compressed schedule than the absolute minimum assumed above. But even at the very rushed pace assumed for the events in the tally of forty-one days, the twenty-nine days between the 4 BCE eclipse and the Passover is inadequate.

Moreover, the Schürer consensus requires that Josephus' sources would have had to take note of a relatively minor partial eclipse of 4 BCE where at its height only about one-third of the moon was eclipsed.[51] Given the other total eclipses during this period, this lone partial eclipse seems highly unlikely to have been taken by anyone to be a major portent of coming events.

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[49] It would have taken at least three days for the word to have reached the extremities of Herod's realm, and another three days for the most distant elders to travel to Herod, if they left immediately upon receiving the summons.

[50] This assumes most of Herod's family and military officers were within two or three days travel of Herodium and that Josephus or Nicolaus exaggerated the procession. Under this scenario Herod's family and officers traveled directly to Herodium while the procession took place with only a few family and officers who were present with Herod when he died. If the account is followed as narrated in Josephus, add at least another three days.

Martin also points out that the day that Herod would have had the rabbis executed, March 13, 4 BCE, was 15 Adar in the Jewish calendar—the second day of Purim.[52] As upset as Herod was about the act of the two rabbis, he certainly would not have been so politically insensitive as to have two popular leaders executed during the celebration of Purim when he could have waited a day and avoided any number of political problems created by the timing of these executions.

None of these problems attend the January 10, 1 BCE eclipse, however. All of the events related by Josephus comfortably fit into the ninety-two days between the eclipse and the following Passover. Moreover, Herod would have been about 70 years old in early 1 BCE.

Bernegger has objected that Herod's death could not be in 1 BCE, since Varus was governor of Syria. Varus served as governor from at least 7/6 BCE to 5/4 BCE as coins minted in his name attest.[53] He then surmises that Varus probably did not serve as governor after 4 BCE, stating, "Though it cannot be proved that Varus was not legate of Syria for several years after 4 BCE, a tenure of that important position lasting much over three years ought not to be introduced into this period without some corroborative evidence—even for a man who had married (or was soon to marry) a granddaughter of the emperor's sister."[54] The problem here is that no one knows whether or not Varus was governor of Syria after 4 BCE. To put the burden of proof on those who surmise that he may have been when Bernegger has no proof that he was not is unfair, especially since Bernegger makes no attempt to prove that he was not. In fact, Bernegger concedes that Varus was in a strong political position as an in-law of the imperial family. Considering that he was prominent in Roman politics, being a personal friend of Augustus, elected as consul with Tiberius in 13 BCE, and (disastrously) appointed governor of Germania in 7 CE despite the fact that he was ill-qualified for that position, it would not be at all surprising that he might have been legate of Syria for more than three years. Bernegger's argument is one of supposition and silence in the sources, and we simply cannot prove whether or not Varus as governor of Syria as late as 1 BCE.

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[51] The maximum portion of the moon that obscured by the earth's umbra was 36.7% during the partial eclipse of 4 BCE. (Data for eclipses can be obtained on NASA's website. See http://sunearth.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse/LEcat/LE-0099-0000.html.).

[52] Martin, *The Birth of Christ Recalculated* 34-41.

[53] Bernegger, "Herod's Death," 206-207.

[54] Bernegger, "Herod's Death," 207.

The New Testament

Luke 3:1, 23 also has a bearing upon the date of the death of Herod. Luke begins the third chapter with a notice that John the Baptist began his ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius. On September 17, 14 CE Tiberius was named head of the Roman state by the Senate. (This followed the death of Augustus on August 19, 14 CE.) Tiberius' fifteenth year would have been August 19, 28-August 19, 29 CE, or if official Roman regnal years were intended, January 1-December 31, 29 CE.[55]

Sometime after John began to preach in the wilderness (probably in the summer of the same year), Jesus came to be baptized. Luke says he was "about thirty years old" (ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, Luke 3:23). If Jesus had been born before the death of Herod, then according to the Schürer consensus that Herod died in 4 BCE, he would have been between at least thirty-three years old in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, but not more than thirty-five years old (Matt 2:6).[56] If, however, Herod died in 1 BCE, Jesus would have been between thirty-one and thirty-three years old. Thus, the question arises, "What does Luke mean by 'about' thirty years of age?" Does he mean "closer to thirty than to thirty-one or twenty-nine?" Or is Luke using "about" to mean something less specific such as "closer to thirty than to twenty or forty?"

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[55] Some would argue that Tiberius' reign should be reckoned as the beginning of his joint rule of the provinces with Augustus sometime between 11 and 13 CE. However, as far as is known, ancient sources always counted Tiberius' reign as commencing after the death of Augustus. (See the discussion in Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* 337-341, §578-583. Martin, "The Nativity and Herod's Death," 89 notes that surviving coins and inscriptions also reckon Tiberius' reign from either January 1 or August 19, 14 CE.) The reckoning of Tiberius' fifteenth year as 29 CE is confirmed by John 2:13, 20, 23. Jesus' first Passover following his baptism, should have occurred in 30 CE if Jesus was baptized in the summer of 29 CE. In John 2:20, Jesus' opposition notes "this temple has been built for forty-six years." Josephus reports that Herod began the Temple in the year that Caesar came to Syria and that this was ten years after the Battle of Actium (*Ant.* 15.354; *War* 1.398-399. Actium was fought on September 2, 31 BCE). Therefore, the temple construction began sometime after the spring of 20 BCE. The temple building itself was completed in one year and six months—in late 19 or, more likely, in 18 BCE (*Ant.* 15.421; the rest of the temple precincts were completed after eight years of work [12 BCE], *Ant.* 15:420.) Thus, the forty-sixth anniversary of the completion of Herod's temple would have occurred in late 28 CE or in 29 CE. If it was in 29 the following Passover would have been in spring, 30 CE.

[56] Jesus would have been no more than about two years old when Herod died (Matt 2:16).

Luke reports ages of people in four instances: Luke 2:42; 3:26; 8:42; Acts 4:22.[57] One of these gives Jesus' exact age when he attended the Passover in Jerusalem with his parents (Luke 2:42). The other simply tells us that the man whom Peter healed in the temple was "more than forty years old" (ἐτῶν γὰρ ἦν πλειόνων τεσσεράκοντα ὁ ἄνθρωπος, Acts 4:22). However, Luke 8:42 is very similar to Luke 3:26. It states that a synagogue ruler had a daughter who was "about twelve years old" (ὡς ἐτῶν δώδεκα). Now, it would appear in choosing to report her as "about twelve," Luke is attempting to be as accurate as possible. He means something like "closer to twelve than to eleven or thirteen," since he could have chosen a more general description if he only meant to indicate that she was in early adolescence. But, in choosing to give us an age, he is implying that she was close to twelve, but not exactly twelve, or he is implying that he had a good—but not exact—idea of what her age was (within a year or so). If this case is taken as indicative of Luke's practice, this would indicate that in Luke 3:26 he is telling us that Jesus was within a year of being thirty years of age during Tiberius' fifteenth year. Therefore, a more probable date of birth for Jesus is in late 2 BCE, making him about 30 1/2 years old at his baptism, and implying that Herod died in the first quarter of 1 BCE.[58] Admittedly, this is not a strong argument, since the Greek ὡς or ὡσεὶ are only indicating approximations. However, the probability appears to weigh in favor of Jesus being between thirty and thirty-two years of age at his baptism, not between thirty-three and thirty-five.[59]

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[57] I am counting only the times Luke the narrator reports someone's age and omitting times when he is quoting the speech of others (e.g., Acts 7:23, Stephen's speech).

[58] According to this reconstruction, Jesus could not have been born in early 1 BCE, since Herod was absent from Jerusalem after about January 10, 1 BCE (see Matt 2:1-9).

[59] One could, perhaps understand thirty-three or thirty-four as "about thirty" if a very loose use of ὡσεί is assumed. However, it is hard to see how thirty-five could be "about thirty" in preference to "about forty." Given the biblical significance of the number forty, one wonders why Luke would not have chosen that number if Jesus was close to thirty-five years of age at his baptism.

The Reigns of Herod's Successors

But what of the reigns of Herod's successors? Archelaus reigned over Judea, Samaria and Idumea until 6 CE, Antipas over Galilee and Perea until the second year of Gaius (38/39 CE), and Philip over Gaulanitis until his death in the twentieth year of Tiberius (33/34 CE).

Herod Archelaus and Herod Antipas

What of the reigns of Archelaus and Antipas? Archelaus was deposed as king of Judea, Samaria and Idumea in the tenth year of his reign and exiled to Vienna in Gaul by Augustus in 6 CE.[60] This means that Archelaus reckoned his reign from 4 BCE. Likewise, Antipas lost the tetrarchy of Galilee and Perea in the second year of Gaius (38/39 CE) and the latest coins minted under his authority are dated to his forty-third year. This means that he claimed to have begun his reign in 5/4 BCE. Why would Archelaus and Antipas claim to have reigned from 4 BCE if Herod did not die in that year? Is this not proof that Herod must have died in 4 BCE and not 1 BCE?

Let us examine the events involving Herod's sons in the years preceding his death.[61] Some years before his death Herod had named his son Antipater as his heir. However a little over two years before Herod's death Antipater murdered his uncle, Herod's youngest brother Pheroras, tetrarch of Galilee. Antipater's plot was discovered, and Archelaus was named as Herod's successor in place of Antipater. It would be seven months before Antipater, who was in Rome, would be informed that he had been charged with murder. Late in the next year he would be placed on trial before Varus, governor of Syria. Herod was reluctant to condemn Antipater, but eventually Herod intercepted some of Antipater's correspondence indicating further treasonous conspiracies. Herod then sent ambassadors to Rome. They returned a few days before Herod's death with permission from Augustus to execute Antipater. At some time during his last year Herod wrote a will disinheriting Archelaus and granting the kingdom to Antipas.[62] However, in his last will he once again left the kingdom to Archelaus.[63]

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[60] Josephus, *Ant.* 17.342 (*War* 2.111 reads "ninth year"); Dio 55.22.6.

[61] This treatment is similar to, but draws slightly different conclusions that that of Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 296-297.

[62] Josephus, *Ant.* 17.146.

[63] Josephus, *Ant.* 17.188-189.

Several interesting passages in Josephus illuminate this period. First, Josephus reports that Herod testified before Varus that:

> I confess to you, Varus, the great folly of which I was guilty. For I provoked those sons of mine to act against me, and cut off their just expectations for the sake of Antipater. Indeed, what kindness did I do them, that could equal what I have done to *Antipater, to whom I have, in a manner, yielded up my royal authority, while I am alive, and whom I have openly named for the successor to my dominions in my will*…[64]

Herod testified that Antipater was not only his successor, but his co-regent! In his reply and defense to his father Antipater made the same claim.

> Indeed, what was there that could possibly provoke me against you? Could the hope of being king do it? *I was already a king.* Could I suspect hatred from you? No. Was not I beloved by you? And what other fear could I have? No, by preserving you safe, I was a terror to others. Did I lack money? No, for who was able to expend so much as myself? Indeed, father, had I been the most execrable of all mankind, and had I had the soul of the most cruel wild beast, must I not have been overcome with the benefits you had bestowed upon me? Whom, as you yourself say, you brought; whom you preferred before so many of your sons; *whom you made a king in your own lifetime*, and, by the vast magnitude of the other advantages you bestowed on me, you made me an object of envy.[65]

These statement are made during speeches reported by Josephus, and therefore not to be taken as verbatim quotes. More likely these quotations are what Josephus or his sources thought was likely to have been said. Therefore, we must examine how likely it is that both Herod and Antipater actually thought that Antipater had been given a measure of royal authority. In fact, in book 16 of *Antiquities* Josephus treats the succession of Herod's sons several times. For instance, he notes that Augustus forbade Herod from naming his sons as his successors.[66] As a result of this order Herod reminded his subjects that they should acknowledge him alone as king, but that he was delivering the honors of royalty to his sons.[67] Thus, Josephus implies that Antipater was not *de jure* coregent, but *de facto* exercised power akin to a coregent. His frustration about not being legally named coregent that Josephus discusses at the beginning of *Antiquities* 17 appears to confirm this. Therefore, Josephus' consistent concern in *Antiquities* 16-17 about the position of Herod's sons in succession to their father lends credence to the statements about Antipater's position as "already king" in *Jewish War* 1. Josephus or his sources may have invented the speeches of Herod and Antipater, but they based them on the facts as they knew them—that Herod had indeed yielded some of his authority to Antipater.

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[64] Josephus, *War* 1.625.

[65] Josephus, *War* 1.631-632.

[66] *Ant.* 16.129; *War* 1.461.

[67] *Ant.* 16.133-134.

Given that Archelaus was named Herod's successor a little more than two years before he died, it is quite probable that Archelaus was also made *de facto* (but not *de jure*) coregent with Herod at that time. Indeed, there is evidence of this. When Archelaus went to Rome to have his authority confirmed by Augustus he was opposed by his enemies. Josephus reports that they brought what appeared to be contradictory charges. One charge was that Herod did not appoint Archelaus king until he was demented and dying.[68] The other charge was the Archelaus had exercised royal authority for some time.[69] These two charges are not as contradictory as they seem. Archelaus was named Herod's successor about two years before his death, and may have exercised royal authority until a brief period before Herod's death when he had been disinherited. Then, while he was dying Herod, when many thought he was no longer of sound mind, once again rewrote his will to leave the kingdom to Archelaus.

Therefore, once Archelaus was confirmed as king to succeed his father, he may well have begun to reckon his reign from the time that he was named successor—somewhat more than two years before his father's death. If Herod died in early 1 BCE, then Archelaus counted his reign from sometime in mid-to-late 4 BCE. Therefore, the commencing of Archelaus' reign in 4 BCE is not an indication that Herod died in that year. Ultimately, it is not important whether Archelaus ever actually reigned as *de facto* coregent with Herod. What is important is the implications in Josephus that Archelaus may well have had substantial motives to antedate his reign to about two years before Herod's death in an attempt to bolster himself as Herod's legitimate heir.

Antipas may well have antedated his reign, also. Since Antipas' uncle Pheroras' reign as tetrarch of Galilee ended with his murder in 4 BCE, Antipas may have sought legitimacy by reckoning his reign from that time. Alternatively, Herod may have moved quickly following Pheroras' death and in 4 BCE may have actually named Antipas to inherit Galilee in place of Pheroras, and this is the date that Antipas used as the beginning of his reign. This might explain why Herod briefly turned to Antipas as his heir in his penultimate will, since he had already shown him favor by granting him territory to rule.

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[68] Josephus, *War* 2.31; *Ant.* 17.238.

[69] Josephus, *War* 2.26.

Herod Philip

According to the currently published Greek texts of Josephus, Philip died in the twentieth year of Tiberius (33/34 CE) after a reign of thirty-seven years. This would have placed him on the throne in 4 BCE. However, as early as 1966 Filmer argued that a number had dropped out and that they text should probably read "twenty-second" year.[70] In the late ninetieth century Riess reported that the Franciscan monk Molkenbuhr claimed to have seen the reading "twenty-second year of Tiberius" in a 1517 Parisian copy and an 1841 Venetian copy of Josephus.[71] While Barnes rightly dismissed this in 1968 as "ill-attested,"[72] further evidence has come to light to confirm Filmer's suspicions. Then,

> in 1995 David W. Beyer reported to the Society of Biblical Literature his personal examination in the British Museum of forty-six editions of Josephus' *Antiquities* published before 1700 among which twenty-seven texts, all but three published before 1544 read "twenty-second year of Tiberius," while not a single edition published prior to 1544 read "twentieth year of Tiberius." Likewise in the Library of Congress five more editions read the "twenty-second year," while none prior to 1544 records the "twentieth year." It was also found that the oldest versions of the text give variant lengths of the reign for Philip of 32 and 36 years. But if we allow for a full thirty-seven-year reign, then "the twenty-second year of Tiberius" (35/36 CE) points to 1 BCE (1 year BCE + 36 years CE = 37 years) as the year of the death of Herod.[73]

Moreover, the Niese edition of Josephus lists "twenty-second year" as the reading in the Latin version of Josephus (produced in the fourth to sixth centuries), and notes that as early as the sixteenth century Joseph Scaliger had proposed this as the correct reading.[74] Thus, it appears as if the figure *twenty* could be a textual error among later printed editions of Josephus, since it is much more likely that the number *two* would have dropped out during transmission than it having been added somewhere along the way. Therefore, it now appears as if Filmer's conjecture was not as ill-founded as Barnes thought, though it is still conjectural, since it is not based on any reading in any Greek manuscript of Josephus. In Filmer's scheme Philip reigned from 1 BCE until his death in 36 CE. Since Philip received the tetrarchy upon the death of his father, under this scheme it would appear that Herod died no earlier than 1 BCE.[75]

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[70] Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 298.

[71] Florian Riess, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi* (Freiburg: Herder, 1880), according to Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, 301, §518 and n. 65.

[72] Barnes, "The Date of Herod's Death," 205.

[73] Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, 301, §518. Beyer's report is David W. Beyer, "Josephus Reexamined: Unraveling the Twenty-Second Year of Tiberius" (Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, November 19, 1995).

It would be even more ideal to confirm this reading with an examination of the surviving manuscripts of Josephus, a longer investigation and discussion beyond the scope of this paper. However, given present evidence based on Josephus' report of Philip's death alone, it should be noted that at the very least there is no sound reason for favoring the reading *twenty* upon which the Schürer consensus is based over the reading *twenty-two.* Moreover, given the propensity for numbers to be omitted from the text during transmission rather than being added to the text, preference could well be given to the reading *twenty-two.*

However, there is evidence other than the date of Philip's death to consider. Barnes noted that

> ...Philip refounded the cities of Julias and Caesarea Philippi (Paneas). Josephus states that the former was named after Augustus' daughter: if that is not an error, then it surely received its name before her disgrace in 2 BCE. The refoundation of Paneas was probably in 3 BCE: in later centuries the city used for dating an era the first year of which seems to have been 3/2 BCE.[76]

Given this evidence, we may surmise that Philip, like his brothers, postdated his reign from 4 BCE, about the time that Herod had deposed Antipater as his heir, and that Philip had exercised a measure of royal authority over Gaulanitis from that time. Thus, we can agree with Schürer against Filmer: Philip died in the twentieth year of Tiberius (33/34 CE) after a reign of thirty-seven years. The first three of these years were post-dated to the time that he first exercised authority over this region.

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[74] Benedictus Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera Edidit et Apparatu Critico Instruxit.* Berolini: Apud Weidmannos, 1885-1895. Reprint, 1955; 4.160. Niese's edition is the only widely available critical text of Josephus. Unfortunately, it is based on only a few manuscripts (five in this part of *Antiquities*). The Latin version is usually characterized as following the Greek original very closely.

[75] Josephus, *Ant.* 17.189.

[76] Barnes, "The Date of Herod's Death," 206, Josephus, *Ant.* 18.28.

An Additional Passage in Josephus that Confirms Herod's Reign Began in 38 BCE

There is one other passage that has been largely neglected in the discussion of the beginning of Herod's reign. In *Antiquities* 20.250 Josephus reports:

> Accordingly, the number of the high priests, from the times of Herod until the day when Titus took the temple and the city, and burnt them, were in all twenty-eight; the time, also, that belonged to them was a hundred and seven years.

Those who have followed the Schürer consensus have generally held that the "times of Herod" (τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων) began with his conquest of Jerusalem, dated to 10 Tishri, 37 BCE.[77] Since the temple and city fell to Titus in 9 Ab, 70 CE, this means there were only about 106 years between the two conquests of Jerusalem.[78] Consistent with this reading of *Antiquities* 20.250, the Schürer consensus also holds that Josephus dated all of his regnal years for Herod in *Antiquities* from Herod's conquest of Jerusalem. In addition to *Antiquities* 20.250 are four such references to Herod's regnal years in *Antiquities* and one in *War:*

Table 3. Josephus' References to Herod's Regnal Years

Reference	Herod's Regnal Year	Event
Antiquities 15.121	Seventh	Battle of Actium (Sept. 2, 31 BCE)
Antiquities 15.354	Eighteenth ("after Herod had reigned seventeen years")	Caesar in Syria (Spring 20 BCE)
Antiquities 15.380	Eighteenth	Work on temple begun
War 1.401	Fifteenth	
Antiquities 16.136	Twenty-eighth	Work on Caesarea Sebaste completed

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[77] Bernegger, "Herod's Death," 529-530. Note that by Bernegger's calculation, the 107 years results in a beginning date of 38 BCE, in line with what I propose in the ensuing discussion.

[78] Schürer, *History* 326-327. Vermes and Millar argue that in the case of Herod Josephus "reckoned portions of [beginning] years as full years" even though there is no evidence that

Since the seventh year of Herod must correlate to the year of the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE, and Herod's eighteenth year must correlate to Caesar's presence in Syria in 20 BCE, the Schürer consensus must maintain that in *Antiquities* Josephus is counting Herod's regnal years from the conquest of Jerusalem and not from his appointment by the Romans. This means that the reference in *War* 1.401 must be a mistake made by Josephus.

However, a closer examination of *Antiquities* 20.250 demonstrates that Josephus was reckoning Herod's years from his appointment by the Romans.[79] This is shown by Josephus' noting that there were twenty-eight high priests from "the times of Herod" until the destruction of the temple in 70 CE. When Herod conquered Jerusalem he appointed Ananel to be high priest.[80] Counting high priests beginning with Ananel and ending with Pannias, the last high priest before Titus conquered Jerusalem, there were twenty-seven high priests.[81] *This means that Josephus was including Antigonus in his reckoning of twenty-eight high priests during the reign of Herod.* To confirm this, note that above it was demonstrated that Antigonus reigned in Jerusalem as high priest from Tishri 39 to Tishri 36. Therefore, Josephus began the "times of Herod" with Herod's appointment by Rome three years earlier than his conquest of Jerusalem, and the beginning his reign according to official regnal years overlapped the high priesthood of Antigonus by about two years (1 Tishri 38 BCE-10 Tishri 36 BCE). However, if one were to date the "times of Herod" to the his appointment by the Romans according to the Schürer consensus (40 BCE or perhaps 39 BCE in official regnal years) this would mean that there were 110 or 109, not 107 years from "the times of Herod" to Titus' conquest of Jerusalem.

But Herod was actually appointed late in 39 BCE (since he came to Rome in the winter, *Ant.* 14.376). Since Herod was appointed by a Gentile power, he probably began to count his official regnal years as beginning on

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Josephus did this elsewhere. Thus, they argue that the twenty-seven years from Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem to Herod's conquest was actually only twenty-six years (*Ant.* 14.488); that the spring of 31 BCE was actually Herod's sixth year, though Josephus counts it as his seventh (*Ant.* 15.121); and that there were only 106 years between Herod's conquest of Jerusalem and Titus' conquest, though Josephus counts it as 107 (*Ant.* 20.250).

[79] This was first noted by Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 296.

[80] Josephus, *Ant.* 15.22. Note that in his treatment of this passage, Bernegger does not notice the import of Josephus' statement about the number of high priests during these 107 years. (Bernegger, "Herod's Death," 529-530.)

[81] James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004) 394-490, 492.

the following Tishri (September/October) of 38 BCE (since the Jewish civil year began on Tishri). He may have counted his years as beginning in Nisan (March/April) of 38, but this is less likely, since this was the beginning of the religious year, and it would have been unwise to count a Gentile appointment from a sacred Jewish date. This appears to be confirmed by evidence from the coins Herod issued. Herod's first coins, issued to replace Hasmonean currency, are also the first dated Jewish coins. They are dated to "year three."[82] Clearly, Herod counted the year he first reigned in Jerusalem as the third year of his reign. This means that he counted his first regnal year as beginning no later than Tishri 38 BCE and issued his first coinage shortly after conquering Jerusalem in 36 BCE.

Therefore, Herod's first regnal year would have ended on the last day of Elul in 37 BCE, making his one hundred seventh regnal year end in Elul 70 CE. Since the temple fell in Ab 70 CE, eleven months into Herod's one hundred seventh regnal year, Josephus' report in *Antiquities* 20.250 is absolutely correct.

This also implies, however, that in *Antiquities* Josephus numbered Herod's regnal years from his appointment by the Romans. Late 39 BCE until the beginning of Tishri 38 BCE was Herod's accession year. Tishri 38 BCE through Elul 37 BCE was Herod's first official regnal year. The conclusion then follows that the other regnal dates for Herod found in Josephus also count his regnal years from his appointment by the Romans:

Table 4. Josephus' References to Herod's Regnal Years Coordinated to Julian Dates

Antiquities 15.121	Seventh (32/31 BCE)	Battle of Actium (Sept. 2, 31 BCE)[83]
Antiquities 15.354	Eighteenth (21/20 BCE)	Caesar in Syria (Spring 20 BCE)
Antiquities 15.380	Eighteenth (21/20 BCE)	Work on temple begun
War 1.401	Fifteenth (21/20 BCE)	
Antiquities 16.136	Twenty-eighth (11/10 BCE)	Work on Caesarea Sebaste completed

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[82] Ya'akov Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage: Volume II: Herod the Great through Bar Cochba* (New York: Amphora, 182) 66-67. The discussion of Herod's coins was initiated by Filmer, "Reign of Herod," 295.

[83] The Battle of Actium would have taken place at the very end of Herod's seventh year, since Tishri can begin no earlier than September 20 and no later than October 19. In 31 BCE the Babylonians counted September 21 as the first day of Tishri (Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 BCE-AD 75* [Brown University Studies 19, Providence: Brown University, 1956] 43). This confirms that Herod started his regnal years in Tishri, not Nisan.

With this understanding there is no need to claim that the reference in *War* 1.401 is a mistake. Instead, it is now clear that in *War* Josephus numbered Herod's regnal years from the beginning of his reign in Jerusalem, and they would total three less years. Thus, Josephus reports that Herod reigned "... since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven."[84]

Josephus' total of twenty-eight high priests from the times of Herod until the destruction of the temple means that in *Antiquities* Josephus *cannot* have been reckoning the years of Herod's reign from the beginning of his rule in Jerusalem. Therefore, the Schürer consensus is once again called into doubt, since it relies on just such a reckoning to make sense of the chronological data reported by Josephus in *Antiquities*. When combined with the other problems that face the Schürer consensus, there is a lesser probability that it is to be preferred over a more traditional dating of Herod's reign ending in 1 BCE.

Conclusion

The consensus about the reign of Herod that is built around Schürer's interpretation of Josephus is fraught with difficulties. It fails to fit any of the verifiable chronological data external to Josephus and must resort to unlikely readings of Josephus' chronological data and dismissal of other data as mistaken.[85] A reexamination of the data demonstrates that Herod actually reigned from 39 BCE to his death in early 1 BCE. The only readjustment required by this revised chronology is that Josephus made mistakes in *Antiquities* 14.389, 487 when reporting the consular and Olympian dating of the beginning of Herod's reign. (In the case of *Antiquities* 14.384, even the defenders of the Schürer consensus concede that there is a mistake in at least the Olympian date given by Josephus.) Apparently, Josephus calculated these dates one year too early and then assigned them to the wrong consular years. Since these two events were clearly three years apart, the mistake in the first passage (*Ant.* 14.389) lead to the parallel mistake in the second (*Ant.* 13.487).

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[84] Josephus, *Ant.* 17.191.

[85] I.e., asserting Herod's reign of thirty-seven years was actually thirty-six or that the 107 years from the "times of Herod" to the conquest of Jerusalem in 70 CE were actually 106. To substantiate this, it has been claimed by Schürer and those that followed him that Josephus used "inclusive reckoning" of years, counting both the first and the last years in the tally (e.g., Maier, "The Date of the Nativity and the Chronology of Jesus' Life," 116). It is interesting to note that the Vermes and Millar edition of Schürer (1973 edition, 1.326-327) rejects the concept of inclusive reckoning as proposed in the original edition, (1896 edition, 1.200-201). An example of the Schürer consensus simply dismissing data that does not agree with it is that of *War* 1.401—"fifteen" being simply a mistake, without proposing a mechanism by which the mistake was made.

Once the correct dates for Herod's reign are understood, all of the data external to Josephus as well as all the other data given by Josephus are in perfect harmony, and one can construct the chronology of his reign as follows:

Table 5. A Chronology of Herod's Reign

Date	**Event**
Late 39 BCE	Herod appointed king by the Romans
Tishri 38 BCE	Beginning of Herod's first regnal year
10 Tishri 36 BCE	Herod conquers Jerusalem
December 36 BCE or March 35 BCE	Antigonus executed
Tishri 35 BCE	Beginning of Herod's first regnal year in Jerusalem
20 BCE	Herod begins work on the temple in Jerusalem
Late 19 or early 20 BCE	Work on Temple building completed
12 BCE	Work on Temple precincts completed
11 or 10 BCE	Work on Caesarea Sebaste completed
4 BCE	Murder of Herod's brother Pheroras; Antipater deposed as Herod's heir; Archelaus named Herod's heir
2 BCE	Jesus born
First quarter of 1 BCE	Antipater executed; Herod dies

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Textkritischer Kommentar zu ausgewählten Stellen des Lukas- und des Johannesevangeliums

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Abstract
Because of the completely contaminated textual tradition of the NT, it is essential that the textual critic as a rule confines himself to the instruments of philology and exegesis, the so-called internal criteria. The customary evaluation of manuscripts and manuscript groups according to their assumed quality and value within the tradition or according to their geographical distribution on the one hand ignores the reality of the transmission, and is on the other hand not a rationally defensible procedure. In this contribution I will demonstrate the arbitrary nature of the customary approach, while showing at the same time the gains to be made for the text by applying internal criteria.

Keywords
textual criticism; Luke; John; contamination; Nestle-Aland

In einer unentwirrbar kontaminierten Überlieferung—und das Neue Testament hat eine in höchstem Maße kontaminierte Überlieferung—können textkritische Entscheidungen nur nach den Verfahren der Philologie und Exegese getroffen werden.[1]

Es darf also nicht verwundern, daß die folgenden textkritischen Überlegungen nahezu alle zu Entscheidungen gegen den Text des Nestle-Aland, 27. Auflage (im Folgenden: NA), führen, denn das Gremium der Herausgeber (im Folgenden: Committee) entscheidet nach Ausweis des

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[1] Ich habe diesen Sachverhalt ausführlich in U. Victor, „Textkritik. Eine Einführung," *Antike Kultur und Neues Testament* (ed. U.Victor, C.P. Thiede und U. Stingelin; Basel: Brunnen, 2003) 173-252, dargelegt, außerdem noch einmal mit engem Bezug auf textkritische Fragen des Markusevangeliums in Karl Jaroš (Hrsg.), *Das Neue Testament nach den ältesten griechischen Handschriften* herausg. v. K. Jaroš…, mit drei Studien von Ulrich Victor (Ruhpolding-Mainz: Rutzen / Wien-Würzburg: Echter, 2006) 5065-5109.

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textkritischen Kommentars von Bruce M. Metzger[2] (im folgenden: Metzger), der diese Ausgabe begleitet, durchweg nicht nach den Regeln der Philologie und Exegese, sondern nach der vermeintlichen Güte von Handschriften und Handschriftengruppen.

Wir wissen aber spätestens seit Paul Maass,[3] daß es in der Überlieferung keine „guten" und „schlechten" Handschriften, sondern nur abhängige und unabhängige gibt. Wenn sich die Abhängigkeit oder Unabhängigkeit von Handschriften mithilfe der stemmatischen Methode nicht ermitteln läßt—und das ist in allen stark kontaminierten Überlieferungen der Fall—, geht es nicht mehr um Handschriften, sondern um einzelne Lesarten, weil sich die originale Lesart in jeder Handschrift verbergen kann.

Dies ist ein zwingender Schluß, ich wiederhole: ein zwingender Schluß, da die stemmatische Methode das einzige Verfahren ist, mit dessen Hilfe die (relative) ‚Güte' einer Handschrift ermittelt werden kann;[4] und diese Methode ist, wie jeder weiß, im NT nicht anwendbar! Es ist also nicht begreiflich, daß man diesen Schluß nicht zieht.[5] Ob eine Lesart richtig oder falsch ist, läßt sich, wie gesagt, nur nach den Kriterien der Philologie und der Exegese, und zwar in mühseliger Arbeit, Stelle um Stelle, entscheiden. Es gibt keinerlei Verfahren, diese Anstrengung zu erleichtern oder zu beschleunigen. Das Folgende ist ein Beitrag zu dieser Arbeit.[6]

Mit solcher Arbeit kann auch der seltsame Zustand beendet werden, daß zwar kein Textkritiker mehr die Theorie der Überlieferung des neutestamentlichen Textes vertritt, die Westcott und Hort[7] (WH) bei ihren textkritischen Entscheidungen leitete, daß aber die Texte der meisten Ausgaben des Neuen Testamentes, und ganz besonders der Text von NA, immer noch in sehr hohem Maße nach den Gesichtspunkten von Westcott und Hort konstituiert werden—mehr als hundert Jahre nach Westcott und

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[2] B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart, 1994). Mit „Metzger" sind also immer die Kommentare zur jeweiligen Stelle gemeint.

[3] *Textkritik* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1956) 30-31.

[4] Siehe Victor, „Textkritik," 182-188.

[5] Es verwundert den Philologen, daß G.D. Kilpatrick und J.K. Elliott, die seit Jahrzehnten in ungezählten Arbeiten die unter Philologen unumstrittene Ansicht vertraten, daß textkritische Entscheidungen nur nach den sogenannten inneren Kriterien getroffen werden können, in der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft immer noch eine Minderheit sind.

[6] Mein erster Beitrag zu dieser Arbeit ist ein „Textkritischer Kommentar zu ausgewählten Stellen des Markus-Evangeliums," in Jaroš (Hrsg.), s. Anm. 1.

[7] B.F. Westcott / F.J.A. Hort (ed.), *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (2 vols.; Cambridge / London: Macmillan, 1881); WH verweist auf den 2. Band: *Introduction. Appendix.*

Hort und nach staunenerregenden, bis zu zweihundert Jahre früheren Papyrusfunden, von denen das 19. Jh. nicht einmal träumen konnte. Die Texte des 20. Jh. sind also immer noch weitgehend, wie der Text von WH (1881), von den Lesarten derjenigen alten Unzialen bestimmt, welche die englischen Herausgeber als weitgehend zuverlässige Wiedergaben des originalen Textes ansahen, so daß sie ihrer Ausgabe den heute kaum mehr begreiflichen Titel gaben „The New Testament in the Original Greek".

Die Bedeutung gerade der Papyri für die Theorie des Textes ist in folgender Weise treffend eingeschätzt worden: „The use of two exemplars for checking helps us to understand how it comes about that those papyri of the New Testament which antedate (...) the accepted crystallized tradition of the New Testament agree now with one branch of it, now with another, and destroy any argument there may be for the intrinsic superiority of one branch over another. In consequence every variant must be considered individually and weighed as it were a unique case. It must be assessed in the light of Greek usage, of the author's own practice, of what is known of the subject from all other sources as well as the manuscript evidence about this particular author. This has been the practice of editors of papyri for some time past; it now becomes an imperative duty for all scholars."[8] Diese richtige Einschätzung der Gegebenheiten der Überlieferung bestimmt leider immer noch nur die Theorie—der man, vielleicht, mit Lippenbekenntnissen zustimmt—, nicht aber die Praxis der Editionen des Neuen Testamentes. Die folgende Untersuchung ist ein Beitrag, Theorie und Praxis wieder in Übereinstimmung zu bringen.

Der häufigste Fall unter den im Folgenden besprochenen Stellen aus beiden Evangelien ist der, daß sich der längere Text als original erweist. Das kann nicht im geringsten verwundern, weil der häufigste Fehler beim Abschreiben der versehentliche Ausfall von Text ist. Es widerspräche dagegen der Aufgabe eines antiken Schreibers, Zusätze zu einem zu kopierenden Text zu machen oder ihn in anderer Weise willkürlich zu verändern.

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[8] E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980) 126. Siehe auch Anm. 5! In wünschenswerter Deutlichkeit sagt C. Clivaz, "The Angel and the Sweat Like 'Drops of Blood' (Lk 22:43-44): P^{69} and f^{13}," *HThR* 98 (2005) 419-440, dort 424: "...I question the assumption that certain papyri should represent *de facto* the essence of a pure text, while other papyri are regarded as preserving 'historically contingent' readings. We should recall that *every manuscript* potentially reflects or has been affected by historical contingencies." Es ist zu hoffen, daß diese Erkenntnis weiter unter Neutestamentlern Fuß faßt.

(Der besondere Fall der Textänderungen aus dogmatischen Gründen ist in der Regel leicht zu erkennen.) Das gilt natürlich *a fortiori* im Falle eines Textes wie das NT, das von Anfang an ein besonderer Text war, wie allein schon die in der Überlieferung der antiken Literatur einzigartige Tatsache zeigt, daß *drei* umfängliche Schriften nahezu gleichen Inhalts, die synoptischen Evangelien, auf uns gekommen sind. Jedes Stück der als authentisch angesehenen Texte wurde also als unverzichtbar angesehen.

Wer einen Text kürzte, konnte sich der Überzeugung oder Hoffnung oder Illusion hingeben, einen authentischen Text dadurch wiederherzustellen, daß er spätere Zusätze—aus seinem besseren Wissen um den authentischen Text—beseitigte. Wer einen Text erweiterte, wußte genau, daß er selbst diesen Text erfunden hatte. Eine solche Erweiterung sollte deshalb von vornherein ein höchst zweifelhafter Fall und könnte in der Textkritik des NT nur eine äußerst seltene Ausnahme sein. Hätte es solche Erweiterungen in solcher Fülle gegeben, wie vielfach seit Westcott und Hort angenommen wird, wären fabuliersüchtige Korrektoren tätig gewesen, die dem Text des Neuen Testamentes einen ganz anderen Charakter gegeben hätten, als er jetzt hat: Es dürfte aber in der gesamten Literaturgeschichte Europas nicht ein zweites Mal so lakonische Darstellungen eines so ereignisreichen Geschehens geben wie die Evangelien.

Wenn man, wie das Committee der Herausgeber des NA an ungezählten Stellen, den längeren Text für nicht-original hält, wäre zu erwarten und ist dringend zu wünschen, daß die vermutlichen Gründe erörtert würden, die zu den vermeintlichen Zusätzen führten. Solche Gründe werden in Metzgers Commentary jedoch nahezu nie genannt.

In Textgeschichten des NT ist häufig von Phasen größerer Sorglosigkeit im Umgang mit den Texten zu lesen. Dieser falsche Eindruck entsteht vermutlich aus zwei Ursachen, die ich beide nicht in hinreichender Weise berücksichtigt sehe. Die eine ist, daß das Neue Testament nicht nur der am häufigsten abgeschriebene Text der Antike überhaupt ist, sondern zudem um ein Vielfaches öfter als jeder andere antike Text abgeschrieben wurde(9)—und bei jeder Abschrift entstehen nahezu notwendig Fehler—; die zweite ist, daß angesichts der—alle sozialen Schichten umfassenden—riesigen Leserschaft des NT ein sehr großer Teil der Kopien der Frühzeit aus

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(9) Es müssen schon in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten Hunderte, wahrscheinlich sogar Tausende von Handschriften existiert haben, die heute verloren sind. Anders ist es nicht zu erklären, daß keine der erhaltenen Handschriften von einer anderen erhaltenen abhängig ist.

Geldmangel von den Lesern selbst, mit häufig geringem Können, abgeschrieben wurden. Auch auf diese Weise kam es zu viel mehr Textvarianten[10] als bei anderen Texten der Antike, die eine Sache ausschließlich der gebildeten Schichten waren, die außerdem in der Regel professionelle Schreiber beauftragten.

I. Textkritischer Kommentar zu ausgewählten Stellen des Lukasevangeliums

1:29

ἡ δὲ [ἰδοῦσα] ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ διεταράχθη

ἰδοῦσα wird in NA zurecht nicht für den originalen Text gehalten. Der Grund dieser Entscheidung in NA ist nur zu vermuten: das Wort fehlt in den „guten" Handschriften ℵ B etc. Das wäre jedoch kein hinreichender Grund.

ἰδών wird von Lukas nie absolut gebraucht, wenn das Objekt eine Person ist. Wir müßten hier also ein αὐτόν erwarten (siehe unten zu 10:32-33). Da ein solches Wort nicht als Variante überliefert ist, ist es wahrscheinlich, daß ἰδοῦσα ein Versuch ist, den Text zu glätten. Man wird empfunden haben, daß auch die Erscheinung des Engels, nicht nur seine Worte, von Maria hätte zur Kenntnis genommen werden müssen. ἀκούσασα dürfte eine Korrektur sein von ἰδοῦσα, weil Marias Reaktion sich nur auf das Hören, nicht aber auf das Sehen zu beziehen scheint.

7:11

Οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ **ἱκανοί**

1. Ein Text ohne ἱκανοί wäre kein Anlaß gewesen, eine Ergänzung vorzunehmen. ‚Seine Jünger', das ist eine bekannte Größe.
2. Der obige Text aber konnte sehr wohl Fragen auslösen: Was bedeutet „eine erhebliche Zahl seiner Jünger"? Wir erfahren hier—und in dieser

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[10] Diese größere Zahl der Fehler wird wettgemacht durch die unvergleichlich größere Zahl der erhaltenen Handschriften als bei anderen Texten der Antike; in dieser größeren Zahl von Handschriften bewahrt ein mehr oder weniger großer Teil sehr häufig die vermutlich originale Lesart.

Formulierung nur dieses eine Mal im NT—, daß der engere Kreis der Jünger weit über die Zwölf hinausging. Ein anderer Anstoß könnte die prädikative Stellung des Adjektivs gewesen sein, die ausgezeichnetes, aber außerhalb der Literatursprache eher ungewöhnliches Griechisch ist. Lukas konnte dieses von ihm geschätzte Wort (27 mal) entgegen seiner Gewohnheit hier nur mit dem Artikel bei dem Beziehungswort verwenden, weil dieser Artikel untrennbar zum Beziehungswort gehört.

Ein zufälliger Ausfall ist auch nicht auszuschließen, wie auch Metzger erwägt (folgendes KAIO, s. Metzger).

7:32
ὅμοιοί εἰσιν παιδίοις τοῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθημένοις καὶ προσφωνοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις, **λέγοντες**

Es ist mit Tischendorf (ed. oct.) dieser Text von D L *f*¹³ 2542 für den originalen zu halten, aus dem sich alle anderen erklären lassen. Er ist eine einfache *constructio ad sensum.* Die Lesart λέγοντα ist ein pedantischer Versuch, das Genus an das Neutrum παιδίοις anzugleichen, aus der richtigen Überlegung, daß das Partizip sich auf παιδίοις, nicht aber auf das Subjekt von ὅμοιοι bezieht. ἃ λέγει, die von NA nach den „guten" Hdss. bevorzugte Lesart, ist der ebenso pedantische Versuch, den ‚Fehler' der Lesart λέγοντες zu beseitigen, der darin besteht, daß sich ein Nominativ Mask. des Partizips auf einen Dativ Neutr. bezieht. Gegen diese Lesart spricht außer ihrer Pedanterie die Tatsache, daß jeder unbefangene griechische Leser die beiden Wörter als „*was er sagt*" und erst im zweiten stotternden Anlauf, unter dem Zwang, den Text verstehen zu *müssen*, als „*welche sagen*" verstanden hätte. Sprache ist zuerst und vor allem eine Sache lebendiger Sprecher und erst dann die Sache von Philologen und sonstigen Benutzern von Grammatiken. Nirgendwo in der griechischen Literatur wird ἃ λέγει anders verwendet als z.B. bei Plutarch *Mor.* 1035 C ἄκουε ἃ λέγει. „Höre, *was er sagt.*"—Über diese Stelle hinaus ist folgendes interessant: Dieser Text zeigt deutlich, welche Art von Korrekturen die Tradition von א B *f*¹ 700 etc. bestimmen (vgl. z. B. 8:45; 10:30; 10:32f.).

Καὶ λέγουσιν (A Θ Ψ 33 u. Mehrheitstext) ist die intelligenteste und glatteste „Korrektur", und es versteht sich von selbst, daß nicht sie die Ausgangslesart gewesen sein kann: Niemand hätte einen solchen klaren Text verändert.

8:43
ἥτις ἰατροῖς προσαναλώσασα ὅλον τὸν βίον

1. Es ist auszuschließen, daß diese glänzende, knappe Fassung des Sachverhaltes, der bei Markus mit gebräuchlicherem Vokabular ausführlicher berichtet wird, die Erfindung eines schriftstellerischen Flickschusters ist. Das seltene, die Sache genau treffende Verb ebenso wie βίος in der Bedeutung ‚Vermögen', ‚Besitz' (vgl. Lk 15:12, 30; 21: 4) gehören nicht zum Vokabular eines beliebigen Schreibers oder Korrektors. Dies kann nur der Autor Lukas geschrieben haben!

2. Der Ausfall dieser Wörter ist durch Homoioteleuton zu erklären: (42) συνέπνιγον αὐτόν (43) ὅλον τὸν βίον.

3. Es besteht keinerlei Anlaß, die Ursprünglichkeit dieser Wörter in Frage zu stellen. Die Überlegungen des Committee, die in diese Richtung gehen, sind gegenstandslos: „the early and diversified evidence... is well-nigh compelling." Es gibt in einer kontaminierten Überlieferung keine Handschriftenverbindungen, die zu bestimmten Schlüssen zwingen.

8:45
ὁ Πέτρος **καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ / σὺν αὐτῷ**

1. Es ist nicht erkennbar, was die Ergänzung veranlaßt haben könnte, wenn sie nicht ursprünglich wäre. Der Text ist ohne sie gut verständlich. Die Vermutung einer Angleichung an den Markustext ist angesichts der unterschiedlichen sprachlichen Form beider Texte beliebig. Ob man nun Markus als Vorlage des Lukas ansieht oder annimmt, daß sie beide aus der gleichen Tradition schöpfen—daß dieselbe Geschichte bei beiden Autoren ähnlich sein muß, versteht sich von selbst.

2. Der Verlust dieser Textteile ist auf verschiedene Weise zu erklären, z.B. als Schreiberversehen durch Homoioteleuton ἀψάμενός μου] μετ' αὐτοῦ oder als puristische „Korrektur"—nicht überraschend in P^{75} und B—, weil trotz mehrerer Subjekte das Verb εἶπεν im Singular steht.

Zwischen den beiden Varianten dieses Zusatzes μετ' αὐτοῦ / σὺν αὐτῷ ist eine begründete Wahl nicht möglich, weil Lukas beide Präpositionen, und in dieser Verbindung, gebraucht. Wenn man einen Textverlust durch Homoioteleuton annimmt, muß man sich für μετ' αὐτοῦ entscheiden.

8:45

ἀποθλίβουσιν **καὶ λέγεις τίς ὁ ἁψάμενός μου**

Der längere Text der Handschriften A C etc. ist als der originale anzusehen:

1. Die literarische Qualität des längeren Textes ist viel größer; andererseits wäre der Text ohne die fett gedruckten Wörter gut verständlich; sie sind redundant, es hätte also kein Anlaß bestanden, sie zu ergänzen.
2. Der Ausfall ist (a) als Haplographie (s. V. 45 a) leicht zu erklären. Er wäre auch (b) als bewußte Vermeidung einer vermeintlichen Doppelung, also als Beseitigung eines vermeintlichen Fehlers verständlich.
3. Gegen die Entlehnung aus Markus durch einen Schreiber oder Korrektor spricht die unterschiedliche Form des Satzes:

> Mk / Lk
> Καὶ λέγεις τίς μου ἥψατο / καὶ λέγεις τίς ὁ ἁψάμενός μου

Auch hier ist noch einmal auf eine grundsätzliche Überlegung hinzuweisen: Ein Schreiber des NT, der Entlehnungen vornimmt, tut das, weil er auf einen vollständigen und richtigen, d.h. authentischen Text aus ist und weil er den Text, der ihm gerade vorliegt, für lückenhaft und nicht authentisch hält. Er wird also den Wortlaut der parallelen Stelle auf das genaueste wiedergeben.

Zum andern ist es schwer vorstellbar, daß ein Korrektor so feinsinnig war, eine solche Ergänzung vorzunehmen. Das Empfinden literarischer Qualität, das aus dem längeren Text spricht, sollte man beim Verfasser suchen.

4. Es ist ein Stilmerkmal des Lukas, ein Wort oder einen Satz in angrenzenden Sätzen zu wiederholen.[11]

8:46

ἔγνων δύναμιν **ἐξελθοῦσαν** ἀπ' ἐμοῦ

Das in NA gedruckte Partizip Perfekt ἐξεληλυθυῖαν widerspricht dem Sachverhalt, denn es geht um einen *Vorgang*, den Jesus gerade an sich verspürt hatte und der—das ist unbedingt hinzuzufügen—natürlich nur als vorübergehend gedacht werden kann. Bei der Heilung ist an eine Kraft Jesu gedacht, die zu der zu heilenden Person hinüberfließt. Das Partizip

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[11] H.J. Cadbury, „Four Features of Lucan Style," *Studies in Luke-Acts* (ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn; New York / Nashville: Abingdon, 1966) 87-102, dort bes. 93f.

Perfekt dagegen bezeichnet keinen solchen Vorgang, sondern einen *Dauerzustand*. Diese Funktion des Perfekts wird deutlich aus Mk 9:1: ἕως ἂν ἴδωσιν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐληλυθυῖαν „bis sie sehen, daß das Reich Gottes da ist"—und an diesem Zustand ändert sich nichts mehr. Wenn dieser Dauerzustand gemeint und das Partizip Perfekt original wäre, müßte man hier das Präsens γιγνώσκω o.ä. erwarten: „Ich bemerke, daß meine Kraft jetzt verschwunden ist." Außerdem wäre der bestimmte Artikel zu erwarten: τὴν δύναμιν.

Die Ersetzung des Aorists durch das Perfekt, das im Griechischen viel seltener ist, läßt sich in Handschriften des NT oft beobachten: Mk 1:38; 3:26; 12:43; 11:2; Lk 4:43; 7:20, 24; 9:7; 25:26; ausschließlich B in Lk 24:28 (nicht in NA, s. Tischendorf, ed. oct.); ausschließlich ℵ in Lk 9:1; Mt 13:25; Joh 17:1 (alle nicht in NA, s. Tischendorf, ed. oct.). Es ist eine häufig zu beobachtende Tendenz, auch bei klassischen Autoren, z.B. bei Lukian. B. Weiss stellt bei den Schreibern und Korrektoren des NT eine Vorliebe für das Perfekt fest, „das sie wohl für eine Verfeinerung halten".[12]

Im Apparat von NA müßte bei den Zeugen des Part. Perfekt Origenes genannt werden.

10:15

Καὶ σύ, Καφαρναούμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως τοῦ ᾅδου **καταβιβασθήσῃ**

Dieser Text ist der originale:

1. Die literarische Form dieses Textes ist die gelungenste. Man sollte nicht annehmen, daß gerade sie sich den Wechselfällen der Überlieferungsgeschichte verdankt:

> Der (rhetorischen) Frage, die die positive Erwartung ablehnt, wird in scharfer asyndetischer Antithese die ganz parallel gebaute Aussage entgegengestellt, die das wahre Schicksal der Stadt prophezeit. (Eine rhetorische Frage solcher Art findet sich in einem alttestamentlichen Weheruf über die Habgierigen: „Werdet ihr etwa allein die Erde bewohnen?" Jes 5:8 LXX.)

Wie „bis zum Himmel" dem „bis zum Hades" entgegengesetzt ist, so sind auch die beiden Futura des Passivs „du wirst erhoben werden" / „du wirst hinabgestoßen werden" einander wirkungsvoll entgegengesetzt.

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[12] B. Weiss, *Textkritik der vier Evangelien* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1899) 63.

2. Die Fassung des Textes, die A B^2 C W etc. bieten („Und du, Kapernaum, das du bis zum Himmel erhöht wurdest...“) ist zum einen literarisch schwächer, weil dieser wirkungsvolle antithetische Parallelismus fehlt, zum andern von der Sache her unzutreffend, wenn nicht gar lächerlich. Kapernaum war, verglichen mit den Städten der Dekapolis z.B. und vielen anderen, die die Hörer mit eigenen Augen gesehen hatten, nichts anderes als ein recht großes Dorf von einigem Wohlstand, nicht aber ein Ort, über den sich sagen ließ, daß er „bis zum Himmel erhoben wurde“. Es fragt sich zudem, ob eine solche politisch-ökonomische Einschätzung des Ranges von Kapernaum—wenn denn realistisch—aus Jesu Mund nicht eher befremdlich wäre.

Außerdem wird in dieser Fassung des Textes aus der endzeitlichen Prophezeiung (siehe V. 14) eine Prophezeiung, die einen in der Geschichte erreichten Zustand (das bis zum Himmel emporgehobene Kapernaum) einem endzeitlichen Geschehen entgegensetzt—wenn man nicht aus dieser Fassung von 15a darauf schließen wollte, daß auch 15b eine auf die Geschichte bezogene Prophezeiung ist. Das aber widerspräche dem einleitenden καί, das V. 15 an 14 anbindet, indem es ihn fortsetzt.

Alles in allem wirft diese Fassung des Textes, im Gegensatz zu der anderen, viele Fragen auf, weil sie mehrdeutig-unklar ist. Die eindeutig-klare Fassung von $P^{45.75}$ ℵ B D etc. ist jedoch sicher nicht das Ergebnis einer Korrektur dieser Fassung (siehe auch unten Nr. 3).

Es sollte sich übrigens von selbst verstehen, daß das Passiv καταβιβασθήσῃ in dieser Prophezeiung und Verwünschung das geeignetere Genus verbi ist. Kapernaum geht einem Schicksal entgegen, auf das es selbst keinen Einfluß mehr hat. καταβήσῃ wäre also unter dem Gesichtspunkt der literarischen Qualität die schlechtere Wahl; zudem wäre mit καταβήσῃ auf den Parallelismus zum Futur *Passiv* ὑψωθήσῃ verzichtet. Die Ersetzung des höchst seltenen καταβιβασθήσῃ (kaum mehr als zehnmal in der gesamten griechischen Literatur) durch das geläufige καταβήσῃ ist sowohl als Schreiberversehen zu erklären, zu dem es auch leicht mehrmals gekommen sein kann, wie auch als eine Angleichung an Jes 14:15. Der umgekehrte Fall ist unwahrscheinlich.

Es soll noch erwähnt werden, daß die früheste Überlieferung (P^{45} lat) καταβιβασθήσῃ bietet—wenn man dieses Argument für gewichtig hält, wie es das Committee an ungezählten Stellen tut.

3. Die Entstehung der *variae lectiones* der Überlieferung läßt sich zu einem großen Teil erklären:

> Aufgrund eines Schreiberversehens (ΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜΜΗ durch Haplographie verschrieben zu ΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜΗ) wurde aus ΜΗ ein Η, das in einem Teil der Überlieferung als ἤ (nicht als der Artikel ἡ) verstanden wurde. Das hatte zur Folge, daß vor dem zweiten ἕως in C D* *f^1* *pc* it ein zweites ἤ hinzugefügt wurde, so daß sich nun ein verständlicher, wenn auch in diesem Zusammenhang wenig sinnvoller Satz ergab: „entweder wirst du bis zum Himmel erhoben oder bis zum Hades hinabgestoßen werden."

In einem anderen Teil der Überlieferung wurde Η als Artikel verstanden, was dazu führte, daß—θήσῃ in—θεῖσα verändert werden mußte, damit sich wieder ein grammatikalisch richtiger Satz ergab.

Aus dem obigen Text: Καὶ σύ, Καφαρναούμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως τοῦ ᾄδου καταβιβασθήσῃ lassen sich also die gewichtigsten *variae lectiones* ohne Schwierigkeit erklären.

Es ist wieder einmal festzustellen, daß die Korrektoren ihre Arbeit sehr behutsam taten, mit möglichst geringen Eingriffen in den ihnen vorliegenden Text.

10:30
ἀφέντες ἡμιθανῆ **τυγχάνοντα**
„... sie ließen ihn liegen, halbtot *wie er war*..."

1. Es ist nicht erkennbar, was einen Zusatz τυγχάνοντα zu dem auch ohne ihn gut verständlichen Text veranlaßt haben sollte. Wenn jemand einen Zusatz vorgenommen hätte, wäre das außerdem eher ein ὄντα gewesen.

2. Der Ausfall von τυγχάνοντα ist als puristische Korrektur des Textes zu verstehen, vorgenommen von einem Korrektor, dem dieser eher volkstümliche Gebrauch des Verbums τυγχάνω in der Bedeutung von εἶναι als fehlerhaft erschien. Phrynichos (242 Fischer) rügt diesen Gebrauch als unkorrekt (Es ist kaum ein Zufall, daß wieder u. a. P^{75} ℵ B diesen Text bieten; s. o. zu 7:32!).

Da dieser Gebrauch von τυγχάνω in der Bedeutung von εἶναι weder bei Bauer noch bei Pape vermerkt ist,[13] sind hier einige Bemerkungen am Platz: Das Verbum findet sich in dieser Bedeutung erst spät, vor allem bei

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[13] Bei LSJ ist dieser Gebrauch s.v. unter A. II. 2. vermerkt; es wird aber nicht deutlich, daß er bei den oben genannten Autoren sehr geläufig ist.

Autoren volkstümlicher Sprache, u.a. bei Äsop, Josephus (nur in *AJ*), Heliodor (und anderen Scriptores Erotici), in der *Historia Alexandri*. Dieser Gebrauch von τυγχάνω erklärt sich am einfachsten als ein verkürztes τυγχάνω ὤν. So erklärt ihn auch Phrynichos. Ich gebe Beispiele:

> Heliodor 5, 2: ’Αλλ’ ὦ ψυχὴ ἐμή, ποῦ ποτε ἄρα τυγχάνεις; „Mein Herz, wo bist / befindest du (dich) denn nun eigentlich?“
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> *Vita Adam et Evae* 1, 9: δι’ ἐμὲ ἐν καμάτοις τυγχάνεις καὶ πόνοις. „Durch mich bist du in Not und Unglück.“
>
> *Acta Scill. Mart.* 1, 117: Χριστιανὸς ἀμετάθετος τυγχάνω. „Ich bin ein unbekehrbarer Christ.“
>
> *Joseph et Aseneth* 27, 3: καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου αὐτοῦ ἡμιθανὴς τυγχάνων. „Er fiel halbtot von seinem Pferd.“ (Hier ist eine Beeinflussung des christlichen Autors durch Lk nicht auszuschließen.)
>
> Johannes Chrysostomus, *Cum Saturninus et Aurelianus*… 52, 417: ’Εν πλούτῳ ὦν προσδόκα πενίαν, ἐν εὐημερίᾳ τυγχάνων προσδόκα λιμόν. „Wenn du dich im Reichtum *befindest*, erwarte Armut, wenn du dich im Glück *befindest*, erwarte Hunger.“ Dieses Beispiel veranschaulicht auf das beste, daß die Verben synonym gebraucht werden.

Es kann keinen vernünftigen Zweifel geben, daß in NA ein originales Stück Text in den Apparat verbannt wurde, und zwar wieder einmal, weil das Wort in den „guten“ Handschriften fehlt.

10:32-33

Λευίτης **γενόμενος** κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐλθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν **αὐτὸν** ἀντιπαρῆλθεν

Es geht an dieser Stelle um zwei textkritische Fragen:

1. Der Text mit γενόμενος. Anlässe der Streichung in Teilen der Überlieferung waren vermutlich (a) die *scheinbare* Redundanz, (b) die asyndetische Stellung von γενόμενος… ἐλθών, (c) der ungewöhnliche Ausdruck γίγνεσθαι κατά m.Akk.

(a) Die Streichung von γενόμενος in einem Teil der Überlieferung ist als Beseitigung einer vermeintlichen Redundanz leicht zu erklären. Eben wegen dieser vermeintlichen Redundanz ist es ganz unwahrscheinlich, daß jemand das Partizip hinzugesetzt hätte, wenn es nicht original wäre. Das Partizip ist jedoch keineswegs redundant, sondern ein wichtiger Bestandteil des Textes. V. 32 und 33 sind parallel gebaut:

(32) γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐλθών... ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἀντιπαρῆλθεν
(33) ὁδεύων... ἦλθεν... ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐσπλαγχνίσθη

Ich übersetze:

(32) „Ebenso kam ein Levit, *als er in der Gegend war*, (dorthin)[14] und ging, als er ihn sah, vorüber.“
(33) „Ein Samariter aber, *der unterwegs war*, kam dorthin und, als er ihn sah, faßte ihn Mitleid.“

Von beiden, dem Leviten und dem Samariter, wird gesagt, daß sie *Reisende, also nicht Einheimische* sind, d.h. in einer ganz bestimmten, vergleichbaren Lage, und um diese Vergleichbarkeit geht es ja in diesem Gleichnis; γενόμενος κ. τ. τ. dient also genauso wie ὁδεύων der Klärung der Voraussetzungen. Beide Partizipien sind zum Verständnis notwendige Teile der Exposition. Den Aussagen *als er in der Gegend war* und *der unterwegs war* entspricht in V. 31 das *zufällig* (κατὰ συγκυρίαν). Daß alle drei in der Gegend fremd sind, ist eine wichtige Einzelheit des Gleichnisses. Dem ἐλθών und dem ἦλθεν entspricht in V. 31 κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐκείνῃ. Es werden also über alle drei Protagonisten drei Aussagen gemacht, von denen die ersten beiden gleich sind: a) Sie sind keine Einheimischen dieser Gegend, b) sie kommen an dem Platz vorbei, an dem das Opfer liegt, c) Priester und Levit gehen vorüber, der Samariter hilft dem Opfer der Räuber. Dieser Teil der meisterlichen literarischen Form des Gleichnisses wird vom Committee verkannt, übrigens auch von J. Jeremias (*Die Gleichnisse Jesu*).

(b) Das asyndetische Partizip ist bei allen guten griechischen Schriftstellern zu finden;[15] sehr häufig ist, wie hier, der Sachverhalt des ersten Partizips die Voraussetzung des Sachverhalts, den das zweite nennt. Es findet sich viele Male bei Lukas (u. a. 7:38; 8:35; 9:16; 10:32; 14:28; 22:19; Apg 28:15 u. a.) und ist ein meistens übersehenes Mittel der Hypotaxe (bei BDR § 421 findet sich als einziges Beispiel aus Lukas 4:20). Auch in Lk 11:54 (s. unten!) ist eine falsche textkritische Entscheidung getroffen, weil das asyndetische Partizip offenbar verkannt wurde.

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[14] Das Verb wird, nicht nur bei Lukas, oft absolut gebraucht: Lk 7:3; 11:25; 12:43; 14:9.

[15] KG II 103ff.; M. Reiser, *Syntax und Stil des Markusevangeliums* (WUNT 2/11; Tübingen: Mohr, 1984) 158-160.

(c) In ganz ähnlicher Weise—sowohl γίγνεσθαι κατά m.Akk. in der Bedeutung „an einer Stelle sein" als auch die Partizipialform asyndetisch gesetzt—heißt es bei Xenophon Ephesius 3, 5, 2 καὶ δὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν γενομένη καιροῦ λαβομένη… „Und als sie dann allein war, nutzte sie die Gelegenheit…" Schließlich ist festzustellen, daß eben dieses γίγνεσθαι κατά m.Akk. sich bei Lukas ein weiteres Mal findet (Apg 27:7).

2. Sowohl in (32) wie in (33) gehört αὐτόν zum originalen Text. ἰδών kommt 20 mal bei Lukas vor. Es hat immer ein Objekt, wenn es sich um eine Person handelt, und hat nur dann kein Objekt, wenn es sich um ein Geschehen handelt (1:12; 5:8; 7:39; 17:14; 18:43). In zwei Fällen, nämlich hier in V. 32 und 33, wo ein Objekt zu erwarten ist, weil es sich um eine Person handelt, gibt es *variae lectiones* mit Objekt. Man sollte also dem eindeutigen Sprachgebrauch des Lukas folgen und die Objekte in den Text setzen. Der Ausfall der Objekte ist als Haplographie, Homoioteleuton oder als sprachlicher Purismus zur Vermeidung von Wiederholungen zu erklären, wie er in ℵ und B oft zu finden ist (s. Mk 1:39; 2:1).

10:35

Καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον **ἐξελθὼν** ἔδωκεν δύο δηνάρια τῷ πανδοχεῖ… „Und als er am Morgen *aufbrach*, gab er dem Wirt zwei Denare…"

Wie das Committee seinen Text in NA verstanden hat, ist unklar. Wenn es ἐκβαλών als „bezahlen" oder „hervorholen" verstanden hat, mit δύο δηνάρια als Objekt, ist die Wortstellung mißlungenes Griechisch, denn die Annahme eines Hyperbatons wäre hier und bei Lukas abwegig. Deshalb wurde denn auch in einem Teil der Überlieferung die Wortstellung verändert (s.u.). Vermutlich sind die Herausgeber in einer Art Automatismus dem Text von P$^{45.75}$ B, also „guten" Handschriften, gefolgt, ohne sich zu fragen, ob dieser Text vertretbares Griechisch ist.

Die folgende Erklärung des überlieferten Textes ist plausibel:

1. Der Ausgangspunkt aller Überlegungen zu diesem Text ist eine harte Tatsache: ἐκβάλλω heißt, im Gegensatz zu allen Übersetzungen und Kommentaren, nirgendwo in der griechischen Literatur ‚bezahlen' oder auch nur Ähnliches. Es heißt bei Mt 12:35; 13:52 ‚hervorholen', und zwar aus

einem Schatz, der nicht vor aller Augen liegt; kurzum, es handelt sich nicht um eine Formulierung der Alltagssprache und nicht um ein Wort, das den Akt des Bezahlens bezeichnet. Das gilt auch für die Stelle *Test Abr* 6, 21, wo es um das Hervorholen der auf wunderbare Weise entstandenen Edelsteine geht. Dieses Hervorholen geschieht keineswegs aus der Geldbörse, wie fälschlich bei BDAG s.v. verstanden wird, sondern gewissermaßen aus einem Versteck: ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου. ἐκβάλλω ist also in diesem Satz unverständlich. Es gehört nicht hierher.

2. Das Wort ΕΚΒΑΛΩΝ ist als Verlesung oder Verschreibung von ΕΞΕΛΘΩΝ zu erklären und wurde wohl in einem Teil der Überlieferung (A C W etc.) nach einer mißverständlichen Korrektur versehentlich zusammen mit dem richtigen Wort—kein Einzelfall in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung—im Text gelassen, so daß es zu der unverständlichen Doppelung ἐξελθὼν ἐκβαλών kam. In einem andern Teil der Überlieferung war diese Korrektur unterblieben (P$^{45.75}$ ℵ B etc.).[16] Die im Griechischen unerträgliche Stellung von ἐκβαλών—in der vermeintlichen Bedeutung „bezahlen"—vor ἔδωκεν ist ein gewichtiges Indiz, daß die Vermutung richtig ist, hier liege eine Verschreibung und deren mißglückte Korrektur vor.

3. Der Text *beider* Teile der Überlieferung war unbefriedigend, so daß es nicht erstaunlich ist, daß die Umstellung von δύο δηνάρια vor ἔδωκεν sich auch in Teilen dieser *beiden* Teile der Überlieferung findet. Sie ist als Versuch zu werten, einerseits die im Griechischen unerträgliche Doppelung ἐξελθὼν ἐκβαλών, die das Ergebnis des beschriebenen Fehlers war, erträglicher und das zweite Partizip verständlich zu machen (A C W Θ etc.), andererseits das Partizip ἐκβαλών, das nicht mit ἐπ᾽ αὔριον verbunden werden kann, mit einer annäherungsweise verständlichen Ergänzung zu versehen (ℵ L Ξ etc).

Insgesamt zeigt diese textkritische Einheit anschaulich, wie pietätvoll man in der Überlieferung des NT mit dem jeweils vorliegenden Text umging—im Gegensatz zu dem, was immer wieder behauptet wird!

11:54

. . . ἐνεδρεύοντες αὐτὸν **ζητοῦντες** θηρεῦσαί τι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ **ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν** αὐτοῦ „. . . indem sie, ihn belauernd, ein Wort aus seinem Munde zu erjagen *suchten, um ihn anklagen zu können.*"

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[16] Über solche—mißlungenen—Korrekturvorgänge siehe zu Lk 23:17.

Der längere Text ist der originale:

1. Der Ausfall *beider* in A C D W etc. überlieferten Textstücke ist durch Homoioteleuton zu erklären.

2. Es hätte keinerlei Anlaß gegeben, ζητοῦντες zu ergänzen, wenn es nicht Teil des originalen Textes wäre. Der Text ist ohne das zweite Partizip gut verständlich.

Warum das zweite Textstück eine Hinzufügung „probably by assimilation to 6, 7“[17] sein soll, ist nicht erfindlich: a) Die Stelle Lk 6:7 hat eine andere sprachliche Form; b) die Absicht der Gegner Jesu ist auch ohne diese Ergänzung deutlich genug; sie ist also zum Verständnis in keiner Weise nötig.

3. Es kann kein Zweifel sein, daß der Text mit dem zweiten Partizip, wie auch die Übersetzung zeigt, viel farbiger ist. Die grammatikalische Erscheinung, die zu den Stilmerkmalen des Lukas und anderer guter Schriftsteller gehört, ist die *asyndetische Stellung von zwei oder mehr Partizipien*, die immer wieder übersehen worden ist und übersehen wird (s.o. zu 10:32/33). In keinem der Kommentare zu Lukas wird diese Erscheinung erwähnt, geschweige denn als Erklärung in Erwägung gezogen. Man muß annehmen, daß sie den Kommentatoren unbekannt ist. Sie scheinen ζητοῦντες für redundant zu halten. Die Handlungen der beiden Partizipien ergänzen sich aber in der Weise, daß die konkrete Handlung vom zweiten Partizipium bezeichnet und vom ersten begründet wird. Das erste Partizip ist dem zweiten inhaltlich untergeordnet, wie es die Regel bei dieser Erscheinung ist. Auch R. Stephanus (und Scrivener) verkannte dieses asyndetische Partizip und ergänzte καί (ζητοῦντες).

4. Die Verbindung von ζητέω mit Infinitiv findet sich in großer Zahl in der gesamten griechischen Literatur, u.a. ebenfalls in der Partizipialform Mt 12:46; 12:47; 21:26; Röm 10:3. Eine Verbindung von ἐνεδρεύω mit Infinitiv ist nicht belegt.

Es ist verwunderlich, daß der Verzicht auf gewichtige, von vielen Zeugen glänzend überlieferte Wörter dem Kommentator Metzger keine Erwähnung wert war.

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17) I.H. Marshall, *Commentary on Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 508.

13:7
ἔκκοψον **οὖν**

1. Es ist nicht zu erkennen, warum οὖν, wenn es nicht ursprünglich ist, hinzugesetzt worden wäre; der Text ist ohne einen solchen Zusatz klar.
2. Der Ausfall von οὖν ist als Haplographie nach ἔκκοψον zu erklären.

15:16
Καὶ ἐπεθύμει **γεμίσαι τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν κερατίων**
„Und er wünschte, *seinen Magen mit Schweinefutter zu füllen*..."

1. Die Bildhaftigkeit dieses Ausdrucks ist niemandem anders als dem Autor zu verdanken: Daß „seinen Magen füllen" besser zum Schweinefutter paßt als „sich sättigen", „sich nähren", ist nicht zu überhören.
2. Man kann sich zwar gut vorstellen, daß das Alltagswort χορτασθῆναι als Glosse oder als feineres Synonym das derbe γεμίσαι τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ ersetzte; das Umgekehrte ist unwahrscheinlich.

Sowohl ἀπό als auch ἐκ sind möglich. Ich ziehe ἀπό vor, weil die Zeugen des hier bevorzugten Textes es bieten. Johannes Chrysostomus zitiert diesen Text zweimal in dieser hier gewählten Form mit ἀπό, Cyrill kannte ihn in beiden Formen.

17:9
...διαταχθέντα; **οὐ δοκῶ.**

1. Der Verlust von οὐ δοκῶ ist als Schreiberversehen sowohl *nach* τῷ δούλῳ als auch *vor* οὕτως zu erklären.
2. Wenn der zusätzliche Text nicht original wäre, hätte keinerlei Anlaß bestanden, ihn hinzuzufügen. Er ist zum Verständnis nicht notwendig. Um einmal so zu argumentieren wie das Committee an ungezählten Stellen: οὐ δοκῶ wird von Hdss. verschiedener gewichtiger Gruppierungen geboten—wenn man einem solchen Argument Gewicht beimißt! Dieser absolute Gebrauch findet sich bei Plutarch (frg. 211 ὡς δοκῶ), bei Josephus (*Vita* 207 δοκῶ μοι), Dio Chrysostomus (*Or.* 10, 22 οὔ μοι δοκῶ), Gregor von Nazianz (*De seipso* 36, 273... καὶ οὐ δοκῶ).

17:24
Οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου **ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ**

1. Der Ausfall dieser Wörter ist durch Homoioteleuton zu erklären.

2. Die Wortfolge ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ ist kein beliebiges Versatzstück, kein überflüssiger Zusatz, kein unwichtiges Füllsel, sondern im NT einzigartig und paßt so genau in diesen hochfeierlichen Satz, daß sie nur dem Verfasser, nicht aber einem unbekannten Korrektor zuzutrauen ist.

3. Die Wortfolge ist zum genauen Verständnis notwendig, denn „an seinem Tage“ heißt: „Wenn er *wirklich* kommt“—im Gegensatz zu den vielen falschen Ankündigungen seines Kommens, von denen in V. 23 die Rede ist. Ohne diese Wortfolge wäre zudem das Verhältnis von V. 24a zu 24b unausgewogen.

Wer die Authentizität von ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ in Frage stellt, hat den Text nicht verstanden (Nr. 3) und verkennt seine literarische Qualität.

17:36

1. Wie gewöhnlich machen Metzger / das Committee nicht einmal den Versuch zu erklären, aus welchen Gründen dieser vermeintlich nicht originale Vers hinzugefügt wurde. Solche Gründe sind in der Tat nirgendwo zu entdecken.

2. Durch Homoioteleuton, noch dazu desselben Wortes, ist der Verlust dieses Verses in einem Teil der Überlieferung denkbar einfach zu erklären: (35)… ἀφεθήσεται (36)… ἀφεθήσεται.

3. Die triadische Stuktur des Ganzen[18] macht deutlich, daß der Vers ein notwendiger Teil des Textes ist: (a) der Bauer und seine Frau; (b) die Mägde; (c) die Knechte. Wenn er aus Mt genommen wäre, warum fehlt z.B. τότε? Warum stimmen die Tempora nicht überein?

18:24

…ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς **περίλυπον γενόμενον** εἶπεν

1. Περίλυπον γενόμενον ist ein notwendiger Bestandteil des Textes. Ohne diese beiden Wörter ist der Satz hier nicht sinnvoll: „Als er ihn sah, sagte er“; denn Jesus hatte gerade mit ihm gesprochen, muß ihn also schon gesehen haben. Es geht vielmehr darum, daß Jesus ihn jetzt, nach seinen Worten an ihn, in dem neuen Zustand der Betrübnis sieht, den er, Jesus, selbst hervorgerufen hatte; und diese Betrübnis ist der Anlaß des Folgenden.

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[18] T.W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1949) 145f., der auch darauf hinweist, daß der Stil des Verses lukanisch ist.

Eben diesen Zustand drückt der Akkusativ mit Partizip auf perfekte Weise aus (und ἰδὼν αὐτόν ohne diesen Akkus. mit Partizip heißt nun einmal „als er ihn sah", nicht aber „als er ihn *in diesem Zustand* sah" oder „als er ihn *so* sah").

Wenn der kürzere Text der originale wäre—die obigen Einwände seien kurz beiseite gelassen—, wäre hier bei diesem vermeintlichen Zusatz ein erstaunlich feinsinniger, wortkarger Korrektor am Werke gewesen, der zudem noch eine Stileigentümlichkeit des Lukas getroffen hätte, die Neigung zu Wiederholungen (Lk 18:23; Cadbury, 94f, s. o. zu Lk 8:45.), kurz gesagt: hier wäre ein kongenialer Korrektor am Werk gewesen.

2. Der Ausfall der beiden Wörter ist durch Homoioteleuton zu erklären.

3. Wenn ein Text einmal ausgefallen war, konnte ein nicht genau gesetztes Korrekturzeichen sehr leicht zu einer Einfügung an verschiedenen Stellen führen. Solch eine „variety of positions" (Metzger) kann geradezu als ein Indiz für den Ausfall eines originalen Textstückes angesehen werden (gegen Metzger; siehe unten zu 22:43-44 und Anm. 38).

Wer die beiden Wörter streicht, läßt die literarische Qualität außer acht und stellt einen unsinnigen Text her. Vermutlich wurden diese Überlegungen vom Committee gar nicht angestellt, sondern man entschied sich mit einer Art Automatismus für den Text der „guten" Handschriften und damit für einen unsinnigen, zumindest holprigen Text.

19:5
ἀναβλέψας ὁ Ἰησοῦς **εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ** εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν
„Als Jesus nach oben blickte, sah er ihn und sagte zu ihm..."

1. Der längere Text in A D W etc. ist nicht als spätere Hinzufügung zu erklären, weil die zusätzlichen Wörter für das Verständnis in keiner Weise erforderlich sind, sondern im Gegenteil als redundant erscheinen.

2. Der Ausfall in einem Teil der Überlieferung ist dagegen sowohl durch Homoiarkton / Homoioteleuton / Haplographie (εἶδεν αὐτόν / εἶπεν... αὐτόν) wie auch als korrigierende Beseitigung der Redundanz leicht zu erklären.

3. Die Verbindung der beiden ersten Verben findet sich genauso ebenfalls bei Lukas, und nur bei ihm: Lk 21:1 ἀναβλέψας δὲ εἶδεν.

Der längere Text hat als original zu gelten, weil er sinnvoll ist, weil sich ein Grund späterer Hinzufügung nicht erkennen läßt und weil er dem Stil des Verfassers entspricht.

19:15
ἵνα γνοῖ **τίς** τί διεπραγματεύσατο

1. Der Ausfall von τίς kann als Versehen (vgl. Joh 15:13; Mk 14:47) oder als Beseitigung einer vermeintlichen Doppelung erklärt werden.

2. Es ist unverständlich, warum diese Doppelung das Ergebnis „of scribal efforts to make the narrative more precise“ (Metzger) sein soll, nicht aber das Ergebnis der Anstrengungen des Autors selbst, möglichst anschaulich zu schreiben. Es erhebt sich der Verdacht, daß seit Tischendorf (ed. oct.) und Weiss die Kenntnis geschwunden ist, daß diese Doppelung „gut griechisch“ ist,[19] also bei Lukas in keiner Weise verwunderlich. Sie kommt bei guten Autoren dutzendfach vor. Auch bei Markus findet sie sich (15:24). Es spielt dabei kaum eine Rolle, ob man τί oder τι schreibt. Ob man z.B. die Stelle bei Heron, *Mech.* 138, 11 Τίς τί εὗρεν ἐν μαθηματικοῖς; übersetzt (a) „Wer hat was in den Naturwissenschaften erfunden?“ oder (b) „Wer hat etwas… erfunden?“ Man kann den geringen Unterschied im Griechischen durch folgenden Vergleich im (Süd-)Deutschen anschaulich machen: (1) „Wer hat was gesehen?“ (2) „Hat wer was gesehen?“ Im Falle (1) kann man das „was“, je nach Stärke der Betonung, sowohl als Fragewort wie als Indefinitpronomen auffassen. Im Fall (2) sind beide „enklitisch“.

Die Entscheidung in NA dürfte wieder einmal die stereotype Entscheidung für die „guten“ Hdss. sein, denn eine Begründung wird wie so oft nicht gegeben.

20:5
διὰ τί **οὖν** οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ;

Es gibt keinerlei Handhabe, das Wort in Frage zu stellen:

1. Der Ausfall ist als Haplographie einfach zu erklären.

2. Warum sollte andererseits gerade dieses Wort, das zum Verständnis keineswegs notwendig ist, hinzugefügt worden sein?

Die Entscheidungen des Committee sind nicht nur hier unverständlich, sondern auch in den synopt. Parallelen. Ein Teil der Handschriften *aller drei* Synoptiker hat οὖν. Die plausibelste Deutung dieses Sachverhalts ist die, daß das Wörtchen schon in der Tradition vorhanden war, die den Synoptikern vorlag, und verschiedentlich in der handschriftlichen

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[19] Weiss, *Textkritik*, 136f.

Überlieferung, z.B. durch Haplographie, verloren ging. Es ist dagegen abwegig anzunehmen, daß sich hier die Tätigkeit von Korrektoren zeigt.

(1) Mt 21:25 ist das Wort in NA im Text gelassen worden, vermutlich weil die „guten" Handschriften es bieten.
(2) Warum es Mk 11:31 in NA in eckigen Klammern steht, ist unerfindlich.
(3) Bei Lukas fehlt οὖν in den „guten" Hdss. und scheint deshalb als verdächtig ausgeschieden worden zu sein.

Wir sehen uns also bei demselben Wort im selben Zusammenhang vor drei verschiedenen Entscheidungen der Herausgeber.

21:11
φόβητρά τε καὶ σημεῖα ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ μεγάλα ἔσται

Dieser Text von A W Θ etc. ist der originale. Ich übersetze: „Es wird große himmlische Schreckbilder und Zeichen geben." Es werden also den schrecklichen *irdischen* Ereignissen der Endzeit in V. 21:11a die *himmlischen* Schreckbilder und Zeichen entgegengesetzt, d.h. die wichtigste Kennzeichnung der Ereignisse in V. 11b ist die, daß sie himmlisch sind; es folgt die weit weniger wichtige, daß sie groß sind.

Die Umkehrung der Reihenfolge der Attribute in ℵ L etc. mindert den klaren Parallelismus der beiden Teile von V. 11, weil ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ nun auch—und eher—, statt als Attribut, als Ortsbestimmung aufgefaßt werden kann. In diesem Fall müßte man jedoch ein anderes Verbum erwarten als εἶναι (vgl. 17:29; 1 Thess 1:4, 16).

Gegen die Lesarten einerseits von D e f, andererseits von B spricht ganz entschieden die Tatsache, daß Lukas, der für die Verbindungen τε καί und τε… καί eine große Vorliebe hat (Lk u. Apg 85 mal, Mt zweimal, Joh einmal; im gesamten NT 121 mal), *nie* die beiden Glieder durch ein (Genitiv-)Attribut gegeneinander *sperrt* (Hyperbaton). Es wäre dies außerdem eine in diesem Zusammenhang höchst befremdliche und gesucht-preziöse Ausdrucksweise.

Die singuläre (!) Lesart von B ist entweder eine stilistische „Korrektur", wie sie sich auch sonst in dieser Handschrift finden, oder ein einfaches Versehen.

Die Entscheidung für diese Lesart in NA ist wieder einmal eine Entscheidung für eine „gute" Handschrift, die in diesem Fall sogar die einzige sein darf, weil sie B ist.

22:43-44

…πλὴν μὴ τὸ θέλημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γινέσθω. 44 καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο· καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἱδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν 43 ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. 45 καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς…

Es geht hier um *zwei* textkritische Fragen. Die erste (A) ist bisher nicht als textkritische Frage, sondern nur als literarkritische Frage gestellt worden. Die zweite (B) ist die vielbesprochene Frage der Authentizität der V. 22:43-44.

(A) Wir wenden uns zuerst einem doppelten inhaltlichen Problem innerhalb der V. 22:43-44 zu, das durch eine textkritische Entscheidung gelöst werden kann:

(1) Es ist zurecht als überraschend empfunden worden, daß Jesus ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ist oder gerät, *nachdem* er von dem Engel gestärkt wurde. Worin also zeigt sich die Stärkung Jesu durch den Engel? Es ist unsinnig, anzunehmen, dass der Engel diese Angst auslöst.

(2) Das Gebet wird nach der Erscheinung des Engels so fortgesetzt, als wäre er nicht erschienen. Wenig plausibel ist die Annahme, dass die Stärkung durch den Engel zu einem inbrünstigeren Gebet führte.[20]

Man kann diesen Schwierigkeiten nicht entkommen, indem man dem Wort ἀγωνία Bedeutungen beilegt, die es nicht hat;[21] es heißt in dieser Zeit eindeutig „(große) Furcht".[22]

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[20] Siehe z.B. E. Klostermann, *Das Lukasevangelium* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1929) 217: „…die Reihenfolge, erst ἐνισχύειν und danach Todesangst und inbrünstigeres Beten, ist auffallend—denn dass der Engel Jesus zu diesem Beten erst gestärkt habe, kann kaum gemeint sein…"; C.M. Tuckett, „Luke 22, 43-44: The ‚Agony' in the Garden and Luke's Gospel," *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis, Festschrift J. Delobel* (ed. by A. Denaux; Leuven: University Press, 2002) 132-144, dort 139 m. Anm.

[21] Tuckett, „Luke 22, 43-44," 139, meint z.B. daß ἀγωνία „may imply his readiness for the great contest and conflict that is about to come", d.h. er geht auf eine Grundbedeutung zurück, die das Wort in dieser Zeit längst nicht mehr hat.

[22] Die folgenden Stellen bei Josephus (*AJ* 6, 107; 8, 373; 11, 326) sind ebenso eindeutig wie die Definition des Andronicus Rhodius (*De passionibus* 3, 1, 12): ἀγωνὶα δὲ φόβος διαπτώσεως ἢ φόβος ἥττης ἢ φόβος ἐμποιητικὸς τῶν ἐαντίων ἐλπίδων περὶ ὧν ὄρεξιν σφόδραν ἔχομεν.

Eine sehr einfache Lösung liegt in der Annahme, daß im Laufe der verschiedenartigen Athetesen und deren Korrekturen im Zusammenhang mit den V. 22:43-44 der V. 43 an der falschen Stelle, nämlich statt nach 44, schon nach 42 eingefügt wurde. Wenn man V. 43 nach 44 setzt, ergibt sich folgender Text: „... jedoch nicht mein Wille geschehe, sondern der deine, (44) *und* als er *(daraufhin)* in große Angst geriet, betete er noch inbrünstiger, und sein Schweiß war wie Tropfen von Blut, die auf die Erde fallen. (43) *Da* erschien ihm ein Engel vom Himmel, um ihn zu stärken. (45) *Und* er stand *(daraufhin)* auf von dem Gebet ..."

Es ist dies unter paläographischem Gesichtspunkt *ein sehr kleiner Eingriff* in den Text. Ein solches Versehen, daß ein vergessener (oder unterdrückter) Vers an der falschen Stelle wieder in den Text eingefügt wurde, gehört zu den häufigen Fehlern der Kopisten. Es handelt sich um einen gut erklärbaren Vorgang in drei Stufen: (a) der Text wurde ausgelassen; (b) er wurde am Rand nachgetragen; (c) er wurde an der falschen Stelle wieder in den Text aufgenommen.[23]

Die folgenden Gründe sprechen für diese Umstellung:

1. Die inhaltlichen Schwierigkeiten sind mit dieser Umstellung beseitigt:

(a) Jesus weiß, daß er einen schrecklichen Tod am Kreuz erleiden wird, wenn er sich in den Willen Gottes ergibt. Die große Angst, die ihn nun infolge dieser Erklärung seines Gehorsams überkommt, ist ohne weiteres zu verstehen. Es ist die Angst vor seinem eigenen Mut zum Gehorsam. *Nach* der Stärkung durch den Engel wäre seine Angst nicht verständlich.

(b) Die Erscheinung des Engels steht nun, am *Ende—und auf dem Höhepunkt*—des Gebets, an der richtigen Stelle. Die Stärkung durch den Engel gibt ihm die Kraft, seinen Weg weiterzugehen, d.h. zuerst einmal zu seinen schlafenden Jüngern zurückzukehren.

2. Die bisher nicht beachteten sprachlichen Anstöße sind beseitigt: Die Satzverbindungen mit καί (44 u. 45) und δέ (43) stehen nun, wie die Übersetzung anschaulich machen soll, an den passenderen Stellen. Am Ende des Gebetes bezeichnet δέ, wie es seine Funktion ist, daß etwas Weiteres, Neues kommt, nicht eine bloße Fortsetzung, wie sie von καί eingeleitet wird. An dem überlieferten Platz müßte Vers 43 eher mit καὶ ὤφθη ... eingeleitet werden.

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[23] Siehe Anm. 38!

(B) Die zweite textkritische Frage ist die der Authentizität der V. 22: 43-44.[24]

1. Warum diese Verse mit voller Absicht aus einem Teil der Überlieferung entfernt wurden, wird in den Texten der Kirchenväter in unmißverständlicher Klarheit gesagt.

Bei Epiphanius (*Haer.* 3, 209) heißt es: „…nun springen sofort die Wörterjäger (λεξίθηρες) hervor, als hätten sie einen Vorwurf gegen einen Feind gefunden, und bringen vor: Du siehst, daß er sogar der Stärke von Engeln bedurfte. Denn ein Engel gab ihm Kraft.“ Auch Johannes Chrysostomus schreibt in Bezug auf diese Verse von denen, die heftig bestreiten, daß er sowohl Mensch war als auch starb (*In Mt.* 58, 746), und nennt damit ebenfalls, deutlicher, das Motiv der Streichung.

Ein anderes Mal stellt Epiphanius fest (*Anc.* 31, 2ff.): „und die Rechtgläubigen (ὀρθόδοξοι) beseitigten das Wort (22:43-44), weil sie sein (Jesu) Ende, d.h. seine allergrößte Stärke, fürchteten statt es zu verstehen: γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ.“[25] Nicht nur Häretiker, sondern sogar die Orthodoxen selbst beseitigten also laut Epiphanius diese Verse, die in äußerster Konsequenz zeigten, daß Jesus Mensch war—entweder weil sie selbst daran Anstoß nahmen oder in der Sorge, sie könnten den Doketisten und anderen Gegnern des Gottes, der wahrer Mensch wurde, ihre Argumentation zu leicht machen. So stellt es Celsus dar.[26] Wenn wir von Doketisten einerseits, von Orthodoxen andererseits sprechen, ist das eine Vereinfachung, die einer Verfälschung nahe kommt. In der Wirklichkeit werden sich doketistische Tendenzen bei vielen Orthodoxen gefunden haben, und bevor sie Doketisten wurden, dürften diese Häretiker Orthodoxe gewesen sein.

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[24] Eine knappe Übersicht der bisherigen Überlegungen zu dieser Frage findet sich bei Clivaz, „The Angel and the Sweat,“ 420-425. Die Verfasserin zeigt u.a. in überzeugender Weise, dass der Nachweis der Nicht-Authentizität dieser Verse *nicht aufgrund der handschriftlichen Bezeugung* geführt werden kann.—Ich füge hinzu: Auch in Zukunft wird ein solcher Nachweis weder an dieser Stelle noch anderswo gelingen können—er könnte grundsätzlich nur in seltenen Ausnahmefällen gelingen—, weil es angesichts der Zufälle der kontaminierten Überlieferung des NT keine Bedeutung hätte, wenn z.B. ein neues, sehr frühes Ms. gefunden würde, das die V. 43-44 *nicht* enthält. Wir haben *einen* Teil der frühen Überlieferung, der die V. 43-44 enthält, einen *anderen*, der sie nicht enthält. Seit wann sich die Zweige der Überlieferung unterscheiden und wie es zu diesem Unterschied kam, könnten wir nur feststellen, wenn die *gesamte* Überlieferung des Zeitraums erhalten wäre, in dessen Mitte es zu dieser Textänderung gekommen war (siehe im übrigen die Einleitung!).

Mit dieser Frage der Authentizität von 22:43-44 sollte nicht die weitere Frage vermengt werden, warum in P^{69} die V. 22:42-45a ausgelassen sind. Clivaz machte plausibel (425-432), daß dieser Papyrus eine *dritte* Texttradition spiegelt, die wahrscheinlich markionitisch ist.

[25] Man sollte diesen Satz nicht so übersetzen wie B.D. Ehrman, *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) 182: “But those who were orthodox omitted the saying out of fear, not understanding its purpose and great force…”

[26] Origenes, *Contra Celsum* 2, 27.

Weiter (31, 4) bemerkt Epiphanius, daß sich das Wort „er weinte" (Lk 19:41) im Lukasevangelium „in den unkorrigierten Handschriften findet". Er hatte, wie es scheint, nicht nur immer wieder Handschriften vor Augen, in denen Einzelheiten zensiert waren, die das Menschsein des Gottessohnes bezeichneten, sondern solche Zensierungen des Textes waren so häufig, daß er danach suchen konnte.

Im übrigen ist die Zensierung dieses Textes kein Einzelfall. Aus denselben Gründen wurde der Text in Joh 6:15 und 7:1 geändert (siehe unten!).

Dies sollte hinreichen, das Fehlen dieser Verse in großen Teilen der Überlieferung zu erklären.[27]

2. Von B. Ehrman wird als gewichtigstes Argument gegen die Echtheit vorgetragen, daß die Verse 43-44 eine eindeutige sprachliche „Struktur" durchbrächen.[28] Ich gebe im Folgenden diese Struktur wieder, wie Ehrman sie sieht, und widerlege dieses Argument im Anschluß daran:

Einleitung: Er ging dann hinaus und begab sich wie gewöhnlich an den Ölberg; es begleiteten ihn auch seine Jünger. (22:39)

A Als er an Ort und Stelle angelangt war, sagte er zu ihnen: „Betet, daß ihr nicht in Versuchung fallet!" (22:40)
B Darauf entfernte er sich etwa einen Steinwurf weit (22:41a)
C und kniete nieder. (22:41b)
D Er betete mit den Worten: „Vater, willst du, so laß diesen Kelch an mir vorübergehen! Jedoch nicht mein Wille, sondern der deine geschehe!" (22:41c-42) (Auch in einer Erweiterung dieses Punktes D

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[27] Ehrman, *Studies*,184, hat recht, wenn er schreibt, daß zu Epiphanius' Zeit das Problem schon „centuries old" war. Das ist allerdings kein Einwand, denn die Autoren des 4. und 5. Jh. waren sich über eben diese Tatsache im klaren, wie ihr häufiger Hinweis auf Markion zeigt. Johannes Chrys. schreibt z.B. (*In Ioannem hom.* 59, 269, 29-51 u. a.: (Durch seine menschlichen Züge) „bestätigte und beglaubigte er seinen Auftrag und seine Sendung, damit weder Paul von Samosata noch Markion irgendetwas von Gewicht sagen können, ebenso wenig diejenigen, die an denselben Krankheiten leiden wie sie." (Dieser Text ist zu Joh 7:1 in größerem Umfang zitiert; siehe dort!)

[28] Ehrman, *Studies*, 190ff.

um die V. 43/44 kann ich keine Störung einer „chiastischen“ Struktur erkennen; s.u.)

C’ Nach dem Gebet stand er auf (22:45a)

B’ und als er zu seinen Jüngern kam (22:45b)

A’ fand er sie vor Traurigkeit eingeschlafen und sagte zu ihnen: „Warum schlaft ihr? Steht auf und betet, damit ihr nicht in Versuchung fallet!“ (22:45c 46)

Ehrman sieht hier eine „chiastische“ Struktur gegeben, in der die Erweiterung des Punktes D um die V. 43/44 ein Fremdkörper („intrusion“, „appendage“) sei. Weder kann ich erkennen, daß hier eine chiastische Struktur gegeben ist, noch daß die V. 43/44 ein Fremdkörper sind: Mit diesen beiden V. 43/44 hätte Ehrmanns Punkt D nur ein größeres Gewicht. Die vermeintliche „chiastische“ Struktur ist sicher nicht das Ergebnis bewußter stilistischer Gestaltung, sondern sie spiegelt den selbstverständlichen, normalen Ablauf des Geschehens. Die Struktur ist also in der Sache begründet, keine literarische Absicht. Ich gebe zur Veranschaulichung ein Beispiel aus dem Alltag:

Einleitung: Das Abendessen war beendet.

A Der Vater ging in sein Arbeitszimmer.

B Er setzte sich in den Sessel, in dem er gewöhnlich nach dem Essen las,

C und setzte seine Lektüre vom Nachmittag fort.

D Es gelang ihm heute nicht, sich auf sein Buch zu konzentrieren. (Dieser Punkt könnte beliebig erweitert werden, ohne daß—entgegen der Meinung von Ehrman—eine „chiastische“ Struktur auch nur im geringsten gestört würde.)

C’ Er brach seine Lektüre ab

B’ und erhob sich—mit einiger Mühe, wie in letzter Zeit mehr und mehr—aus seinem Sessel.

A’ Er verließ das Arbeitszimmer und kam wieder zu uns.

Hiermit sollte, wie zu hoffen ist, dieses Argument erledigt sein!

3. Bei Matthäus (26:37f.) und Markus (14:33f.) äußert Jesus vor dem Gebet in wörtlicher Rede seine Verzweiflung. Damit nicht genug, wird diese Äußerung der Verzweiflung von beiden Autoren in dramatischer Weise eingeleitet: „Dann nahm er Petrus, Jakobus und Johannes mit sich und fing an zu zittern und zu zagen und sagte zu ihnen.“ All dies findet

sich bei Lukas nicht, aber er könnte nur um den Preis der Trivialisierung ganz darauf verzichten.

Er tut stattdessen etwas anderes, höchst Erstaunliches. Er bildet die Verzweiflung Jesu—und die Dramatik des Geschehens—in einem körperlichen Vorgang (V. 44) ab. Vorher, in V. 43—ich setze hier den überlieferten Text voraus-, wird der Hörer eingestimmt: Der Kampf, der sich nun im Gebet abspielen wird, kann nur mit der Hilfe des Vaters gewonnen werden.

Man kann Lukas' Entscheidung nur bewundern: Die Verzweiflung Jesu wird nicht *vor dem Gebet* von Jesus selbst geäußert wie bei den beiden anderen Evangelisten, sondern Lukas *verlagert* die Verzweiflung höchst wirkungsvoll *in das Gebet hinein*, indem er sie in einen körperlichen Vorgang übersetzt.

Diese Beobachtung stimmt bestens mit zwei anderen Beobachtungen überein; zum einen mit der Beobachtung, daß Lukas den unmittelbaren Ausdruck der Gefühle Jesu unterdrückt,[29] zum andern mit der weiteren Beobachtung, daß Lukas den Bericht des Markus in der Leidensgeschichte nicht ohne einen Ausgleich kürzt.[30]

Wer diese Verse streicht, erhält eine Darstellung des Geschehens, der alle Farbe fehlt oder die, wie Dibelius und Brun schreiben, „dürftig"[31] ist und „auffallend matt und dürftig".[32]

Wer hätte andererseits einen Grund gehabt, diese wahrhaftig nicht beiläufigen Verse im Stil des Lukas zu erfinden und hier einzufügen, Verse, die so gut erfunden wären, daß bis heute ihre Authentizität immer wieder mit guten Gründen behauptet wird? Wenn man denjenigen glaubt, die diese Verse—und viele andere—als spätere Zutat streichen wollen, kann man nur zu dem Schluß kommen, daß die Autoren des NT eine erstaunliche Menge von kongenialen Konkurrenten oder Doppelgängern hatten!

4. Die Benutzung dieser Verse für die Polemik gegen die Häretiker durch Justin, Irenaeus und Hippolytos erlaubt keinesfalls Ehrmans

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[29] J.H. Neyrey, "The Absence of Jesus' Emotions: The Lucan Redaction of Lk 22, 39-46," *Bib.* 61 (1980) 153-171.

[30] L. Brun, „Engel und Blutschweiß Lc 22, 43-44," *ZNW* 32 (1933) 265-276, dort 273-276. Diese Beobachtung bleibt trotz der Einwände von Ehrman richtig.

[31] M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1961) 202, Anm. 1.

[32] Brun, „Engel und Blutschweiß", 273. Bruns gewichtige, überzeugende Überlegungen zu Lukas' literarischer Technik im Umgang mit seiner Quelle sind auch heute noch lesenswert, wurden aber bisher, so scheint es, nicht sorgfältig gelesen.

Schlussfolgerung,[33] sie seien eben zu diesem Zweck der Polemik erfunden worden. Wo gäbe es weitere Beispiele solcher Erfindungen im Text des Neuen Testamentes?

5. In kaum einem so kurzen Stück des NT dürften sich so viele Merkmale der Sprache und des Stils eines bestimmten Autors finden wie hier die des Lukas[34] in den umstrittenen Versen:

> ὤφθη ἄγγελος s. Lk 1:11; Apg 6:15; vgl. außerdem Apg 2:3.
> ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ in den Evv. nur noch Lk 17:29; 21:11, ἐνισχύω nur noch einmal in der lukanischen Apg 9:19 (wenn auch dort intransitiv).
> ἐκτενέστερον nur noch Apg 12:5 und 1 Petr 1:22.

Bei Metzger sind diese lukanischen Züge des Textes bemerkenswerter Weise nicht einmal genannt, geschweige denn gewürdigt. Das wenigste, das gesagt werden kann, ist, daß nichts Gewichtiges in diesen Versen gegen die Autorschaft des Lukas spricht.[35]

Daß diese Verse keine beiläufigen Erfindungen, also ein beliebiges Versatzstück sind, zeigen neben ihrer literarischen Qualität die markanten Wörter, die nur hier im NT vorkommen: ἀγωνία, ἱδρώς, θρόμβος. Daß solche Hapax Legomena kein Einwand sind, versteht sich von selbst. Mit Wörtern des Alltags kann auch ein Autor wie Lukas diese außergewöhnlichen Dinge nicht beschreiben.[36]

6. Wenn der Autor dieser Verse *nicht* Lukas war—wie hätte man sich den fiktiven Verfasser dieses Zusatzes vorzustellen?

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[33] Ehrman, *Studies*, 184 m. Anm.

[34] A. v. Harnack, „Probleme im Text der Leidensgeschichte Jesu," *Studien zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1931) 88; Brun, „Engel und Blutschweiß," 266f.; Ehrman, *Studies*, 185f.

[35] Ehrmann, *Studies*, 186, behauptet, daß Brun „offered a compelling refutation" (sc. der Argumentation Harnacks). Bei Brun steht jedoch (267), daß „die Verse 22, 43-44 allerdings sehr wohl von Lc geschrieben sein können". Er hätte sich sicher noch entschiedener geäußert, wenn er gewußt hätte, daß die Konzentration von Hapax Legomena an anderen, unumstrittenen Stellen des Lukasevangeliums noch größer ist (6:38 = 15%; 10:34 = 16,1 %; s. Ehrman, *Studies*, 186).

[36] Andererseits erlaubt keines dieser Wörter den Schluß, hier schreibe der Arzt Lukas und bediene sich medizinischer Fachtermini. Es handelt sich um Wörter, die auch sonst in literarischer Prosa zu finden sind. Etwas anderes ist bei einem feinen Stilisten wie Lukas auch nicht zu erwarten. In der Antike vermeidet ein Literat jede Art von technischem Vokabular.

(1) Er war so skrupellos und geschwätzig, gerade diese Szene in Gethsemane mithilfe seiner eigenen Erfindungen zu erweitern.
(2) Er war so feinsinnig und lakonisch, den Text nur um diese sehr knappen, höchst prägnanten Sätze zu erweitern.
(3) Er war ein so sensibler Autor, daß es ihm gelang, in nur zwei kurzen Versen eine Anzahl Charakteristika der Sprache des Lukas zu verwenden.
(4) Er war ein so kongenialer Autor, daß seine Zutat folgendermaßen eingeschätzt wurde: „On the other hand it would be impossible to regard these verses as a product of the inventiveness of scribes. They can only be a fragment from the traditions, written or oral, which were, for a while at least, locally current beside the canonical gospels, and which doubtless included matter of every degree of authenticity and intrinsic value. These verses and the first sentence of xxiii 34 may be safely called the most precious among the remains of this evangelic tradition which were rescued from oblivion by the scribes of the second century.“[37]

Ist es nicht die einfachere und überzeugendere Lösung, die V. 43-44 ihrem Autor Lukas zu lassen?

22:68

...οὐ μὴ ἀποκριθῆτέ **μοι ἢ ἀπολύσητε**

1. Der Verlust des längeren Textes ist durch Homoioteleuton leicht zu erklären.

2. Wenn ein Text unverständlich ist wie dieser—was sollte Jesus in dieser Lage fragen? Was sollte das Fragen mit dem Freilassen zu tun haben?—, gibt es keine Handhabe, die Originalität eines Teiles dieses Textes in Frage zu stellen.

3. Es sind keine Gründe erkennbar, warum der längere Text, wenn er nicht original wäre, hätte hinzugefügt worden sein sollen.

Die Hinzufügung von μοι allein (ohne ἢ ἀπολύσητε) in Θ *f*¹ 1365 et al. ist so naheliegend, daß man daraus kein Argument gegen die Begründung des Textverlustes durch Homoioteleuton machen kann (gegen Metzger).

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[37] WH, 67, entscheiden sich—ihre Theorie der Überlieferung des NT läßt ihnen keine Wahl—gegen die ursprüngliche Zugehörigkeit dieser Verse zum Lukasevangelium; anschließend würdigen sie die Qualität dieser Verse in einer Weise, wie es kein Anhänger der Echtheit besser machen könnte. Da ihre Theorie der Überlieferung sich als falsch erwiesen hat, können wir alles, was sie sagen, für die Echtheit dieser Verse ins Feld führen.

23:17

’Ανάγκην δὲ εἶχεν ἀπολύειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἕνα

Es ist rätselhaft, warum die Authentizität dieses Verses in Frage gestellt wurde.

Die Parallelen Mk 15:6 und Mt 27:15 zeigen, daß der Vers zum gemeinsamen Stoff der Synoptiker gehört. Die deutlichen gewichtigen Unterschiede des Inhalts und der sprachlichen Form zeigen aber auch, daß der lukanische Vers *nicht* von einem Kopisten oder Korrektor aus einem der beiden anderen Synoptiker entlehnt ist.

Lukas:	„Er war verpflichtet, ihnen an jedem Fest einen (Gefangenen) freizugeben.“
Markus:	„An jedem Fest gab er ihnen einen Gefangenen frei, den sie wünschten.“
Matthäus:	„An jedem Fest hatte der Statthalter die Gewohnheit, dem Volk einen Gefangenen freizugeben, den sie wollten.“

Der Text des Lukas ist juristisch genauer: Dieses Recht ist dem Volk verbrieft, und die Freilassung ist nicht in das Belieben des Statthalters gestellt, wie bei den beiden anderen Synoptikern.

Es läßt sich nur vermuten, daß der lukanische Vers trotz dieser Unterschiede wie so oft deswegen in Frage gestellt wurde, weil die als besonders „gut“ eingeschätzten Hdss. P^{75} A B ihn auslassen. Aber diese Auslassung ist durch Homoiarkton hinreichend erklärt (ΑΝΑΓΚΗΝ / ΑΝΕΚΡΑΓΟΝ). Wenn ein Vers einmal ausgefallen war, ist nichts weniger verwunderlich, als daß er mit kleinen Veränderungen an leicht unterschiedlichen Stellen wieder eingefügt wurde: „Die meisten Stellen bei denen es gute Gründe für die Annahme gibt, daß eine Zeile (oder Ähnliches) falsch plaziert wurde, sind wahrscheinlich das Ergebnis eines Prozesses in drei Stufen: Auslassung, Hinzufügung am Rand, Wiederaufnahme in den Text am falschen Ort.“[38]

Solche kleinen Veränderungen erklären sich einerseits aus einem Mangel an Platz für den Nachtrag und der daraus folgenden Ungenauigkeit der Schrift, andererseits aus der Unterbrechung des Schreibflusses. Dies sind grundsätzlich gültige Feststellungen.

Das Committee argumentiert sehr häufig mit „quality and diversity of the external attestation“. Eben dieses Argument gilt in diesem Fall bei den

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[38] K. Dover, „Textkritik,“ *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie* (ed. H.-G. Nesselrath; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1997) 50.

Hdss., die V. 17 *enthalten*—wenn man denn ein solches Argument für gewichtig hält, wie es das Committee regelmäßig tut.

23:38
γεγραμμένη ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γράμμασιν ἑλληνικοῖς ῥωμαικοῖς ἑβραικοῖς

1. Der Ausfall dieses Textes in der Überlieferung von P^{75} ℵ^{1} B etc. läßt sich wegen der Doppelung γεγραμμένη—γράμμασιν als Schreiberversehen erklären, zu dem es leicht auch mehrfach gekommen sein kann.
2. Gegen die Annahme einer Entlehnung aus Johannes sprechen (a) die Unterschiede der sprachlichen Form, (b) die unterschiedliche Folge der Sprachen. Joh 19:20 ist die Folge der Sprachen Hebräisch / Lateinisch / Griechisch bzw. Hebräisch / Griechisch / Latein während die Sprachenfolge bei Lukas Griechisch / Lateinisch / Hebräisch ist (und im Gegensatz zu dem, was Metzger schreibt, ist die Sprachenfolge bei Lukas eindeutig). Wenn ein Schreiber nach einem anderen Evangelium das ihm vorliegende korrigiert, ist er—ich wiederhole mich—auf einen korrekteren Text aus. Er wird also die gleiche sprachliche Form wählen und auch in der Sache, hier in der Sprachenfolge, nicht von seiner Vorlage abweichen.

Es ist vernünftigerweise nicht zu bezweifeln, daß auch das Lukasevangelium die Sprachen auf dem Titulus nennt, in anderer Reihenfolge als bei Johannes.

24:17
Καί ἐστε σκυθρωποί „und ihr seid finster-verdrossen-mürrisch!"

Die erste Aufgabe bei der Behandlung dieser textkritischen Einheit ist der Nachweis, (a) daß der in NA gedruckte Text falsch verstanden und falsch übersetzt wird und (b) daß er, wenn man ihn richtig versteht und übersetzt, nicht in seinen Zusammenhang paßt.

Der in NA gedruckte Text von P^{75} ℵ A B etc. καὶ ἐστάθησαν σκυθρωποί kann nicht übersetzt werden „und sie blieben traurig stehen". Eine solche Übersetzung widerspricht in verschiedener Hinsicht der griechischen Grammatik und Semantik:

1. (a) Im Griechischen darf in einem solchen Zusammenhang in aller Regel kein prädikatives Adjektiv stehen. Dessen Gebrauch ist, im Gegensatz zum Lateinischen, eng begrenzt, s. KG I 273-276. Im Lateinischen kann man z.B. sagen (Cicero, *Verr* 2, 4, 47) *Si quod erat grande vas..., laeti adferebant.* „Wenn es irgendein großes

Gefäß gab…, brachten sie es freudig herbei". Oder: (Caesar, *Gal* 7, 80, 9)… *maesti… se in oppidum receperunt.* „Niedergeschlagen… flüchteten sie in die Stadt." Solche Adjektive, die Affekte und Seelenzustände ausdrücken, stehen im Griechischen in aller Regel nicht prädikativ. Man müßte den Sachverhalt der obigen falschen Übersetzung im Griechischen etwa folgendermaßen ausdrücken: διεπαύσαντο σκυθρωποὶ ὄντες oder σκυθρωπῶς ἔχοντες.

(b) Im übrigen heißt σκυθρωπός in dieser Zeit nicht „ traurig", sondern „finster", „unheimlich", „mürrisch", „verdrossen", wie auch Mt 6:16. Hier ein Beispiel aus Plutarch, *Alc* 23: „…aber in Sparta war er (Alkibiades) sportlich, schlicht, mürrisch (σκυθρωπός), in Ionien ausschweifend, umgänglich, leichtsinnig…" Bedeutungsverwandte Adjektive, mit denen σκυθρωπός zusammensteht, sind σφοδρός (heftig), δυσξύμβουλος (schwierig im Umgang), αὐστηρός (finster, streng), σοβαρός (hochfahrend, anmaßend).

2. „Sie blieben stehen" ist eine zweifelhafte Übersetzung von ἐστάθησαν, für die sich keine eindeutigen Belege finden; zweifellos richtig wäre „sie (wurden gestellt und) standen (dann)", „sie traten (an einen bestimmten Platz)". Man müßte also den Text von NA übersetzen ‚und Finster-Verdrossen-Mürrische standen (da)'—gutes Griechisch wäre auch ein so verstandener Satz noch nicht, weil in der Regel eine Ortsbestimmung gesetzt wird (siehe auch Nr. 4).

In vielen Fällen hat σταθῆναι eine Bedeutung, die sich von εἶναι kaum noch unterscheidet, so daß das Adjektiv in diesem Fall die Funktion eines Prädikatsnomens hat. Man könnte also auch übersetzen: ‚und sie waren finster-verdrossen-mürrisch', ähnlich dem ἕστηκα, wie Apg 9:7 „und seine Reisebegleiter *standen / waren* sprachlos" (vgl. Mt 2:9 „bis er auf seinem Wege oberhalb der Stelle stand / war, wo das Kind war"; Mt 27:11 „und Jesus war / stand vor dem Statthalter" (hier ist auch eine passivische Übersetzung zu erwägen: „und Jesus wurde vor den Statthalter gestellt / dem Statthalter vorgeführt"); Plutarch, *Mor.* 305C5 Καλλίμαχος δὲ πολλοῖς περιπεπαρημένος δόρασι καὶ νεκρὸς ἐστάθη. („K. war von vielen Speeren durchbohrt und tot").

3. Ein in dieser Weise richtig übersetzter Satz ‚und sie waren finster-verdrossen-mürrisch' paßt jedoch nicht an diese Stelle: „Was für Reden führt ihr auf eurem Weg miteinander? *Und sie waren finster-verdrossen-mürrisch*, und einer sagte…" Man erwartet einerseits statt des καί z.B. τότε; εἶτα; ἔπειτα („*Da* waren sie…"). Aus dem Mund *des Erzählers* Lukas

wäre andererseits eine solche Beschreibung ihres Gemütszustandes falsch, weil der *Erzähler* Lukas die Stimmung der Jünger genau kennt. (Diese falsche Beschreibung brachte die falsche Übersetzung „traurig“ hervor.) Eine Feststellung aus *Jesu* Mund dagegen „und ihr seid finster-verdrossen-mürrisch“ entspricht insofern genau der beschriebenen Szene, als Jesus ja *die Rolle des Unwissenden* spielt, der ihre Stimmung nicht ganz richtig einschätzen und bezeichnen kann.

Auf die neutral-zurückhaltende Frage „Was für Reden führt ihr auf eurem Weg miteinander?“ (und nicht z.B.: „Was für *erregte* Reden führt ihr auf dem Weg miteinander?“) sind die vorwurfsvollen Worte des Kleopas „Du bist wohl der einzige Fremde in Jerusalem, der nichts von dem erfahren hat, was sich in diesen Tagen dort ereignete?“ eine unangemessene Antwort. Erst Jesu absichtlich falsche Einschätzung der Stimmung der Jünger als „finster-mürrisch-verdrossen“ kann diese Antwort des Kleopas hervorrufen und begründen.

4. Es gibt bei Lukas anderswo keine einzige Form des Indikativs ἐστάθην, sondern nur 9 mal Formen des Partizips, einmal den Infinitiv und einmal das Futur des Passivs (das, wie die Parallele Mt 12:25 zeigt, schon in seiner Quelle gestanden haben muß), aber 26 mal intransitive Formen von ἵστασθαι), wohl weil er als guter Stilist den intransitiven Gebrauch des Passivs meidet, der sich nur bei dem stilistisch schwächsten der Evangelisten, bei Matthäus, findet (s.o.), außerdem im gesamten NT sicher nicht zufälligerweise nur noch Offb 8:3; 12:18. Viele griechische Grammatiker legen großen Wert darauf, daß das Passiv ein Passiv ist, z.B.: σταθῆναι καὶ στῆναι διαφέρει. σταθῆναι μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρου, στῆναι δὲ τὸ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ὁρμὴν καὶ προαίρεσιν, οἷον ἐστάθη ὁ ἀνδριάς… δι᾽ἑτέρου, ἔστη δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ. Ich übersetze: „σταθῆναι und στῆναι unterscheiden sich. σταθῆναι ist das, was von seiten eines zweiten geschieht, στῆναι was aufgrund eigener Bewegung und Wahl geschieht, z.B. ‚das Standbild wurde gestellt… durch einen anderen, der Mensch stellte sich durch sich selbst‘“ (Ptolemaeus Gramm., *De diff. vocab. sigma* 136).

Diese Einschätzung war auch Schreibern einer Vielzahl von Handschriften geläufig, wie die *varia lectio* ἔστη an beiden oben genannten Stellen des Matthäus (2:9; 27:11) zeigt (vgl. außerdem die *vv. ll.* Mk 3:25; Lk 21:36). Schließlich könnte sich so auch das Fehlen von καὶ ἐστάθησαν in D erklären, als puristische sprachliche Korrektur.[39]

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[39] Es ist auch nicht auszuschließen, daß der Autor der *varia lectio* von D sich an der Logik des Inhalts und der Darstellung gestoßen hatte. Der Text von D müßte folgendermaßen übersetzt werden: „Was für Reden führt ihr mit finsterer Miene auf eurem Weg?“ Das wäre

Der Text der Hdss. A^{c} W Θ Ψ etc. καί ἐστε σκυθρωποί ist der Originaltext. Die literarische Qualität der Perikope ist mit diesem Text ungleich höher, weil nicht Lukas als allwissender Autor diese äußerst lebendige kurze Szene unterbricht und—durch eine unzutreffende Kennzeichnung der Jünger—stört, sondern Jesus selbst, in seiner dramatischen Rolle eines unbekannten Wegbegleiters und Reisegenossen, zu ihnen spricht und, in dieser Rolle des mit ihrer Geschichte nicht vertrauten Begleiters, auch ihre Stimmung—mit voller Absicht des Autors—falsch einschätzt.

Über die Gründe, die zu der *varia lectio* καὶ ἐστάθησαν σκυθρωποί führten, läßt sich nur rätseln. Möglicherweise wurde aus Jesu Mund statt der Feststellung „und ihr seid finster-verdrossen-mürrisch" eine zweite Frage erwartet ‚und warum/ worüber seid ihr finster-verdrossen-mürrisch', also καὶ διὰ τί (oder bloßes τί) ἐστε σκυθρωποί.

Die Möglichkeit, daß eine solche Frage der ursprüngliche Text ist, daß man hier also konjizieren müßte, ist nicht von vornherein auszuschließen. Aber auch die Feststellung „und ihr seid finster-verdrossen-mürrisch", die ja an dieser Stelle die Frage nach dem Grund selbstverständlich einschließt, ist in diesem Zusammenhang verständlich. Die Korrektoren dürften aber angenommen haben, dass eine solche Feststellung in den Mund des Erzählers gehört, und deshalb aus der 2. Pers. Plural die 3. Pers. Plural gemacht haben.

Des weiteren ist zu erwägen, ob das Fehlen der Wörter καὶ ἐστάθησαν in D (wenn es nicht eine puristische sprachliche Korrektur ist; s. oben) den Zustand des Textes auch der Gruppe P^{75} ℵ A* B (L) etc. *vor einer Korrektur* in Form der Ergänzung καὶ ἐστάθησαν spiegelt.

Bemerkenswert ist die Behutsamkeit der „Korrektur". Der Buchstabenbestand des Originaltextes wurde fast vollständig beibehalten: ἐστάθησαν (ähnlich Mk 1:39; 6:20).

II. Textkritischer Kommentar zu ausgewählten Stellen des Johannesevangeliums

3:13

„und keiner hat seinen Aufenthalt oben im Himmel genommen, außer dem, der vom Himmel herabstieg, der Sohn des Menschen, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ / *der im Himmel ist.*"

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kein gutes Griechisch, aber ein Text, gegen den man nicht die Einwände inhaltlicher Art erheben kann, die schon genannt wurden. Diesen Text hatte Cyrill vor Augen (*Comm. in Lucam* 72).

Dieser Satz—mit dem letzten Teil!—ist ein Oxymoron, und eben dies ist gut johanneisch, wie der Vergleich mit 1:15 erweist: „Dieser war es, von dem ich sprach: er, der nach mir kommt, ist mir voraus / überholte mich, weil er früher war als ich." In der Lebenswirklichkeit besteht ein ebenso unaufhebbarer Widerspruch darin, daß derjenige, der vom Himmel herabstieg, im Himmel ist, wie es ein unaufhebbarer Widerspruch ist, daß derjenige, der nach mir kommt, früher war als ich. Diese Widersprüche liegen in der Absicht des höchst bewußt gestaltenden Schriftstellers Johannes, und es ist die wohlberechnete Absicht des Verfassers, daß beide Verse sich in ihrer feierlichen Rätselhaftigkeit auf den Christus beziehen, der—das ist mit diesen Oxymora gesagt—nach menschlichem Maßstab Unvereinbares in sich vereint.

Auf poetischere Weise läßt sich in Prosa die Aussage „Gott wurde Mensch und blieb doch Gott" nicht machen.

Es ist hier angesichts der Textgestaltung des NA nicht überflüssig zu sagen, daß Johannes—wie die meisten Autoren des NT—sich seiner sprachlichen Mittel sicher war, und es wird an weiteren Stellen gesagt werden müssen. Jemand anders als der Verfasser hätte diese Worte nicht hinzufügen können, Worte, die so viele Schwierigkeiten bereiteten—und offenbar, wie NA zeigt, immer noch bereiten—, daß sie entweder gestrichen oder aber variiert wurden.

Grund der Streichung in NA ist wieder die Tatsache, daß der längere Text in den „guten" Handschriften fehlt („impressed by the quality of external attestation").

6:9
παιδάριον ἕν

Der längere Text dürfte der originale sein: Der Ausfall von ἕν ist leichter zu erklären, z. B. durch Haplographie, als die Hinzufügung. Das Wörtchen gibt dem Text Prägnanz, ist aber andererseits zum Verständnis nicht notwendig. Es hätte also keinen Grund gegeben, es zu ergänzen, wenn es nicht original wäre.

6:15
Ἰησοῦς... **φεύγει** πάλιν εἰς τὸ ὄρος

Wenn man nach dem Prototyp einer Variante sucht, die als *lectio difficilior* einer andern vorgezogen werden muß, so ist es diese. Zwei andere kommen ebenfalls in Frage: Joh 7:1 (siehe unten!) und Hebr 2:9.

Die Variante φεύγει hat als der originale Text zu gelten:

1. Es leicht erklärlich, warum φεύγει in ἀνεχώρησεν geändert wurde. Die Erklärung, die Johannes Chrysostomus zu Joh 7:1 gibt (siehe dort!), gilt auch hier. Diese allzu große Menschlichkeit des Gottessohnes war nicht erträglich. Flucht bedeutet, daß er von etwas getrieben wird, statt eine bewußte, freie Entscheidung zu treffen.

Zu den wenigen Textzeugen der Lesart φεύγει kommt Johannes Chrysostomus hinzu (der Apparat von NA ist also zu vervollständigen). Die zu 7:1 zitierte Stelle (s.u.) „…er floh einerseits wie ein Mensch, offenbarte sich andererseits wie ein Gott…“ beweist, daß es eine Diskussion dieser Varianten gab; anders ist die Selbstverständlichkeit nicht erklärlich, mit der 7:1, in anderem Textzusammenhang also, dieser Satz zitiert wird. Einer weiteren Stelle ist das gleiche zu entnehmen. *In Joannem* 59, 243 heißt es im Abstand weniger Zeilen ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος… ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς φεύγει… Beide Lesarten sind dem Verfasser also wohlbekannt. *In Joannem* 59, 304 schreibt Chrysostomos εἶτα φεύγει πάλιν ἀνθρωπίνως καὶ κρύπτεται. Auch an dieser Stelle läßt sich aus der umstandslosen, selbstverständlichen Zitierweise und dem hinzugefügten ἀνθρωπίνως schließen, daß es um eine bekannte Diskussion geht.

2. Der umgekehrte Fall der Veränderung des Textes ist abwegig. Es ist kein Grund einer solchen Änderung erkennbar.

Zu der Begründung, die das Committee für seine Entscheidung gibt („a majority of the Committee was impressed by the ancient and widespread testimony supporting ἀνεχώρησεν. It regarded φεύγει as a typical Western reading introduced in several witnesses to enliven the narrative…“) ist in der Einleitung das Notwendige gesagt.

6:22

…ἰδὼν ὅτι πλοιάριον ἄλλο οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ εἰ μὴ ἓν **ἐκεῖνο εἰς ὃ ἐνέβησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ**

1. Der längere Text muß als original gelten, weil der Sachverhalt ohne ihn unverständlich ist. Der in NA gedruckte kurze Text kann nur folgendermaßen übersetzt werden: „Am folgenden Tag sah die Menge, die sich am anderen Ufer des Sees befand, daß kein anderes Boot da war außer einem und daß Jesus nicht zusammen mit seinen Jüngern in das Boot gestiegen war, sondern seine Jünger allein wegfuhren.“ Es ist also nicht möglich, den Text von NA zu übersetzen wie Weizsäcker und Bauer: „Tags

darauf *erwog* die Menge, die noch am andern Ufer des Sees stand, daß ein anderes Schiff nicht dort *gewesen war* außer *dem* einen und daß Jesus nicht mit seinen Jüngern zusammen das Fahrzeug bestiegen hatte, sondern daß seine Jünger allein *abgefahren waren.*“[40] Denn εἶδον kann nicht heißen „erwog“, ebenso wenig „überzeugte sich“ (Menge) oder „erfuhr“ (Hamp / Stenzel / Kürzinger), sondern „sie sahen“ (vgl. V. 24), und „jedes Kind sagt sich, daß man nur gleichzeitig Vorhandenes oder Geschehenes mit Augen sehen kann“.[41]

Der Text von NA weckt außerdem, wenn richtig übersetzt, den eindeutigen, aber falschen Eindruck, daß es außer dem Boot der Jünger ein zweites gab und zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch gibt. Das in NA ausgelassene Textstück ist also kein Versuch, etwas zu klären (so Metzger), sondern eine notwendige Voraussetzung des richtigen Verständnisses des Sachverhalts. Im übrigen ist die falsche Übersetzung mit dem bestimmten Artikel „*dem* einen“ eine Anleihe bei dem ausgelassenen Textstück, ohne daß die Übersetzer sich dies bewußt gemacht hätten: Nur ἐκεῖνο berechtigt nämlich hier, den bestimmten Artikel zu setzen.

Selbstverständlich können griechische Imperfekte und Aoriste vorzeitig verstanden werden, aber nur dann, wenn der Text dem lebendigen Leser, nicht dem nachgeborenen Philologen, ausreichende Hinweise auf die Vorzeitigkeit des einen Geschehens vor dem andern bereitstellt. Die einzigen Hinweise auf (1) die Vorzeitigkeit und (2) darauf, daß es nur *dieses eine* Boot gab, stecken (a) in dem längeren Text, der in NA in den Apparat verbannt wurde, und (b) in dem Partizip ἰδών (siehe unten!).

Sowohl Johannes Chrysostomus als auch Cyrill hatten einen Text vorliegen, der den in NA entfernten Relativsatz enthielt (s.u.). Beide Namen müßten also als Textzeugen in den Apparat jeder zuverlässigen Ausgabe des NT aufgenommen werden; sie fehlen in NA.

2. Daraus ergibt sich als weitere notwendige Schlußfolgerung, daß statt εἶδον nur ἰδών der originale Text sein kann, weil nur das Partizip in diesem Zusammenhang vorzeitig verstehbar ist. Es sei nur nebenbei hinzugefügt, daß wegen des Anakoluths, der die Folge des Partizips ist (s. u.), das Partizip auch ohne Zweifel die *lectio difficilior* ist.

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[40] W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1925) 90f. Bauer schreibt zu Weizsäckers Übersetzung „erwog“, die er übernimmt: „...die Übersetzung... ist... nur mangels einer besseren erträglich.“

[41] Th. Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1921) 331, Anm. 22.

Das Partizip ist übrigens auch Teil des Textes von Cyrill (*Comm. in Joannem* 1, 432). Chrysostomus muß ebenfalls diesen Text vor sich gehabt haben (*In Joannem* 59, 264), denn er bedient sich der Partikel γάρ, die die Rückblende kennzeichnet, die im Deutschen im allgemeinen durch das vorzeitige Plusquamperfekt wiederzugeben ist.[42] Er wird also das Partizip frei wiedergegeben haben: **εἶδον** γὰρ ὅτι πλοιάριον... „*Denn sie hatten gesehen*, daß das Boot..."

3. Der Ausfall des längeren Textes ist durch Haplographie / Homoiarkton / Homoioteleuton zu erklären: (a) **εκει—εκεινο** (b) οι μαθηται αυτου—τοις μαθηταις αυτου—οι μαθηται αυτου, alles innerhalb von nur drei Zeilen.

In einem Teil der Handschriften (D 33 etc.) hat außerdem offenbar die Buchstabenfolge EKEI EI μη Eν EKEIνο einen weiteren Fehler verursacht, den Ausfall von εκεινο *allein*.

Die Ersetzung von αὐτοῦ durch τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ist so häufig, daß sie nicht einmal erwähnt werden sollte. Somit ist Metzgers Argument „The variety of wording of the addition condemns it as secondary" erledigt.

Daß das Argument "the age and variety of witnesses which support the shorter reading confirm that as original" kein Gewicht hat, ist in der Einleitung gesagt, kann aber in textkritischen Untersuchungen zum NT offenbar nicht oft genug gesagt werden.

Es gibt in der Überlieferung des NT keinerlei Hinweise darauf, daß Schreiber oder Korrektoren beliebig und beliebig oft den Text erweiterten oder in ihn eingriffen. Das kann nicht oft genug wiederholt werden. Die Änderungen aus dogmatischen Gründen und der „westliche" Text sind ganz anders gelagerte und zu beurteilende Fälle.

Ich zitiere im Folgenden den Text in etwas größerem Zusammenhang, wie er sich bei Th. Zahn findet, dessen Verständnis ich mich anschließe: „Am andern Tage (stieg) der jenseits des Meeres stehende Volkshaufe, da er (am Abend vorher) gesehen hatte, daß kein anderes Schiff dort war als das eine, in welches die Jünger gestiegen waren, und daß Jesus nicht mit seinen Jüngern in das Schiff getreten war, sondern seine Jünger allein abgefahren waren—aber es kamen Schiffe von Tiberias her nahe an den Platz, wo sie infolge des Dankgebetes des Herrn das Brot gegessen hatten—; als nun das Volk sah, daß Jesus nicht dort sei und auch nicht seine Jünger, stiegen sie in die Schiffe und fuhren nach Kapernaum, Jesum suchend." Auch Zahns überzeugende Erklärung des Textes als Anakoluth sei hinzugefügt: „Die große Ausdehnung des Partizipialsatzes ἰδών—ἀπῆλθον (22) und der hierzu gegensätzliche Zwischensatz (23) veranlaßten die anakoluthische Fortsetzung der mit τῇ ἐπαύριον—θαλάσσης v. 22a begonnenen Hauptaussage in v. 24." Die Lesart von ℵ sy^{c} ist ein Versuch, dieses Anakoluth zu beseitigen.

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[42] Siehe U.Victor, „Der Wechsel der Tempora in griechischen erzählenden Texten mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Apostelgeschichte," *Die Apostelgeschichte und die hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung: Festschrift für Eckhard Plümacher* (ed. C. Breytenbach und J. Schröter, Leiden: Brill, 2004) 48, A. 24.

Es ist mit Zahn und WH ἀλλά statt ἄλλα zu lesen, weil ein Asyndeton kaum erträglich wäre. F.H. Scrivener (1894) entschied sich für denselben griechischen Text, den Zahn übersetzt (mit einer erwägenswerten Variante ἀλλὰ ἦλθεν πλοιάρια] ἄλλα δὲ ἦλθεν πλοιάρια).

6:71

εἷς **ὢν** „*obwohl* er einer aus den Zwölf *war*"

Bei Johannes findet sich dieser satzwertige Gebrauch von ὤν wenigstens 12 mal, darunter der im NT einzige weitere Fall von εἷς ὤν 7:50 (zum Vergleich: Mt einmal, Lk mit Apg 5 mal). Besonders anschaulich ist dieser satzwertige Gebrauch 4:9: „obwohl du Jude bist... von mir, die ich doch Samariterin bin." Das Partizip ist also (a) ein Kennzeichen des Stils des Johannes und macht (b) den Text prägnanter.

Seit WH wird das Partizip nicht in den Text aufgenommen; erstaunlicherweise scheint es bei den Entscheidungen für den Text von NA, diesmal, in keiner Weise ins Gewicht gefallen zu sein, daß seit dieser Entscheidung von WH ein 200 Jahre älteres Ms., P^{66}, gefunden wurde, das den Text ebenfalls mit Partizip bietet.

Man kann das Partizip mit hoher Sicherheit als Teil des originalen Textes ansehen.

7:1

...οὐ γὰρ **εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν** ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περιπατεῖν

1. Diese Lesart von W it sy^{c} Chr^{txtcom} ist der originale Text, der zu ἤθελεν verändert wurde, weil er den Eindruck erweckte, hier werde Jesu Vollmacht in Frage gestellt. Auf die gleiche Weise ist der Unterschied zwischen Mk 6:5 („er konnte dort kein Wunder vollbringen") und Mt 13:58 („er vollbrachte dort nicht viele Wunder") zu erklären. Markus bewahrt die Tradition, Matthäus, dem sie anstößig ist, mildert sie.

2. Es ist ganz und gar unwahrscheinlich, daß ein ursprüngliches „er wollte nicht" zu „er hatte nicht die Macht" geändert worden sein sollte. Wer hätte eine solche Änderung vornehmen können und wollen?

Die Gründe des umgekehrten Wechsels sind ohnehin bekannt; sie werden mit aller Klarheit von Johannes Chrysostomus (*In Joannem homiliae* 59, 269, 29-51) dargelegt. Nachdem er den Text 7:1 wörtlich in einem Lemma zitiert hat (die Angabe Chr$^{\text{com}}$ im Apparat von NA ist also unvollständig, richtig muß die Angabe lauten Chr$^{\text{txtcom}}$), schreibt er: „Was meinst du, heiliger Johannes? Derjenige, der alles konnte, was er wollte, hatte nicht die Macht? Derjenige, der sagte ‚Wen sucht ihr?' und sie zurückschrecken machte, derjenige, der anwesend und dennoch unsichtbar war, hatte nicht die Macht? Wie er auch später mitten unter sie ging, mitten im Tempel, mitten in der Festversammlung, zu der alle zusammenkamen, auch diejenigen, die ihm nach dem Leben trachteten, und ihnen das sagte, was sie noch mehr anstachelte? Dies fragten sie sich jedenfalls auch mit Verwunderung: ‚Ist er nicht der, den sie töten wollen? Und da redet er in aller Unbefangenheit, und sie sagen ihm nichts.' *Was sind das also für Rätsel? Unsinn! Nicht damit man meint, daß er in Rätseln redet, sprach er so, sondern damit er sowohl die Göttlichkeit seiner Natur als auch seine Menschlichkeit beweise. Wenn er nämlich sagt ‚er hatte nicht die Macht', spricht er über einen Menschen, der auch vieles Menschliche tut;* wenn er sagt, daß er mitten unter ihnen stand und sie ihn nicht gefangen nahmen, beweist er die Macht seiner Göttlichkeit. Er floh einerseits wie ein Mensch, offenbarte sich andererseits wie ein Gott, beides gleichermaßen in Wahrheit. Die Tatsache, daß er, mitten unter ihnen, von seinen Verfolgern nicht angefaßt wurde, veranschaulichte seine ganz und gar überlegene und unbesiegbare Natur. Die Tatsache, daß er <nichts>[43] aus Feigheit verschwieg, bestätigte und beglaubigte seinen Auftrag und seine Sendung, damit weder Paul von Samosata noch Markion irgendetwas von Gewicht sagen können, ebenso wenig diejenigen, die an denselben Krankheiten leiden wie sie."

Daß auch Orthodoxe daran Anstoß nahmen, daß Jesu göttliche Macht durch seine menschliche Aufgabe eingeschränkt ist, sagt Chrysostomus, ohne es auszusprechen, durch die Ausführlichkeit seiner Stellungnahme. Er hätte sich sicher nicht so ausführlich geäußert, wenn er nicht gewußt hätte, wie anstößig seinen Zeitgenossen dieser Text war. Vergleichbar ist Lk 22:43-44 (siehe dort!), wo es ebenfalls um die Frage der Menschlichkeit bzw. Göttlichkeit geht; Epiphanius sagt in Bezug auf diese Verse ausdrücklich, daß die Orthodoxen die Verse beseitigten. Wenn er an anderer Stelle von den „Wörterjägern" spricht (a.a.O.), dürften ebenfalls nicht nur Häretiker gemeint sein.

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[43] οὐδέν addidi.

3. Die kleine Zahl der Zeugen ist, wie oft gesagt, kein Einwand gegen eine Lesart. Es kommt hinzu, daß hier ein Argument unbeachtet gelassen wurde, das die Konstituierung des Textes von NA laut Metzger, Commentary, immer wieder zu Unrecht bestimmte, das Argument der geographischen Verteilung (Metzger: diversified). W steht für Ägypten, it für Italien, sy und *Chrysostomus* für Syrien. Breiter können Zeugnisse nicht gestreut sein—wenn man, wie das Committee es ständig tut, dieses Argument für gewichtig hält.[44]

7:46
Οὐδέποτε **οὕτως** ἐλάλησεν ἄνθρωπος **ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος**

Dieser Text ist mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit der originale. Gegen den Text von NA sprechen die folgenden Gründe:

1. Der in NA gedruckte Text οὐδέποτε ἐλάλησεν οὕτως ἄνθρωπος ist eine im Griechischen *ganz und gar unmögliche Wortfolge*. Ich beschränke mich hier auf die Frage der Stellung des οὕτως. (1) οὕτως steht in aller Regel vor dem Verb; (2) es muß nur dann nicht vor dem Verb stehen, wenn es (a) nicht zum Verb gehört, sondern z.B. zu einem folgenden Adverb, oder (b) wenn es durch einen Satz mit ὥστε o. ä. wieder aufgenommen und fortgesetzt wird oder (c) wenn οὕτως die Bedeutung ‚folgendermaßen' hat, gewissermaßen die Bedeutung eines Doppelpunktes, und wenn die zu erwartende Aussage dann folgt, z.B. Joh 21:1. All dies ist in dem Text von NA nicht der Fall.

2. Der Verlust von ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ist durch Homoioteleuton bestens zu erklären: ανθρωπος] ανθρωπος.

3. Die Wiederholung ist so typisch johanneisch, daß man sich verwundert fragt, warum sich das Committee nicht schon aus diesem einen Grund für den längeren Text entschied. Ein ganz vergleichbarer Fall ist Joh 13:32, wo eine ähnliche Handschriftengruppe die vom Verfasser in wirkungsstarker Weise wiederholten Wörter, vermutlich aus Versehen ausließ.

Nicht auszuschließen ist der folgende Text Tischendorfs (ed. oct.). Er entspricht der in (2)(b) genannten Regel und läßt noch deutlicher die „Vorliebe für Wiederholungen aller Art“[45] erkennen. Die Schwierigkeit liegt darin, daß man sich für ein sperriges Griechisch entschiede: Οὐδέποτε ἐλάλησεν οὕτως ἄνθρωπος ὡς οὗτος λαλεῖ ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

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[44] So auch G.D. Fee, "The Use of Greek Patristic Citations," *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 375f.

10:4
ὅτι οἴδασιν **αὐτοῦ τὴν φωνήν**

An 33 Stellen bei Johannes, an denen ein maskulines oder feminines *Substantiv nach* αὐτοῦ steht, gibt es keine *variae lectiones* mit der umgekehrten Reihenfolge. Auch in den Fällen, in denen αὐτοῦ *vor dem Substantiv* steht, gibt es zweimal keine *variae lectiones* (3:33; 19:34). Anders gesagt: diese Stelle ist *die einzige*, an der sich eine *varia lectio* findet. Wir sollten deshalb auch hier die *lectio difficilior* als den originalen Text ansehen, zumal in allen diesen drei Fällen der Voranstellung von αὐτοῦ (3:33; 10:4; 19:34) die stilistische Absicht offen zu Tage liegt. Der hohe Ton der Sprache entspricht der Außergewöhnlichkeit der Sache und der Person, die gemeint ist, Jesus.

11:22
Siehe zu 16:25.

12:1
ὅπου ἦν Λάζαρος **ὁ τεθνηκώς**

1. Der Text mit ὁ τεθνηκώς ist redundant. Niemand hätte einen Anlaß gesehen, hier eine solche Ergänzung vorzunehmen, wenn sie nicht Teil des originalen Textes gewesen wäre. Diese Redundanz war auch der Anlaß der Streichung der beiden Wörter in ℵ L W etc. Als schriftstellerisches Mittel hat diese Redundanz eine ebenso starke Wirkung, wie sie der Autor an zahlreichen anderen Stellen durch Wiederholungen erreicht: Der Verfasser hat ein sprachliches Mittel gefunden, das die Ungeheuerlichkeit der Sache, die Auferweckung eines Menschen von den Toten, in angemessener Weise ins Licht setzt.

2. Eine Glosse ist bei dieser einzigartigen Geschichte ganz unwahrscheinlich. Niemand mußte erklärt bekommen, wer Lazarus war (gegen Metzger: „the Committee… judged the words to be a scribal gloss“).

3. Athanasius (*Hom. de jejunio et de passione Christi* 48) und Cyrill (*Comm. in Joannem* 2, 298) zitieren den Text mit Selbstverständlichkeit in

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[45] M. Reiser, *Sprache und literarische Formen des Neuen Testamentes* (UTB 2197; Paderborn, 2001) 65.

der längeren Form, die ihnen also in keiner Weise befremdlich war, und Cyrill erläutert außerdem den von ihm zitierten längeren Text mit den Worten ὁ ἅπαξ τεθνηκὼς καὶ δεύτερον βίῳ παραπεμφθείς „der *schon einmal* tot *gewesen war* und zum zweiten Mal ins Leben geschickt wurde". Damit ist auch die Funktion des Part. Perf. ausreichend gekennzeichnet. Es ist also zu übersetzen: Lazarus, der tot *gewesen war*... (und nicht ‚der Verstorbene', ‚der Tote' o.ä.).

Ähnlich drückt sich Joh 11:44 aus: ἐξῆλθεν ὁ τεθνηκώς. Da das Griechische keinen relativen Tempusgebrauch kennt, läßt sich das Partizip auf verschiedene Weise ins Deutsche übersetzen (a) „der Tote / Verstorbene (kam heraus)", (b) „(es kam heraus) derjenige, der tot ist", (c) „...derjenige, der (einmal) tot *gewesen war*". Es versteht sich von selbst, daß hier nur die dritte Übersetzung möglich ist.

Das Committee folgt wieder den „guten" Handschriften („impressed by the external attestation"; Metzger), also Westcott und Hort und ihrer obsoleten Theorie des Textes. Das ist umso erstaunlicher, als P^{66}, eine möglicherweise 200 Jahre frühere Handschrift, die WH noch gar nicht bekannt war und mithalf, diese Theorie des Textes zu erledigen, den längeren Text bietet.

12:13
ἐκραύγαζον **λέγοντες**

Dieser Text ist der originale:

1. Das Verb κραυγάζω in Verbindung mit dem Partizip von λέγω ist in der griechischen Literatur nur bei Johannes (und den ihm folgenden späteren kirchlichen Schriftstellern) zu finden: 18:40; 19:6; 19:12; 19:15 (das Partizip manchmal nur in kleinen Teilen der Überlieferung). Diese Verbindung ist also als stilistische Eigenheit des Johannes zu werten.
2. Es ist wahrscheinlicher, daß das Partizip als (a) ungewöhnlich oder (b) redundant ausgeschieden, als daß es von einem Schreiber als johanneisch hinzugefügt wurde (in 11:43 ist kein Zusatz vorgenommen worden). Denn alle Texte sind ohne Partizip gut zu verstehen.

13:10
εἰ μὴ τοὺς πόδας νίψασθαι

Die Füße, auf deren Waschen Jesus sich ja entgegen den Wünschen des Petrus beschränken will, müssen erwähnt werden, denn daß ein Gewaschener sich nicht waschen lassen muß, ist bestenfalls eine Trivialität, die erst durch den Hinweis auf das Waschen der Füße einen Sinn erhält. Der Ausfall von εἰ μὴ τοὺς πόδας ist am einfachsten als Haplographie zu erklären.

Die Bedenken der Modernen wegen eines vermeintlichen Widerspruches sind unbegründet. Schon vor langer Zeit schrieb Theodor Zahn: „Es ist ja, . . ., ein nur scheinbarer Widerspruch; denn das prädikative ὅλος entspricht unserm ‚im ganzen'. Wer z.B. am Morgen ein Bad genommen hat, dann im Verlaufe des Tages, mit Sandalen angetan, staubige oder schmutzige Wege gegangen ist und gegen Abend zu einem Gastmahl sich begibt, besitzt im allgemeinen die Reinheit, die sich zu solcher Gelegenheit schickt. Eine Erneuerung des Vollbads ist für ihn kein Bedürfnis; wohl aber muß er die Füße von dem Staub oder Schmutz reinigen, der sich inzwischen bei seinen Wanderungen angesetzt hat.“[46]

13:22 (13:23; 13:28)
ἔβλεπον **οὖν**

1. Hier spricht eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, daß die Partikel, für die Johannes eine Vorliebe zeigt,[47] zum originalen Text gehört. Es entspricht dem Charakter der Erzählung und dieser Erzählung insbesondere, wie die unmittelbar folgenden zahlreichen Beispiele von οὖν zeigen (24, 25, 26, 27, 30). Auch an den anderen Stellen (23:28) sollte die Partikel gesetzt werden, die sich jeweils in einem Teil der Überlieferung findet. Der Asyndesmos herrscht bei Johannes vor allem in den Reden.
2. Der Ausfall von οὖν ist als Haplographie zu erklären.

13:32
Siehe zu 7:46 Nr. 3.

14:16
ἵνα **μένῃ** μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

Dieser Text von P^{66} A (D) W Θ $f^{1.13}$ etc. ist der originale:

1. Nirgendwo im NT findet sich eine Form von εἶναι verbunden mit εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
2. Eine Form von μένω steht in dieser Verbindung in Joh dreimal (8:35; 8:51; 12:34), außerdem 2 Kor 9:9; 1 Petr 1:25; 1 Joh 2:17.

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[46] Th. Zahn, *Johannes*, 538f.

[47] Reiser, *Sprache*, 66f.; Reiser, *Syntax*, 100, 138-162.

3. Die Entstehung des in NA gedruckten Textes ist zu erklären entweder (a) als ein Lesefehler infolge des Homoiarkton (MEνη MEθ oder wahrscheinlicher (b) als eine Majuskelverlesung von MENH zu μὲν ᾖ. Das μέν wäre dann als offensichtlich fehlerhaft gestrichen worden, so daß nur ᾖ übrig blieb. Für diese Hypothese spricht die in L Q Ψ etc. erhaltene Wortstellung, die dann in P^{75} B etc. ‚normalisiert' wurde.

4. Die Wortstellung des obigen Textes ist weit besseres Griechisch als die des Textes von NA.

Die Entscheidung des Committee für den Text der winzigen Handschriftengruppe P^{75} B 060 b ist wahrscheinlich wieder eine Entscheidung für die „guten" Handschriften.

14:17
ὑμεῖς γιγνώσκετε αὐτό, ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μένει καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν **ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν.**

Dieser Text, den auch WH vorzogen, dürfte der originale sein:

1. V. 17 beschreibt die *Gegenwart*, und zwar als eine Gegebenheit menschlichen Daseins in der Welt, gewissermaßen als eine anthropologische Konstante, die nur im Fall der Jünger nicht gilt, weil nur sie sich von der Welt dadurch unterscheiden, daß der Geist der Wahrheit *schon jetzt bei ihnen bleibt und schon jetzt in ihnen ist* (vgl. 15:19). Es stehen denn auch alle fünf finiten Verben dieses Verses im Präsens. Erst in Vers 18 geht es wieder um die Zukunft, die Jesus ihnen geben wird.

2. Zur v. l. ἔσται wird es dadurch gekommen sein, daß MENEI sowohl als Präsens μένει wie auch als Futur μενεῖ verstanden werden konnte und als Futur in einem Teil der Überlieferung tatsächlich zu finden ist. ἔσται dürfte eine Angleichung an die als Futur verstandene Form des Verbums sein.

3. Es findet sich bei Johannes dreimal ἐν + Dativ einer Person + ἐστι (7:18; 12:35; 14:10), während es eine solche Verbindung mit ἔσται nicht gibt.

Warum das Committee, entgegen seiner Vorliebe, gerade hier nicht der Lesart von P^{66*} B D* etc. folgte, ist besonders rätselhaft.

16:25
ἀλλ' ἔρχεται ὥρα

Dieser Text hat als der originale zu gelten:

1. Mehr als 100 mal findet sich bei Johannes ἀλλ' oder ἀλλά. Der Verfasser scheut sich auch nicht, die Konjunktionen sehr eng auf einander folgen zu lassen (z.B. 16:6/7). Es gibt keinen Grund, diese Konjunktion als nicht original zu verdächtigen. Das gilt ebenso für 11:22.

2. Aus welchem Grund wäre die Konjunktion hinzugefügt worden, wenn sie nicht original wäre?

3. Der Ausfall in einem Teil der Handschriften läßt sich (a) aus der Nähe von ΛΕΛΑΛΗΚΑ ὑμῖν ΑΛΛ (b) als Haplographie wegen des in der Nähe folgenden ἀλλά erklären.

Insgesamt läßt sich der Ausfall eines solchen Wörtchens leichter erklären als seine Hinzufügung.

20:16

διδάσκαλε **καὶ προσέδραμεν ἅψασθαι αὐτοῦ**

1. Der kürzere Text ist verständlich und hätte, wenn er original wäre, keinen Anlaß zu einer Ergänzung geboten.

2. Der Ausfall des Textstücks ist durch Homoioteleuton zu erklären: αὐτοῦ] ἅπτου.

3. Die Lebendigkeit und Farbe, die diese nur vier Wörter des längeren Textes der ohnehin mit wenigen Worten meisterhaft-knapp geschilderten Szene geben, sollte man dem Autor zuschreiben, nicht aber einem frei fabulierenden Korrektor. Solche Korrektoren verraten sich früher oder später durch ihre Geschwätzigkeit. Dieser Satz des längeren Textes ist an Knappheit nicht zu übertreffen.

Vers 17 hängt ohne diese vier Wörter in der Luft. Jesu Aufforderung, ihn nicht anzufassen, wirkt ohne dieses menschlich so verständliche Verhalten der Maria befremdlich, steif und kalt.

Man sollte im übrigen keinerlei Schlüsse aus dem Imperativ Präsens ἅπτου ziehen. Die Unterschiede zwischen dem Imperativ Präsens und dem des Aorist sind „für uns oft kaum wahrnehmbar".[48] Das gilt für die Koine in noch stärkerem Maße.

Die Handschriftengruppe, die den längeren Text hat, ist ähnlich zusammengesetzt wie in 21:6.

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48) KG I 191.

Über P^{66} läßt sich in diesem Fall keine positive Aussage machen, es läßt sich aber auch nicht ausschließen, daß P^{66} den längeren Text enthielt, da die Seite unten beschädigt ist und die Zeilenzahl pro Seite stark schwankt:

S. 145
Zeile 18 ραββουνι ο λΕΓΕΤαι διδασ 21
19 καλε και προσεδραμεν αψασ 22
20 θαι αυτου λεγει ις αυτη μη μου 24

S. 146
1 απτου ουπΩΓΑΡΑΝΑΒεβηκΑΠρος 25

20:19
οἱ μαθηταὶ **συνηγμένοι**

1. Der Text ist ohne συνηγμένοι gut verständlich. Es gab keinen Grund, eine solche Ergänzung vorzunehmen.
2. Auslassungen sind wahrscheinlicher als Zusätze.

Dieser Text sollte als original gelten.

21:6
...εὑρήσετε. **οἱ δὲ εἶπον· δι᾽ ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐκοπιάσαμεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάβομεν· ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ ῥήματι βαλοῦμεν**

1. Es ist nicht zu erkennen, aus welchem Grund hier auf Lk 5:5 zurückgegriffen worden sein sollte (so NA im Apparat). Der Text ist in der kürzeren Form gut verständlich.

Wer vermutet, daß der zusätzliche Text aus Lukas genommen ist, unterstellt dem Urheber ein hohes Maß an Willkür, da er (a) dem Text sowohl des Johannes als auch des Lukas die gebührende Pietät versagte, indem er Joh um ein Textstück erweiterte, das bei Lukas in einem ganz anderen Zusammenhang steht, und (b) das dem Lukas entnommene Stück erheblich veränderte, und zwar ohne Not, denn auch hier in Joh hätte Simon Petrus für alle anderen sprechen können, so daß starke Eingriffe in den Text hätten vermieden werden können. Es sind aber nicht nur solche Textänderungen festzustellen, die sich aus dem Wechsel der Sprecher ergeben, sondern weitere (ἐπιστάτα, χαλάσω τὰ δίκτυα—beides hätte in dem neuen Zusammenhang beibehalten werden können). Solche Willkür ist den Schreibern und Korrektoren des NT fremd. (Änderungen aus dogmatischen oder kirchenpolitischen Gründen sind ein ganz anderer Fall.) Wer eine solche Willkür hier am Werke sieht, hat die Pflicht, analoge Fälle zu benennen.

Des weiteren stellt sich die Frage, warum ein so bedenkenloser Korrektor, wie er hier am Werke gesehen wird, seine Tätigkeit auf dieses eine Stück beschränkte, obwohl bei der Ähnlichkeit der Texte auch im Folgenden weitere Angleichungen, Übernahmen oder Korrekturen nahe gelegen hätten.

2. Der Verlust des längeren Textes ist durch Homoiarkton / Haplographie in hinreichender Weise zu erklären: ὁ δὲ εἶπεν] οἱ δὲ εἶπον. Der Textverlust wurde nicht bemerkt, weil der kürzere Text ohne die geringsten Schwierigkeiten verständlich ist und sich nahtlos an das Vorangehende anschließt.

Die Frage, warum in Joh 21:6 ein ähnlicher Satz zu finden ist wie in Lk 5:5, und zwar in ganz anderem Zusammenhang, ist keine Frage der Textkritik, sondern eine Frage nach den Quellen des Lukas und des Johannes und nach den Umständen der Entstehung der Evangelien.

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Who Gets What? God or Disciples, Human Spirit or Holy Spirit in John 19:30

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Abstract

Interpretations of John 19:30 historically have divided themselves into three categories: (1) Jesus surrenders his spirit in death (traditional view); (2) Jesus gives the Holy Spirit to disciples at the cross (E.C. Hoskyns); and (3) a combination of these two, wherein the explicit description of death also implies the Spirit's future *denouement*. Here a new interpretation is offered that is more congruent with Johannine theology and vocabulary: Jesus is actually returning the Holy Spirit to his Father in preparation for the sending of the Paraclete as promised in John 7:39.

Keywords
John 19:30; E.C. Hoskyns; Holy Spirit; ἀποδίδωμι; παραδίδωμι

John 19:30 concludes with three simple words, παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα. Upon closer examination, however, seemingly simple words are not so simple. First, the absence of an indirect object leaves the action uncertain. To whom does Jesus "hand over" τὸ πνεῦμα? John does not say. Second, it is unclear how to interpret τὸ πνεῦμα. Is John referring to Jesus' surrender of his human spirit or to his giving up the Holy Spirit? Until now there have been three schools of thought on how to answer these questions. However, this article makes a new, fourth proposal: in John 19:30 Jesus gives the Holy Spirit to his heavenly Father in preparation for the future sending of the Spirit to the church.[1]

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[1] I suggested this interpretation briefly in my article, "Re-examining the Johannine Trinity: Perichoresis or Deification?," *SJT* 59 (2006) 400 n. 12.

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I. Current Interpretations

1) The most prevalent interpretation of John 19:30, among both ancient and modern commentators, understands παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα as John's description of Jesus' death, which is equivalent to Mark 15:37 (ἐξέπνευσεν), Matt 27:50 (ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα), and Luke 23:46 (παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου). In "handing over the spirit," Jesus "expires" surrendering himself to death in obedience to the Father,[2] thereby fulfilling the promise of 10:18, "No one can take [my life] from me, but I lay it down of my own accord." Augustine was the first to suggest that Jesus bows his head "as in sleep" to highlight his ultimate control over even these dire circumstances.[3] And M. Wiles notes that ancient commentators uniformly interpreted τὸ πνεῦμα as Jesus' human spirit voluntarily leaving his dead body.[4] A few modern commentators agree, claiming that παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα is a stereotypical reference to human death.[5] Thus John 19:30, like the synoptics, straightforwardly is describing Jesus' physical demise.

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[2] F. Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes* (2 vols; Bonn: Eduard Weber, 1843) 2.766; F.L. Godet, *Commentary on John's Gospel* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 3rd ed. 1886) 949; B.F. Westcott, *The Gospel According to St. John* (London: John Murray, 1908) 278; T. Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1908) 650; W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1933) 225; H. Strathmann, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959) 251; W. de Boor, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1970) 2.220; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 675 n. 1 (although Bultmann calls the connection to 10:18 "over subtle"); C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978) 554; J. Schneider, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2nd ed. 1978) 313; S. Schulz, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978) 236; J. Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes: Kapitel 11-21* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1981) 584; R. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John* (New York: Crossroad, 1982) 3.284-5; D.A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1991) 621; D. Senior, *The Passion of Jesus in the Gospel of John* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991) 119; L. Morris, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 721; G.R. Beasley-Murray, *John* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2nd ed. 1999) 353.

[3] *In Jo.* cxix 6, cited by R. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (xiii-xxi)* (New York: Doubleday, 1970) 910.

[4] *The Spiritual Gospel: The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1960) 62, 67; "[I]t is surprising to find that πνεῦμα is never interpreted of the Holy Spirit in John xix.30" (67).

[5] H.A.W. Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Gospel of John* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1875; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1895) 354; J.H. Bernard, *A Critical and*

2) E.C. Hoskyns offered a fresh reading of John 19:30 in his commentary *The Fourth Gospel* (1940).[6] He begins by observing that παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα "is very strange language," implying that such an unusual turn of phrase must be something other than a conventional euphemism for dying. Given the Johannine association of Christ's passion with the gift of the Spirit and the Spirit's coming as an outpouring of water (4:14; 7:37-39; 19:34; 1 John 5:8), Hoskyns suggests that Jesus bowed his head to identify his followers, including his mother and the beloved disciple standing at the foot of his cross, in the first half of 19:30. By "handing over the Spirit" in the second half of the verse, Jesus bestows the Holy Spirit to those witnessing his death. Thus the climax of the crucifixion is not the death of the first Paraclete but the arrival of "another Paraclete" promised to believers (14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7). Hoskyns says:

> This is no fantastic exegesis, since *vv.* 28-30 record the solemn fulfillment of vii. 37-39. The thirst of the believers is assuaged by the rivers of living water which flow from the belly of the Lord, the author having already noted that this referred to the giving of the Spirit. The outpouring of the Spirit here recorded must be understood in close connection with the outpouring of the water and the blood (v. 34). The similar association of Spirit and Water and Blood in I John v. 8 . . . seems to make this interpretation not only possible, but necessary.

Hoskyns' remark about the strangeness of John's sentence has been extensively endorsed by commentators, noting that "John's expression is found nowhere else in all of pre-Johannine Greek literature."[7] Nevertheless,

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Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928) 2.641-642.

[6] *The Fourth Gospel* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1947) 532. The first significant defense and development of Hoskyns argument was made by G. Bampfylde, "John XIX.28, A Case for a Different Translation," *NovT* 11 (1969) 247-260. The interpretation is explicitly endorsed, albeit with various modifications, by G. Burge, *The Anointed Community: The Holy Spirit in the Johannine Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 134-135; I. de la Potterie, *The Hour of Jesus: The Passion and the Resurrection of Jesus According to John* (New York: Alba House, 1989) 131-132; J. Swetnam, "Bestowal of the Spirit in the Fourth Gospel," *Bib* 74 (1993) 564-566, 569, 571; B. Malina and R. Rohrbaugh, *Social-Science Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998) 270-271; R. Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John* (New York: Doubleday, 2003) 310, 314.

[7] I. de la Potterie, *Exegesis Novi Testamenti: Passio et Mors Christi: Jo 18-19* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964-65) 129, "Locutio Joannis nullibi invenitur in tota litteratura graeca praeioannea," a conclusion reaffirmed by Dauer, *Die Passionsgeschichte im*

Hoskyns' critics insist that John 20:22 presents an immovable obstacle to his view.[8] If Jesus had already bestowed the Spirit from the cross, why would he breathe out the Holy Spirit again after his resurrection in 20:22? Although this criticism initially seems *apropos*, it fails to grasp Hoskyns' argument. Hoskyns does indeed read John 20:22 as the Johannine equivalent of the Lukan Pentecost.[9] However, he does so while suggesting that 19:30 describes only a partial precursor to Pentecost granted to a select few. Unfortunately, he never explores why this particular group (Jesus' mother, the beloved disciple and the two Marys) should have received an advance deposit of the Spirit for themselves.

3) A third interpretation conflates the previous two views, either deliberately or inadvertently. For instance, after endorsing the traditional interpretation of physical death, G.H.C. MacGregor muses that "at Jesus' death his spirit was set free from the limitations of the body that it might be bestowed upon the church (7:39; 20:22)."[10] By conflating the human and the divine spirits in this way, MacGregor manages to serve up two otherwise different interpretations at once.[11] This is especially curious since MacGregor's commentary was published in 1928, twelve years before Hoskyns' work. While Hoskyns cites MacGregor in both the authors' index and the exposition of 21:24,[12] he is never mentioned with reference to John 19:30 despite the evocative similarity between MacGregor's conflation of human with holy spirits and Hoskyns' own understanding of παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα.

Johannesevangelium, 214; F. Porsch, *Pneuma und Wort. Ein exegetischer Beitrag zur Pneumatologie des Johannesevangeliums* (Frankfurt: Knecht, 1974) 328; Swetnam, "Bestowal of the Spirit in the Fourth Gospel," 564, 566. I am indebted to Prof. Kenneth Bratt of the Calvin College Classics Department for his help in translating the pertinent sections of de la Potterie.

[8] Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 554, 570; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 285; Senior, *The Passion*, 119.

[9] "The fourth Evangelist... records the gift of the Spirit on the first Easter Day... What the Lord will do invisibly from heaven [i.e. in Acts] He here does visibly on earth;" Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 546-547 [my clarification].

[10] *The Gospel of John* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928) 349.

[11] MacGregor describes the Holy Spirit as a "principle of spiritual living" (365). It is unclear whether he understands the spirit as personal, and to what extent he distinguishes the existence of the spirit from the historical Jesus; see *The Gospel of John*, 31, 207-208, 293-294, 309.

[12] *The Fourth Gospel*, 602 and 560-561 (respectively).

Post-Hoskyns attempts at blending the two preceding interpretations of 19:30 are increasingly common. Typically, commentators make their case by alluding to the Johannine predilection for *double entendre*. Thus 19:30 explicitly depicts Jesus' death while implicitly symbolizing his impending gift of the Holy Spirit to the church.[13] I. de la Potterie even goes so far as to insist that the uniqueness of John's phrase, παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα, demands such a special significance (*speciali significatione*) for the passage.[14]

II. A New Interpretation

There is another possible meaning to John 19:30 that previous commentators have overlooked. Namely, Jesus is entrusting the Holy Spirit to his Father. B. Lindars comes tantalizingly close to this insight when he finally rejects Hoskyns' view by noting that παρέδωκεν requires "an indirect object (i.e. the disciples). But here, if one must be supplied it must surely be God himself to whom Jesus entrusts his spirit."[15] Lindars, however, fails to note that deciding whether God or the disciples receive the spirit from Jesus first depends on the meaning attributed to τὸ πνεῦμα. If παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα refers to Jesus' loss of life, then the indirect object, the recipient of that life, can only be God. But if τὸ πνεῦμα is the Holy Spirit, then the indirect object remains uncertain. In this latter case, deciding between God and the disciples, either of which is grammatically possible, finally depends on which action is most likely within John's theological thought world. Although Lindars concludes, without explanation, that the verb requires God as its indirect object, he overlooks the possibility that Jesus is not handing over his human spirit but is surrendering the Holy Spirit to heaven. A variety of thematic and textual elements in John's gospel strongly indicate that giving the Spirit to the Father is the action portrayed.

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[13] R.H. Lightfoot, *St. John's Gospel: A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956) 319; R. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (xiii-xxi)* 931, 1015; G. Johnston, *The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1970) 11-12, 94; Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 2.1149.

[14] *Passio et Mors Christi*, 129. However, his more recent claim that παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα has been proven philologically to denote such a double meaning goes well beyond the evidence; see *The Hour of Jesus*, 131-132.

[15] *The Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1972) 582-583.

III. The Gift of the Spirit

Understanding John's view of the relationships between the Father, Son and Holy Spirit helps to answer the question of what spirit Jesus is surrendering. John makes it clear that, for Jesus as well as for his disciples, the gift of the Holy Spirit comes only from the Father. John the Baptist is able to identify Jesus because of a prior, prophetic word explaining the significance of the Spirit's descent from heaven (1:32-33; also 3:34). Thus Jesus' ministry is inaugurated by the Father first giving him the Spirit. Jesus' words from the cross (it is finished) serve as the closing corollary to the Baptist's opening announcement—1:32-33 and 19:30 are bookends, so to speak, opening and closing Jesus' earthly work as messiah. With the words "it is finished" (19:30) his mission is accomplished. What then is to become of the Spirit?

In presenting Jesus as the eternally preexistent Logos made flesh (1:1-18), John departs from the synoptic portrait of Jesus as a messiah operating in the Spirit's power. The Johannine Son of Man, who has himself "come down from heaven" (1:11-14, 51; 3:13; 6:38, 41, 50-51, 58, 62; 7:28-29; 8:14, 21, 23, 42; 9:39; 13.3, 33; 14:3, 18-23; 16:27-30; 17:8, 18; 18:37), has no need for Spirit empowerment; he requires only the Spirit's messianic *imprimatur*. Once Jesus has been "lifted up," remaining obedient unto death, his messianic identity is definitively established once and for all (3:14; 7:39; 8:28; 12:16, 23, 32-34; 13:31-32; 17:1). He has no more need of the Spirit-as-identity-marker. From his cross the eternal Son is able to surrender the Spirit to the Father so that his exaltation may precipitate the next step in the Father's plan: disseminating the Holy Spirit from heaven to the disciples (7:39; 14:16-17, 26-28; 15:26; 16:7, 13-15).

The fact that the Holy Spirit must come from the Father is a vital ingredient prohibiting the Spirit's dissemination from the cross, whether to a few disciples or to many. The Spirit is not Jesus' alone to give. John consistently declares that the Holy Spirit is given to disciples by the Father (3:34; 14:16-17, 26; 15:26b). Eventually, the ascended Son will share in the Father's giving (15:26a; 16:7), but the Holy Spirit is never said to come from the Son alone (whether during his earthly or ascended ministry).

Here is the fatal flaw in Hoskyns' otherwise evocative suggestion. As the perfectly submissive Son who only does what the Father gives him to do (5:19, 26-27, 30, 36; 6:37-39; 8:29; 10:29; 17:2, 6-9; 18:11), Jesus must first hand over the Spirit to the Father before the Father disseminates the Spirit to the disciples through his Son (20:22).[16]

IV. Handing Over

Initially, Jesus' action might be interpreted as "returning" the Spirit to the Father, the one who gave him the Spirit in the first place. In this case, a possible objection to this new interpretation could be the occasional claim that ἀποδίδωμι is the more appropriate verb for "returning a gift to the giver," whereas παραδίδωμι merely signifies "handing (something) over to another."[17] If these definitions are correct, ἀπέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα would be the correct way for John to indicate that Jesus was "giving/returning" the Spirit to the Father. The fact that John did not do this would actually seem to lend support to either the traditional interpretation (Jesus gives up his life-spirit), Hoskyns' proposal (Jesus gives the Holy Spirit to the disciples gathered at the foot of his cross) or the conflated view (the explicit reference to Jesus' death also implies the future gift of the Spirit). However, the aforementioned definitions of these two verbs do not withstand closer scrutiny for several reasons.

First, ἀποδίδωμι is not a technical term that has the narrow sense of "restore to the giver" as some have claimed. This is one possible meaning, but it is far from dominant in the literature. In fact, throughout the LXX, Philo, Josephus and the NT, it is actually the least common sense of the word.[18] Most often, ἀποδίδωμι is best translated as "give, pay, sell, render;"

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[16] Thus whether or not Jesus ascends to heaven between 19:42 and 20:22 is not germane to this argument.

[17] So Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 428 n. 3; Bampfylde, "John XIX.28," 256; Burge, *The Anointed Community*, 134.

[18] Of 13 occurrences in the LXX, only 3 (Gen 20:7, 14; Ps 54[55]:21) may possibly mean "restore (something) to the original giver/possessor." Of 90 occurrences in Philo, there are only 20 possible instances with this sense (*Her* 258, 282; *Somn* 1:92, 93, 100, 101[twice], 112; *Ios* 188, 195, 201, 227[twice], 255; *Spec* 2:111, 116; 4:31; *Virt* 96[twice], 117). Of 158 occurrences in Josephus, there are 35 possible instances (*Bell* 1.257; 4.543; 6.115; *Ant* 3.283, 284; 4.274, 314; 6.17; 7.261, 271, 319; 11.66; 12.22, 144; 13.32, 33, 40, 245, 263; 14.18, 73, 75, 77, 249, 304, 315, 317; 15.217; 16.6, 281; 19.261, 275; 20.244; *Vita* 130, 335). Of 48 occurrences in the NT, only one (Luke 9:42) can conceivably mean "return to the giver."

the sense of "return/restore" is seldom in view. Thus, aside from the fact that ἀποδίδωμι never appears anywhere in Johannine literature, its absence from John 19:30 in particular offers no impediment to the current argument.

Second, in the literature here under review, παραδίδωμι has a more precise denotation than merely "handing (something) over to another." Typically, there is an additional element involving the recipient "gaining authority/power over" the thing received. Thus, as K.H. Rengstorf notes, a more precise definition is required, such as: surrender, entrust, delegate, assign to another's charge, consign (for implementation, care, administration, or for any purpose).[19] This sense of "entrusting to another's authority" predominates throughout the LXX, Philo, and Josephus, becoming the consistent NT sense of the word. The exact nature of the authority involved must be determined by the word's context. Consequently, if something is handed over to someone who is seeking control, the most common translation is "surrender."[20] If someone is handed over for punishment, imprisonment or destruction, the word is regularly translated as "consign."[21] If something is handed over to be kept or preserved (such as the law or tradition), it is best translated as "entrust."[22] If someone is deceitfully handed over to an enemy, the appropriate translation is "betray."[23]

Although Philo, Josephus and the NT commonly use ἀποδίδωμι to indicate the repayment of a debt or loan, such financial transactions are different from returning a specific object.

[19] *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 3.285.

[20] Six of eight occurrences in the LXX are more aptly rendered "surrender" as opposed to "hand on" (Gen 14:20; Exod 21:13; 23:31; Lev 26:25; Num 32:4; Ps 62[63]:11); the same is true for 35 of 54 occurrences in Philo (*Opif* 78; *Leg* 3.194; *Sacr* 64[thrice], 133; *Det* 65; *Post* 107; *Deus* 47, 92[twice]; *Agr* 132; *Ebr* 120; *Conf* 144; *Migr* 16; *Fug* 45, 53, 65, 93, 168, 169, 200; *Abr* 108; *Mos* 2:11; *Spec* 1.28, 199, 254; 2.215; 3.6, 120; *Virt* 171; *Flacc* 96; *Legat* 149, 233; *Flacc* 356); 33 of 118 occurrences in the NT (Matt 5:25; 10:17; 17:22; 20:18, 19; 24:9; 27:2, 18; Mark 10:33; 15:1, 10; Luke 9:44; 18:32; 20:20; 23:25; 24:7, 20; John 18:30, 35; Acts 3:13; 12:4; 21:11; 28:17; Rom 1:24, 26, 28; 8:32; 1 Cor 5:5; 2 Cor 4:11; Gal 2:20; Eph 4:19; 5:2, 25); and at least 73% (174 of 239) of the occurrences in Josephus also denote "surrender."

[21] For examples, see Philo, *Spec* 1.28 (consigned to oblivion), *Spec* 1.199, 254 (consigned to the fire), Josephus, *Bell* 2.358 (consigned to the fire), *Ant* 1.188 (Abraham consigned her to Sarah for punishment); and Matt 4:12 (consigned the Baptist to prison), Matt 18:34 (consigned him to the jailers).

[22] See Philo, *Sacr* 64 (arts and rules entrusted to students), *Ebr* 198 (what the Lord God entrusted); Josephus, *Bell* 1.157 (entrusted to Scaurus' administration), 1.249 (entrusting a squadron of horses); and Matt 11:27 (all things are entrusted to me by my Father), Matt 25:14 (a man entrusted his property to his servants).

[23] For example, see Josephus, *Ant* 5.131 (if he would betray the city), 6.277 (the men of Ziph... promise to betray David); and Matt 10:21 (brother will betray brother), Matt 26:15

In keeping with this more precise denotation, John's gospel also employs παραδίδωμι to designate "entrusting something to another's control" with its various nuances: surrender (18:30, 35), consign (18:36; 19:16), entrust (19:11), and betray (6:64, 71; 12:4; 13:2, 11, 21; 18:2, 5; 21:20). Thus interpreting John 19:30 as Jesus' "surrender, entrusting" of the Spirit to the Father is not only consistent with the common usage of παραδίδωμι, it is also consistent with the Johannine understanding of the relationships that exist between the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, wherein the Son submits to the Father and the Father is the one who sends the Spirit. Thus Jesus is entrusting the Spirit to his Father in preparation for the next step in God's plan of salvation.

V. Human Spirit or Holy Spirit?

Two further, possible objections to this newly proposed interpretation are related to the noun τὸ πνεῦμα.

First, in refuting Hoskyns' interpretation some scholars argue that τὸ πνεῦμα most naturally refers to Jesus' own human, life-spirit, as it does in John 11:33 and 13:21.[24] However, these two texts are Johannine exceptions, not the rule. Elsewhere John strongly prefers using ἡ ψυχή when referring to Jesus' life-spirit, having a particular preference for τὴν ψυχήν μου τίθημι when describing Jesus' death on the cross (see 10:11, 15, 17, 24; 12:25, 27; 13:37, 38; 15:13; 1 John 3:16).[25] Aside from these two exceptions, every other Johannine use of πνεῦμα, both with and without the definite article, refers to the Holy Spirit (1:32, 33: 3:5, 6, 8, 34; 4:23, 24; 6:63; 7:39; 14:17, 26; 15:26; 16:13; 20:22; 1 John 3:24; 4:2, 6, 13; 5:6, 8).[26] The majority of these instances also lack the adjective ἅγιος (the exceptions are 14:26; 20:22; and 7:39 var.), as does 19:30. Thus when due consideration is given to Johannine usage, the preponderance of evidence comes down firmly in favor of τὸ πνεῦμα in 19:30 designating the Holy Spirit not Jesus' human spirit.

(what will you give me to betray him to you?). The sense of "betray" does not seem to appear in Philo.

[24] Dauer, *Die Passionsgeschichte*, 215; cf. Jas 2:26, τὸ σῶμα χωρὶς πνεύματος νεκρόν ἐστιν.

[25] Thus πνεῦμα is not obviously synonymous with ψυχή despite claims to the contrary; *contra* Bernard, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 2.393; Porsch, *Pneuma und Wort*, 330.

[26] *Contra* Zahn, *Das Evangelium*, 668 who says that the anarthrous noun proves that John cannot mean the Holy Spirit.

Second, the synoptic parallels have obviously figured prominently in bolstering the traditional interpretation of John 19:30. Each synoptic writer affirms that Jesus surrendered his life-spirit by using a version of the common, ancient euphemism for death, "breathing out the spirit."[27] However, in this post-redaction critical era of gospel interpretation, it should not be controversial to suggest that John not only departs from synoptic precedent but presents an entirely different perspective while (possibly) drawing from synoptic vocabulary. For example, J. Bailey suggests that John 19:30 deliberately echoes Luke's reference to Ps 30:6 (LXX) in order to align the Johannine Jesus with Luke's portrait of Jesus' confidence in death.[28] Yet, even if a literary connection from Luke to John is affirmed, it is neither obvious nor necessary for John's παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα to convey the same sense as Luke's παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. Jesus' self-confidence, even in the face of death, has already been thoroughly established by John elsewhere (2:13-25; 3:31-36; 5:16-18, 36-47; 6:61-65; 8:23-29, 54-59; 10:14-18; 11:7-16, 40-42; 12:23-33; 13:1-3, 31-33; 17:1-5, 24-26; 18:1-11, 20-23, 36-37; 19:8-11). There is no reason to assume that John was compelled to reaffirm Luke's interests at this point. Furthermore, whatever John's possible relationship to the synoptics, this gospel's consistent use of τὸ πνεῦμα to designate the Holy Spirit must predispose the reader to the conclusion now offered here. John 19:30 describes Jesus' obedient surrender of his messianic Spirit to the Father's control so that the Father may bestow that same Spirit to the church.

VI. Does it Matter if παϱέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα is a Hapax Legomenon?

A search of the Perseus Digital Library (www.perseus.tufts.edu) confirms that παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα does not appear in pre-Johannine Greek literature, whether to describe physical death or anything else. Its commonly noted appearance in *The Acts of John* § 115, describing the apostle's own death, is almost certainly modelled after John 19:30.[29] Those who insist that its singularity demands a particular rendering, whether as *double entendre* (R. Brown) or *terminus technicus* (de la Potterie), fail to convince, partly because they confuse an assertion for an argument (why must a unique phrase necessarily be a technical phrase?), but also because the logic of their case was apparently lost on generations of ancient interpreters who spoke Greek as their native language and understood John's gospel to be describing Jesus' death.

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[27] Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 2.1149 cites additional extra-biblical examples in both Classical and Hellenistic Greek literature.

[28] *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963) 82.

[29] So Bernard, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 2.641-2; Porsch, *Pneuma und Wort*, 328; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 461 n. 68. Dauer, *Die Passionsgeschichte*, 215 n. 308 also mentions *Acts of Peter and Paul* § 83, *Acts of Thomas* § 168 [Σ], *Acts of Philip*

On the other hand, Hoskyns and his followers are certainly correct in suggesting that the peculiarity of the phrase at least warrants further investigation. An unusual turn of phrase may intimate, even if it does not require, new interpretive possibilities. Thus it is worthwhile at this point to survey the cumulative data with respect to each of the options under review. While the new reading advanced here may not be inescapable, this study has shown that it is more amenable to both Johannine vocabulary and theology than are the views of Hoskyns and the tradition.

VII. Summary

Theories convince by their ability to coherently explain as much evidence as possible; the best theory accounts for the most data. Hoskyns' interpretation finally fails to convince because of what he neglects to take into account. His view is simultaneously too narrow and not sufficiently focused. Interpreting John 19:30 strictly in terms of its connection with the promise of the Spirit in 7:39 leaves Hoskyns blind to the broader Johannine themes of (a) Jesus' complete submission to the Father and (b) the Father's role as Spirit-Giver. Furthermore, even though many of Hoskyns' critics misrepresent his grasp of the relationship between the giving of the Spirit in 19:30 and 20:22, his failure to account for the Father's unique role in Spirit-giving takes on greater significance when he finally makes no effort to explain why a special group of disciples should receive

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§145, *Passion of Andrew* § 14, *Martyrdom of Andrew* § 9. Scholars today typically date the Acts of John from between the later half of the second to the middle of the third century A.D.; see D.R. MacDonald (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of Apostles* (Decatur, GA: Scholars Press, 1986) 4, 163; P.G. Schneider, *The Mystery of the Acts of John: An Interpretation of the Hymn and the Dance in Light of the Acts' Theology* (San Francisco: Edwin Mellen, 1991) 4-5; R.F. Stoops, Jr. (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in Intertextual Perspectives* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997) 28-32; P.J. Lalleman, *The Acts of John: A Two Stage Initiation into Johannine Gnosticism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998) 268-270.

an early endowment of the Spirit before all others. In light of these oversights, Augustine's suggestion that Jesus bows his head "as if in sleep" begins to look straightforward in comparison to Hoskyns' claim that Jesus is actually tipping his head to those receiving his new gift.

The traditional interpretation is rooted in its coherence with the unanimous synoptic witness. However, when John 19:30 is revisited in light of the modern sensibilities accompanying redaction and literary criticism, serious doubts arise as to whether the traditional reading is an appropriately Johannine reading of the text. John's use of key vocabulary, together with his consistent views on the Father's work in giving the Spirit and Jesus' role as messiah, indicate that John 19:30 has too easily been read in light of—or, better yet, in the shadow of—the synoptic gospels. Jesus' final words in John 19:30 do not describe Jesus' death, his gift of the Spirit to a select few, or a *double entendre* encompassing both. Instead, Jesus is entrusting the Spirit to his Father as preparation for the next step in the Father's work of salvation. The scenario is not cyclical (returning the Spirit) but sequential (entrusting the Spirit). First, the Spirit came down from heaven to identify Jesus as messiah. Second, Jesus, having fulfilled his messianic mission on the cross, entrusts the Spirit to his Father's care so that, third, the Father may fulfill his promise to share the Holy Spirit with every disciple.

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Book Reviews

Jan Krans, *Beyond What Is Written: Erasmus and Beza as Conjectural Critics of the New Testament* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), x + 384 pp., ISBN 978-9004152-86-1, ISBN 90-04-15286-5, € 138.00. (= *NTTS*, 35).

The theory and practice of conjectural emendation has received little attention over the past several decades, particularly regarding the text of the New Testament. J. Strugnell and G.D. Kilpatrick exchanged essays in the early 1980s (the latter declining several proposals), and earlier G. Zuntz had questioned whether in at least some cases conjectures would actually corrupt an original solecism or even error of the author. The need for conjectural emendation has been argued for several longer passages in the Pauline epistles, most notably by J.C. O'Neill and W. Walker. But completely lacking is a thorough study of the history of the practice of conjectural emendation, assessment of its foundations and motivations, and evaluation of individual proposals of conjectures—both in critical editions and in commentaries. *Beyond What Is Written* is not yet that study, but its author has laid a foundation so that he, and others, may continue.

This is a revision of the author's 2004 PhD dissertation, presented to the University of Amsterdam and supervised by M. de Boer. A foundational principle of *Beyond What Is Written* is that conjectures cannot be evaluated in the same manner as readings of manuscripts. Instead, with a nod to F.J.A. Hort, Krans proposes that "knowledge of authors should precede judgment of their readings" (p. 3; cf. p. 333). The focus of this work is two pioneers in the field of printing the text of the NT: Erasmus of Rotterdam and Theodore Beza. In many ways, as Krans notes (p. 3), this synchronic approach parallels recent methods of studying intentional alterations in NT manuscripts themselves. Readings were not created in a vacuum. At times, contextual factors such as theological or ethical tendencies and controversies sparked intentional alteration of the text. So also with these early editors.

"Emendation" in the sixteenth century was not always "conjectural". Because few manuscripts were known (two helpful appendices list those

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available to Erasmus and Beza) and textual studies were in their genesis, these editors saw the need to propose two types of emendations to their texts. Each type of emendation had a different source: some were based on manuscripts (*emendatio codicum ope*), while others were readings created by the editor in order to resolve a perceived difficulty (*emendatio ingenii ope*). It is the latter category that post-Lachmannian critics commonly refer to as "conjecture" or "conjectural emendation", and this is the focus of Krans' work.

According to Krans, Erasmus represents the best of the early humanist tradition. Erasmus rarely adopted his conjectures in his printed text (though see the fine discussions of Rev 22:16-21 and Acts 9:5, pp. 53-62). For this reason Krans denies, as has been previously proposed, that Erasmus' editions made "excessive use" of conjecture. Instead, in most cases Erasmus was correcting what he saw as transcriptional, grammatical, or philological errors (albeit occasionally with faulty knowledge of the latter two; cf. pp. 62-65). Indeed, in one case (ἀπωλείαις 1 Pet 2:2), Erasmus clearly introduced an unattested reading, though by error and not intentional alteration, since his annotation claims that it is the reading of the Greek manuscripts against the Latin (p. 80-81). Erasmus avoided attempting to repair dogmatic or historical problems, instead focusing on clarifying the text at hand. At times it is not entirely clear what Erasmus actually proposed (e.g., Matt 15:5, pp. 92-95). At others he noticed problems that remain unresolved today, though his solutions may not always be satisfactory. Erasmus does not consider the possibility of large-scale interpolations, either those for which there is now manuscript evidence (e.g., the doxology of Romans and Mark 16:9-20) or no evidence (1 Cor 11:2-16).

A contrast is drawn between Erasmus and Beza. The latter is presented as someone far removed from a modern, antiseptic textual critic. Beza's goal is to provide notes for his readers that will clarify and explain the biblical text, and even protect it from misunderstanding or error by the use of conjecture. He suggests that in some passages all NT manuscripts have been corrupted and that correction must be made in order to conform to the *Hebraica veritas* of the OT. More common are attempts to bring NT passages—or his reconstructed history drawn from NT passages—into harmony. His handling of 1 Cor 15:5-7; Luke 22:17-20; and John 18:13-24 (pp. 297-305) are cited as particularly strained attempts to maintain the "accuracy" of the accounts. Of the famous codex that bears his name Beza has made little use, and even that is no different from his use of other manuscripts (pp. 227-236).

A significant conclusion is that numerous conjectures proposed by Beza in his early editions are removed or replaced in later editions (pp. 322-332). Why does Beza change his procedure? This question Krans does not answer with a concrete example. He claims, in the case of Heb 2:3 (p. 307), that "One of the factors contributing to this change must have been the accusation of heresy," though evidence of such charge is not produced. Nevertheless, the examples of changes between the editions are convincing, and Beza does explicitly warn against the uncertainty of conjecture. Krans concludes, "[Beza] will not, and cannot, deny his humanist upbringing, but once he is won for the cause of the Reformation, his scholarly qualities are exercised within the Church. In the end, they are also restricted or even somewhat distorted by this setting" (p. 318). Krans is convincing on this point, yet Erasmus operated in the context of the Church as well; he was not an ivory tower academic who was disinterested in the effect his studies would have on the Church. He could make statements about Scripture that Beza would have found assuring. For example, In *De libero arbitrio* he writes, "It is clear that the Scriptures do not contradict themselves, since in their entirety they proceed from the same Spirit" (*Ausgewählte Schriften* IV, p. 36). Furthermore, although not a conjecture, in his handling of 1 John 5:7b-8 Erasmus demonstrated that he too could bow to criticism of a theological nature.

In this historical study Krans eschews evaluation of these early conjectures. He does so only in cases where he criticizes Beza for making conjectures in order to "safeguard" the text from "error", and even there only implicitly. For example, at both Heb 2:3 and John 21:24, the texts as they stands appear to rule out, respectively, Pauline and Johannine authorship. Beza proposed conjectures of a shift of the numbers of the pronouns in order to safeguard apostolic authorship (pp. 305-308). While Krans does not explicitly reject these conjectures, his concluding criticisms of Beza constraining his humanist training in order to maintain a certain view of the origin, preservation, and authority of the biblical text is enough to show that Krans would reject these "repairs", Nevertheless, Krans here strives to remain the observer, not the critic. Ironically, however, Beza's approach of harmonizing differing accounts and resolving historical and theological tensions appear to reflect more than is the case with Erasmus the interests of the scribes and readers who preceded him. Indeed, Beza notices the same "problems" that some scribes did, such as the number of those slain as described at 1 Cor 10:8. Erasmus, because these issues are not his concern, takes no notice of this "problem".

Important observations are scattered throughout the footnotes. Here we offer only two examples. While discussing Erasmus' handling of 2 Cor 1:6-7, Krans notes that the *Textus Receptus* reading had been assumed to have no manuscript support (the result of Erasmus' partially correcting to the Vulgate). The *Text und Textwert* volume now lists five manuscripts in support. Krans observes, however, that all five are copies of the TR and suggests that the *Text und Textwert* volumes should include early printed editions so that readers might be aware of the possibility of the source of some readings (p. 107 n. 54). Another example is a detailed discussion of Colines' edition on pp. 319-320 (n. 8). This discussion is not necessary to his argument, but does demonstrate the thoroughness of his research and the depth of his knowledge regarding Beza's sources and context which is evident throughout the study.

Translations of the Latin texts are accurately rendered into smooth English. Occasionally, the translation may urge Krans' argument more strongly than the Latin. For example, in a quotation used to demonstrate Beza's distaste for conjecture (p. 319): "many things have been corrected on the basis of mere conjectures" (*ex solis coniecturis*). "Mere" may be a bit strong, particularly in light of *solus* on the next page. There Beza notes that some readings have been confirmed by manuscripts which "used to rest only upon the conjecture (*sola*... *coniectura*) of the interpreters." Later (p. 322; cf. p. 193), "mere conjecture" is used to translate *nuda coniectura.* Nevertheless, the Latin is very helpfully provided in each case (slight updating of punctuation is observable), and the scarcity of the inevitable minor adaptations of this kind only serve to highlight the clarity of the translations.

One unique feature of this volume are the visual flow-charts which diagram Krans' reconstruction of the thought processes that Erasmus (pp. 25, 72, 164) or Beza (p. 330) appear to have followed when considering problematic passages. Others show the relationships among readings (p. 221) or editions (p. 200). Many readers will find these diagrams helpful, though the prose is clear enough that most are unnecessary.

Krans reminds us that no researcher studies in a vacuum. Both Erasmus and Beza must have felt more leeway in conceiving their emendations, for they were both aware that there were hundreds of years between the manuscripts they used and the initial writing of the texts that they were reconstructing. In our day there may be only decades, at most usually only a century or two, between the archetypes and our extant manuscripts. In the sixteenth century, conjecture may seem more plausible and even necessary. The lack of a clear picture of the history of the transmission of the text, an extremely limited number witnesses available for consultation, and few, if any, verifiably early readings would have left huge holes in the knowledge of text, holes which must have been very tempting to fill with conjecture. Perhaps the mass of witnesses available to us today provides a false comfort that the original reading must have survived everywhere in every case. Fresh study of the fathers and versions suggests that some readings have disappeared from the Greek manuscript tradition. This would imply that some readings have been lost altogether. It is therefore important to study afresh the history of conjectural emendation of the New Testament.

Krans lays the groundwork for future research in a brief epilogue. He expresses the desire for a study of the conjectural criticism of Lachmann, Hort, and, the Dutch school (the last of which is frequently represented in the apparatus of modern critical editions), as well as attention to a "selection" of the important conjectures on the Greek New Testament. In order to set these masters into their respective contexts with the same thoroughness with which he has situated Erasmus and Beza will be no small task, for the scope of biblical scholarship and the *Zeitgeist* of 19th century Europe (and surely the project must continue into the 20th) will be no less complex than that of the 16th century. Krans has demonstrated a mastery of the earliest practitioners of conjectural emendation, and will serve as an able guide to their successors as his research continues.

Jeffrey Kloha

Werner Heinz, *Reisewege der Antike: Unterwegs im Römischen Reich* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2003), 128 pp., ISBN 3-8062-1670-325, € 25.

In den Darstellungen des Lebens Jesu und der Geschichte des Urchristentums wird oft darauf hingewiesen, dass die politischen und soziokulturellen Umstände im ersten christlichen Jahrhundert für die Verbreitung des neuen Glaubens so günstig waren, wie sonst kaum in den vorausgehenden oder nachfolgenden Jahrhunderten. Als aber die Zeit erfüllt war und Gott seinen Sohn sandte (Gal 4:4), waren der Mittelmeerraum unter der Herrschaft der Römer befriedet (*pax Romana*), die Seewege durch die Ausrottung der Seeräuber sicher und ein hervorragendes Straßensystem vorhanden, das schnelle Verbindungen und damit schnellen Austausch von Informationen ermöglichte (so z.B. E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds to Early Christianity*, 3. Aufl.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003, 616f.). Von diesen schnellen und sicheren See- und Straßenverbindungen haben die ersten christlichen Missionare—so das Bild der Apostelgeschichte—reichlich Gebrauch gemacht. Darum lohnt sich zum besseren Verständnis der äußeren Bedingungen urchristlicher Mission die Beschäftigung mit den *Reisewegen der Antike.*

Der vorliegende reich bebilderte (und aufgrund des Großformats doch umfangreiche) Band gibt einen hervorragenden Überblick über die Straßenwege des römischen Reichs. Der Verfasser beleuchtet die allgemeine Organisation des Straßenwesens (Geschichte des röm. Straßenbaus, Straßenverwaltung), Straßentypen, Baukosten, Erbauer, Arbeitskräfte und Namen der Fernstraßen, die historische Entwicklung des römischen Straßennetzes (Etrusker, das röm. Straßensystem, die verschiedenen großen Straßen in schriftlichen Zeugnissen), technische Aspekte des Straßenbaus (Aufbau, Breite), Brücken aus verschiedenen Materialien und zu verschiedenen Zwecken und Tunnel sowie das Leben längs dieser Straßen, von Meilensteinen (mit Behandlung der römischen Längenmaße) über Straßenstationen zu Rasthäusern (73f.; vgl. Lk 2:7; 10:34f.).

Dann beschreibt Heinz „Straßen, Menschen und Geschäfte: Alles ums Reisen" (74-82), nämlich verschiedene Reisegründe, die kaiserliche Staatspost, Poststationen, Staatspost und Privatreisende, Fahrzeuge und Fahrkomfort (vgl. dazu das abgedruckte Zitat aus Horaz, *Epistulae* I.17.52-54: „Wer als Begleiter nach Brindisi oder dem lieblichen Sorrent mitfährt, darf nicht über raue Wege und herbe Kälte und Regen klagen und nicht über aufgebrochene Koffer und gestohlenes Reisegeld jammern" (79). Auf diesem Hintergrund lassen sich die Reiseangaben im paulinischen

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Peristasenkatalog besser verstehen: Ich bin oft gereist, ich bin in Gefahr gewesen durch Flüsse, in Gefahr unter Räubern... (2Kor 11.26; vgl. dazu auch die satirische Beschreibung der Unannehmlichkeiten und Gefahren einer Reise durch Juvenal, *Satiren* 3.232ff., S.91f.). Ferner geht es um Reisezölle (79f.; „... dass es neben dem Grenzzoll auch Binnenzölle, oftmals im Sinne von Passierzöllen oder Marktzöllen, gab. Die Gebühren betrugen ein Vierzigstel des Warenwertes...", 80; vgl. z.B. Lk 5:27-32; 19:1-10) und Itinerare (81f., hilfreich für die Diskussion um Herkunft und Bedeutung der Itinerare der Apostelgeschichte). In diesem Zusammenhang weist Heinz auf in der Nähe von Rom gefundene tragbare Itinerare in Form kleiner Silberbecher hin mit einer Wegbeschreibung vom spanischen Cadiz bis Rom (Abb. 97); vgl. dazu Röm 15:24, 28. Weiter geht es um verschiedene Reisegeschwindigkeiten. Eine Tagesleistung von 20 Meilen wurde von Reisenden zu Gerichtsterminen erwartet, dagegen wurden dem staatlichen Postdienst 40 Meilen am Tag abverlangt (82). Dies ist insofern von Interesse, da Rekonstruktionen der paulinischen Chrono-logie die entsprechenden antiken Angaben berücksichtigen müssen (vgl. z.B. R. Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology*; Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998) 307-317 „The apostle's rate of travel").

Das Kapitel „Von den Fernstraßen in die Stadt: Gräberstraßen und Heilige Straßen" (83-93) behandelt u.a. Stadtanlage und Straßenführung, Insulae-Wohnblocks, innerstädtischer Verkehr, Orientierung in der Stadt (vgl. Apg 9:11; 11:25). Dem folgt die Rekonstruktion einer damaligen Reise über die Alpen von Rom nach Augsburg (bei 25 Meilen am Tag 27 Reisetage, bei 20 Meilen 34 Tage), u.a. mit einer Beschreibung des typischen Reisegepäcks (94f.). Dazu gehörte „Ein Umhang (paenula) mit Kapuze (cucullus), wie ihn auch L. Calidius Eroticus in der Darstellung auf dem Grabstein von Isernia trägt (Abb. 86), durfte auf keinen Fall fehlen...", ferner ein warmer Mantel, trockener Proviant, eine tönerne Feldflasche, Wäsche, Waschzeug, Reisegeld im Geldbeutel (vgl. 2Tim 4:13; Lk 9:3; 10:4). Ferner beschreibt Heinz die verschiedenen Unterkünfte, deren Komfort und Ungeziefer. Hier zeigt sich, dass die Verwandten, Freunden und Mitchristen gebotene Gastfreundschaft (vgl. Röm 12:13; Apg 28:2, 7) nicht nur eine höfliche Geste, sondern dringend nötig war (vgl. D. Gorce, „Gastfreundschaft", *RAC* 8, 1103-20). Dem folgt eine knappe Interpretation der „Reise nach Brindisi" des römischen Dichters Horaz (*Satiren* I.5; S. 103-06). Nach einem Abschnitt über die spätere Geschichte römischer Straßen endet der Band mit Glossar, Literaturverzeichnis und Register (u.a. der Quellentexte).

Neben vielen Bildern und Zeichnungen zeichnet sich der Band durch viele abgedruckte Quellentexte (Deutsch, tw. lateinisches Original beigegeben) aus. Viele von Heinzes Abbildungen und Anmerkungen beziehen sich auf Italien, die alpenüberquerenden Straßen sowie auf die Provinzen nördlich der Alpen, also den Norden des römischen Reiches. Doch wird man mit der methodisch gebotenen Vorsicht vieles davon auf die Situation in Palästina, Syrien und im kleinasiatischen Raum übertragen dürfen (vgl. dazu D.H. French, „Acts and the Roman Roads of Asia Minor", in D.W.J. Gill, C. Gempf, hrsg., *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, AFCS 2; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, Carlisle: Paternoster, 1994, 49-58 und R. Schäfer, *Paulus bis zum Apostelkonzil: Ein Beitrag zur Einleitung in den Galaterbrief, zur Geschichte der Jesus-Bewegung und zur Pauluschronologie*, WUNT II, 179; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004, 297-315).

Besonders beeindruckend im Hinblick auf Apg 8:28-31 ist die Darstellung eines vornehmen hohen vierrädrigen Reisewagens, der von nebenherlaufenden Dienern begleitet wird und dessen gebildete Passagiere eine Schriftrolle in der Hand halten (Abb. 112, S. 91; vgl. auch S. 79: „Wenn aber Cicero oder Seneca davon berichten, dass sie sich im Wagen vorlesen lassen oder Briefe diktieren konnten, wenn Caesar während einiger Fahrten Abhandlungen diktierte oder wenn Kaiser Claudius im Reisewagen Spielbretter hatte, kann eine Fahrt doch nicht so unkomfortabel gewesen sein"). Insgesamt ein inspirierender Band nicht nur für das Verständnis der urchristlichen Mission, sondern für die ntl. Realienkunde überhaupt.

Ergänzen könnte man noch den Bericht eines unheimlichen Wahrtraums aus Valerius Maximus' (1. Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri IX* (I.7, ext. 10), der eine der Gefahren des Reisens in der Antike schön illustriert:

> Zwei befreundete Arkadier kamen auf einer gemeinschaftlichen Reise nach Megara. Einer derselben begab sich zu einem Gastfreund; der andere stieg in einer öffentlichen Herberge ab. Der erstere hatte einen Traum, in welchem ihn sein Begleiter anflehte, ihm zu Hilfe zu kommen, indem sein heimtückischer Wirt Schlimmes gegen ihn im Sinne habe. Wenn er ihm eilends beispringe, so könne er ihn einer drohenden Gefahr entreißen. Dieses Gesicht erweckte den Freund; er sprang von seinem Lager auf und hatte die Absicht, nach der Herberge seines Freunds zu eilen. Aber ein unheilvolles Geschick stellte ihm diesen menschenfreundlichen Entschluss als widersinnig dar; er sah die Erscheinung für etwas Leeres an und suchte wieder Bett und Schlaf. Nun aber zeigte sich ihm sein Begleiter verwundet und beschwor ihn, wenigstens die Rache seines Todes ihm nicht zu versagen, nachdem es ihm zuviel gewesen sei, ihm das Leben zu retten. Denn er sei vom Wirte erschlagen worden; und in diesem Augenblick werde sein Leichnam, mit Dünger bedeckt, auf einem Wagen nach dem Tore gefahren. Diese

> wiederholten Bitten seines Freundes brachten ihn in Bewegung: er lief alsbald dem Tore zu, traf den Wagen, den er im Schlafe gesehen hatte, verhaftete sofort den Wirt und lieferte ihn dem Halsgericht aus (übers. F. Hoffmann).

Zum Thema vgl. ferner A. Kolb, „Landtransport" und W. Popkes, „Wassertransport", in K. Erlemann, K.L. Noethlichs *et al., Neues Testament und Antike Kultur II: Familie, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 2005) 206-10; E.J. Schnabel, *Die urchristliche Mission* (Wuppertal, Zürich: R. Brockhaus, 2002) 575-580 (Straßen), 617-625 (Reisen—dort auch Hinweise zu Seereisen—, Internationale Mobilität, Nachrichtenwesen) und W.M. Ramsays immer noch lesenswerten Eintrag, „Roads and Travel in the New Testament", in J. Hastings (ed.), *Dictionary of the Bible* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909), extra volume, 375-402 mit einer exzellenten Straßenkarte der römischen Provinz Asia Minor um ca. 50 n. Chr. und der Hauptreiserouten des römischen Reiches im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (beide Karten 25 × 34 cm).

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Book Notes

1. A New Edition of Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis*

The growth in the registering of Greek Biblical manuscripts in the 19th-20th centuries resulted in published listings. For the New Testament the classification established by Gregory in 1900-09 and later continued by von Dobschütz and by Kurt Aland is standard. For the Septuagint Alfred Rahlfs published his list in 1914. The number of registered LXX manuscripts has increased dramatically in the last century (the number of known papyri alone has quadrupled since 1914) and we are grateful to Detlef Fraenkel for bringing "Rahlfs" up to date: *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des alten Testaments* I, 1: *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2004) xxxiv + 566 pp., ISBN 3525534477, 139 Euros. This appears as a *Supplementum* to the Göttingen *Septuaginta.* Unlike the list of New Testament manuscripts published by the Münster Institut which is *kurzgefasst* (the original intention to expand the "Gesamtübersicht" printed on the title page of the 1963 edition was never fulfilled), the new Rahlfs gives exceptionally full information on each manuscript, including details of contents, orthography, and dating as well as a bibliography. There are of course comparatively fewer witnesses of the LXX; also Fraenkel has wisely decided to divide his list into manuscripts that are (in general) dated up to the 8th century and those written between then and the 16th century. Part 2 is yet to appear. This first half obviously deals with important early papyri and other majuscules. Thus we have entries on Alexandrinus (A), Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus (S) as well as P Ryl 458 (= Rahlfs 957), our oldest Greek witness (2nd century B.C.). The extensive manuscript remains in Dublin merit many pages and, like all the entries, are models of succinct and relevant information.

The main listings are by library, notably the rich collections in Vienna and Berlin, as well as New York, Oxford and London, but several other sections re-present the information in different lists: by Rahlfs' number, by contents (in chronological and Biblical sequence). The ability here to identify the dates of extant witnesses containing particular passages in the LXX is especially important for continuous text manuscripts. There are also useful "Sigelkonkordanzen", showing (as the original Rahlfs did) the distinctive classification numbering in Lagarde, Swete and Brooke-McLean but also now Aland, Van Haelst (whose occasional erroneous citing of Rahlfs' numbers are here corrected—for a note of discrepancies between Van Haelst and Aland with reference to Rahlfs see T.C. Skeat, *JTS* 29 (1978) 175-186, esp. 185) and E.G. Turner, the scholarship of all of whom has been judiciously mined by Fraenkel. These different listings are helpful and cater for readers approaching this reference tool from different points of entry. This is a remarkably well-produced volume. The fact that I have

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spotted only two minor slips (p. 56 read Institute; p. 246 read Universitaria) in nearly 600 pages of closely printed factual information is telling (although others more eagle-eyed than I may possibly find more errors!).

2. The Apostolic Fathers

a) Clayton N. Jefford, *The Apostolic Fathers and the New Testament* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2006) xii + 267 pp., ISBN 9871565634251, £10.99. Clayton N. Jefford, *The Apostolic Fathers: An Essential Guide* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005) 133 pp., ISBN 068734204X, £8.99 (= *Abingdon Essential Guides*). The *Essential Guide* introduces us to this body of literature by themes not works. Thus there are chapters on People and Places, Theological Ideas, and Structures of the Ancient Church, for example. This is a helpful introduction to the background of ideas that shaped this amorphous body of writings, and which it shared with other texts dealing with aspects of Christian origins. [We recall Jefford's *Reading the Apostolic Fathers* of 1996, which, like his recent *Essential Guide*, is another helpful entrée for students.]

Jefford's other volume is obviously more narrowly focussed—on the New Testament. But this is the theme that many contemporary scholars find most instructive as they compare and contrast the early Christian writings that were accepted into the canon of scripture with those that shared with these texts questions about Christian identity, the establishment of the faith and norms of Christian teaching and doctrines. Thus we have chapters on Codes of Conduct and Christian Teaching, and the Authority of Texts and Traditions. Jefford's long-standing researches into these wide areas stand us in good stead; his clear and judicious assessments are well grounded in the texts and their contexts.

b) Paul Foster (ed.), *The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2007) xvi + 159 pp., ISBN 9780567031068, £16.99 is a readable introduction to all the Apostolic Fathers (including the rare Apology of Quadratus); this collection began life as a series of articles in the *Expository Times.* Foster contributes three chapters himself but has attracted chapters by Jonathan Draper, Andrew Gregory, James Carleton Paget, Joseph Verheyden, Michael Holmes, Sara Parvis, Charles Hill and Paul Parvis, all experts in this field. The magisterial introductory essay is a coup in that it has been written by Helmut Koester; his chapter demonstrates the forces at work in the second century that shaped Christianity. In short: this volume of essays is an important statement of where we are in the current study of these texts. Cross-references could have been made to Draper's "Barnabas and the Riddle of the Didache visited", *JSNT* 58 (1995) 89-113.

c) Michael W. Holmes (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers in English* 3rd edition (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006) 335 pp., ISBN 9780801031083, £31.99. The translations in this third edition differ from those in his 2nd edition of 1989 and from those in his revised edition of Lightfoot and Harmer in 1999 (*The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*). Not only are the translations improved, but the bibliographies have been expanded and his introductory materials revised. As a consequence, the earlier cross-referencing to changes from Lightfoot's translations has been abandoned, although we are obviously still using an edition of these texts that belongs very clearly to the traditions established over a century ago. It is a worthy descendent. We congratulate Mike Holmes for keeping these translations fresh and to the fore.

[The texts of the Apostolic Fathers in the Loeb series originally edited by Kirsopp Lake have been reedited by Bart Ehrman. This new Loeb edition has been made use of in the books currently under review. Likewise, contributions to the two volumes edited by Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett under the umbrella title *The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* (published by Oxford University Press in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of its 1905 reference book written by a committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Research) are beginning to make their impact in some of the works noted above.]

3. A New Byzantine Edition of John

Orthodox scholars recently expressed a need for a critical edition of the Byzantine text. The United Bible Societies rose to the challenge and have published a pilot: Roderic L. Mullen (ed.), *The Gospel according to John in the Byzantine Tradition* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007) l + 273 pp., ISBN 9783438051325. The running text is that of cursive 35 (Coislin Greek 199), an 11th century manuscript, a photograph of which appears on p. l, but the caption fails to give its dimensions. Introductory matter is given in English, Greek and Russian, but the "User Guidelines" are in English only. There are two *apparatus*, one of lacunae in the selected witnesses, the other showing *variae lectiones* culled from 18 majuscules, 21 minuscules, 8 commentary manuscripts (based on Reuss' categories) and 18 lectionaries—all these are Byzantine text-type manuscripts in John. It is not clear how the minuscules were selected. No versional evidence is given. The intention is to show the richness of the Byzantine tradition from the 4th to the 14th centuries in Greek, although the bulk of the witnesses are from before the 12th century. One ms. is in fact dated 15th century! Citations from five 4th century Fathers are shown (Basil, John Chrysostom, Cyril, Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa). Variants in the Nestle 27th edition and Antoniades' text of 1904 are also displayed. Some minuscules are rarely found in any *apparatus* known to me: 475 1073 1192 1203 1210 1212 1514 and 1519 and that is especially true of some commentary mss.: 194 196 210 754 812 and 994 so it especially welcome to have their evidence to hand.

The edition was 'launched' at the textual criticism seminar at the SNTS Meeting in Sibiu (Romania) in August 2007. First reactions from orthodox scholars present were highly favourable. Now this dry run will do the rounds of orthodox colleagues before the rest of the New Testament is tackled—presumably in the same way. In the meantime Rod Mullen, the chief editor, is to be thanked for this helpful and tactful presentation. His work will receive recognition in the orthodox churches but it should also help a wider readership interested in the majority text of John. The Byzantine text is not as united as general readers often argue.

A corrigenda slip was inserted into the first edition, but it failed to note the two errors on p. xlii note 3. There is no table of abbreviations, it being assumed readers will know such abbreviations as esk, sk and sel in the "List of Witnesses".

4. *Religion Past and Present* Volume 2

H.-D. Betz, D.S. Browning, B. Jankowski, E. Jünkel (eds.), *Religion Past and Present* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2007) cxii + 664 pp., ISBN 9789004156082, €249. This volume runs from Biandrata to the opening words of an entry entitled Chthonic Deities. The volume thus covers key entries on Christianity, Christmas (specially commissioned for this English edition), Catholicism, Christology, Chronology, as well as several items under 'Bible', for instance, Biblical Scholarship, Biblical Manuscripts. As in the first volume (reviewed in an earlier "Book Notes"), we have a range of writers presenting well-researched and carefully written articles. There are a few illustrations, some in colour.

5. The Acts of Andrew

Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta, *Acta Andreae Apocrypha: A New Perspective of the Nature, Intention and Significance of the Primitive Text* (Geneva: Cramer, 2007) xvi + 336 pp., ISBN 9782970053019, 200 SF. The 'primitive text' of the subtitle refers to the 10th-11th century codex Vat. gr. 808, which Roig Lanzillotta convincingly argues is the best, possibly only, surviving example from the original 2nd century Acts of Andrew. We had been alerted to Roig Lanzillotta's thinking on this ms. from his article in *Scriptorium* on it in 2001: now we have a detailed and meticulous study of the whole ms. in context. All the other many accounts of Andrew's journeys and/or martyrdom are seen as later adaptations; a complicated stemma shows the interrelationship of these later rewritings (on p. 93). By contrast, the Vatican ms., called here an example of the 'non-transformative transmission', stands on its own. The distinctiveness of the language, style and, above all, the coherence of its background of (Gnostic) ideas, especially in Andrew's speeches in this fragment, convinces the editor that it comes from the primitive text.

This book is thus a reedition of this ms. (despite Bonnet's earlier splendid edition) but here with a thoughtful English translation and an apparatus (called 'apparat' in the heading on p. 108!) that includes helpful indications where Vat. gr. 808 differs from other mss. containing acts of Andrew where there are parallels. The book contains twelve plates giving a photographic facsimile of the portions of the Acts of Andrew in this ms. (which is a November menologion, probably culminating in this now fragmented story for St Andrew's day).

The whole monograph is well researched, carefully signposted and lavishly furnished with footnotes. The introductory literature-survey shows how previous scholars have provided confusing and contradictory conclusions. Flamion especially comes in for harsh criticism, but even Prieur's recent study in *CCSA* is criticised, especially for its (mis)-use of Vat. gr. 808. Roig Lanzillotta's study will encourage us to revisit the Acts of Andrew with more caution, probably to print only Vat. gr. 808 as the original Acts with all the other multifarious Andrew literature as 'Secondary Acts of Andrew', rather as I did for the secondary Acts of Paul and of Peter in my *Apocryphal New Testament*. The book is handsomely produced in the splendid format we have come to admire from Cramer: this volume is no. xxvi in the prestigious series *Cahiers d'orientalisme*. Editor and publisher deserve our praise.

J.K. Elliott

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Vale

Peder Borgen

Professor Peder Borgen was appointed President of *Novum Testamentum* in 1995 in succession to Professor Kingsley Barrett of Durham. Now, at the age of 80, he has decided to step down from the Board of the journal and its allied *Supplements* and to relinquish the chairmanship. Over the years he has been a doughty supporter of both the journal and the monograph series, and he has sought—with great success—to maintain and enhance their internationally recognised renown and influence.

He has chaired the annual meetings of the Editorial Board with charm, patience and courtesy. Occasional problems experienced by the editors have been resolved by him, apparently with enviable ease, thanks to his innate diplomatic skills combined with meticulous thoroughness which guaranteed that decisions were made inclusively.

The hallmarks of *Novum Testamentum*—its encouragement of verifiable scholarship, and the successful attempts of its editors to open up its pages to new scholars from across the globe as well as its welcoming established academics to contribute—will be continued, and these on a basis that seems the more secure thanks to the legacy of Professor Borgen's stewardship.

The current Board had the opportunity to thank Peder Borgen personally on July 28th 2008 during an impressive day of celebrations that included a symposium at which a large audience in the Conference Centre of University College, Oslo enjoyed a sequence of papers on aspects of Biblical scholarship prepared in his honour, a reception hosted by the Dutch Ambassador to the Kingdom of Norway at his official residence, and a gala dinner in the Grand Hotel, Oslo, during which tributes to Peder Borgen's academic achievements and his contributions to *Novum Testamentum* were made. That day was an appropriate climax to mark not only the ending of, but, even more, the achievements of, Peder Borgen's Presidency.

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Now in this valedictory note the Board conveys in writing its heartfelt thanks and its warm wishes to Peder and Inger Borgen for a fruitful retirement.

J. Keith Elliott
On behalf of the Board of *Novum Testamentum*

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"Pagane" Zitate im Neuen Testament

Vadim Wittkowsky
Moscow

Abstract
In the New Testament there are quotations from pagan texts which are normally explained as a sign of Paul and Luke's acquaintance with Greek literature. A more accurate examination of the relevant texts shows, however, that each of these quotations makes more sense if considered against the background of early Jewish practice. The connection with pagan literature serves at the same time as an intertextual reference to Jewish polemics against paganism. This conclusion confirms once more the well-known thesis of M. Hengel, namely that there is no direct dependence of early Christianity on non-Jewish thought.

Keywords
pagan quotations; early Jewish polemics against paganism; Luke 17:22-31; 1 Cor 15:33; Titus 1:12; Aratus; Epimenides; Euripides

Dass die alte biblische Tradition im frühen Christentum breit rezipiert wurde, ist eine wohlbekannte Tatsache. Speziell Zitieren der Heiligen Schrift, also des Ersten Testaments im NT und bei den Kirchenvätern ist für die Forschung auch von großer Bedeutung. Weniger bekannt ist die Tatsache, dass die ur- und frühchristlichen Schriftsteller nicht selten von der griechischen paganen Literatur Gebrauch machten. Zwar wurde dieses Thema von einigen Forschern in Angriff genommen,[1] es gibt jedoch nach wie vor keine bestimmte Antwort auf die wichtigste Frage: was war Grund und Sinn dieser Rezeption der "fremden," außerbiblischen Tradition? Hier wird versucht, auf diese komplizierte Frage anhand der "paganen" Zitate im NT einzugehen.[2]

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[1] Hauptwerke zum Thema sind: W. Krause, *Die Stellung der frühchristlichen Autoren zur heidnischen Literatur* (Wien: Herder, 1958); N. Zeegers-vander Vorst, *Les citations des poètes grecs chez les apologistes chrétiens du IIᵉ siècle* (Louvain: Bibl. de l'Univ., 1972).

[2] Ausführlicher wird die Frage in meiner Dissertation behandelt, die von der Moskauer

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Es gibt sicherlich nicht viele Stellen, an denen die NT-Autoren nichtbiblischen Stoff in ihre Werke einweben. Drei offensichtliche Zitate aus den paganen Werken hat bereits Clemens von Alexandrien entdeckt, dem es sehr daran lag zu beweisen, dass selbst der Apostel Paulus nicht nur in der Bibel, sondern auch in der griechischen Literatur belesen war. In seinen *Stromata* (1.59.2-4) schreibt Clemens:

> (Als siebenten von den Sieben Weisen nennen) wieder andere den Epimenides von Kreta, den der Apostel Paulus in dem Brief an Titus mit folgenden Worten erwähnt: "Es sagte einer von ihnen selbst, ihr eigener Prophet, so: Lügner sind immer die Kreter, wilde Tiere, nichtsnützigen Schlemmer. Und dieses Zeugnis ist wahr." Siehst du, wie er auch den Propheten der Griechen ein Stück Wahrheit zugesteht und kein Bedenken trägt, in den Worten, die er zur Erbauung und zur Beschämung von irgend jemand spricht, auch einige von den griechischen Dichtungen mitzuverwenden? Wie er z.B. zu den Korinthern—denn jene Stelle ist nicht die einzige—über die Auferstehung der Toten spricht, benutzt er den iambischen Vers eines Tragikers mit; er sagt nämlich: "Was nützt mir das? Wenn die Toten nicht auferstehen, dann lasset uns essen und trinken, denn morgen sterben wir. Lasst euch nicht irreführen! Die guten Sitten macht ein schlechter Umgang schlecht."

Und an einer weiteren Stelle (1.91.1,4-5):

> Dass aber auch den Griechen (von der Schrift) das Zeugnis gegeben wird, dass unter ihren Lehren manches Wahre ist, das lässt sich auch aus Folgendem ersehen. Von Paulus wird in der Apostelgeschichte erzählt, dass er zu den Areopagiten sagte: "...Er (Gott) machte, dass aus einem einzigen Stamm das ganze Menschengeschlecht auf der ganzen Oberfläche der Erde Wohnung nahm, und hat für ihr Wohnen bestimmte Zeiten und genaue Grenzen festgesetzt, damit sie den Gott suchen, ob sie ihn vielleicht ertasten und finden möchten, da er ja nicht fern von einem jeden einzelnen von uns ist. Denn in ihm leben und weben und sind wir, wie es auch einige von euren Dichtern ausgesprochen haben: 'Sind wir doch seines Geschlechts' (τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν)."
>
> Aus dieser Stelle geht klar hervor, dass er, noch dazu unter Verwendung eines Dichterzitates aus den "Himmelserscheinungen" des Arat, treffliche Aussprüche bei den Griechen anerkennt und dass seiner andeutungsweise ausgesprochener Meinung nach durch den "unbekannten Gott" von den Griechen der Schöpfergott, freilich nur auf Grund oberflächlicher Kenntnis, verehrt werde, während man ihn der vollkommenen Erkenntnis nach durch den Sohn erfassen und kennenlernen müsse.[3]

Lomonossow-Universität 2005 angenommen wurde ("Zitieren der paganen Schriften in der frühchristlichen Literatur").

[3] Leicht korrigierte Übersetzung von O. Stählin.

Diese drei Stellen, also Apg 17:28, 1 Kor 15:34 und Tit 1:12 betrachtet, z.B., R. Renehan[4] als einzige "wirkliche" Zitate (actual quotations) aus der paganen Literatur im ganzen NT. Dabei wurden ab und zu Versuche unternommen, an manchen anderen Stellen ebenfalls Zitate bzw. zitatähnliche Anspielungen zu finden.[5] Wir konzentrieren uns zunächst auf diese drei Stellen, die als sichere Zitate gelten dürfen, und formulieren unsere Frage folgendermaßen: *wie ist es dazu gekommen, dass die Texte der paganen Literatur ins NT ihren Weg fanden?*[6]

1. Arat-Zitat: Apg 17:28 und Aristobulos

In der sog. Areopagrede (Apg 17:22-31) lässt der Autor[7] seinen Paulus, wie es bereits Clemens von Alexandrien klar war, einen Halbvers aus der Dichtung *Phainomena* ("Himmelserscheinungen") von Arat aus Soli (4.-3. Jh. v.Chr.) zitieren: τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. Dies ist der erste Teil vom V. 5, der zum kleinen Prolog gehört, wo Arat den Gott Zeus auf diese Weise lobpreist:

> Lasst uns beginnen mit Zeus! Den zu nennen sollten wir Menschen
> nie unterlassen; erfüllt sind von Zeus ja die Straßen der Städte
> und auch der Menschen sämtliche Märkte, erfüllt ist das Meer auch
> und seine Häfen; in allem ist uns Zeus' Hilfe vonnöten—
> *sind wir doch seines Geschlechts*! Und huldvoll schickt er den Menschen
> Zeichen guter Bedeutung; er wecket die Völker zur Arbeit,
> mahnt sie, sich Nahrung zu schaffen: er lehrt, wann der Acker sich eignet,
> Ochsenpflug drüber zu führen und Hacke; er lehrt, wann die Zeit ist,
> Pflanzen günstig zu setzen und allerlei Samen zu säen.[8]

Im Text geht es also explizit um Zeus, der aber im universalistisch-philosophischen Sinne als der (Haupt)Gott der ganzen Menschheit charakterisiert wird. Paulus jedoch erwähnt diese Tatsache nicht, er meint vielmehr, der

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[4] R. Renehan, "Classical Greek Quotations in the New Testament," in *The Heritage of the Early Church: Essays in Honor of G.V. Florovsky*, 3 Bde. (Roma, 1973) 1.17-46.

[5] S. unten, Kap. 3 und 4.

[6] Es geht uns also nicht etwa darum, neue exegetische Einsichten in diese NT-Stellen selbst zu gewinnen. Vielmehr sollen bereits vorliegende exegetische Forschungen derselben bei der Lösung der von uns gestellten Frage behilflich sein. Etwas Neues für das Verstehen dieser Stellen ergibt sich trotzdem auch aus unserer Betrachtung.

[7] Im Weiteren als "Lukas" bezeichnet.

[8] Leicht korrigierte Übers. von N. Walter.

Gott, den er den Athenern predigt, sei nicht mit Zeus, sondern mit dem bzw. einem unbekannten Gott (ἄγνωστος θεός) eines von ihm in der Stadt gesehenen Altars identisch (17:23). Inhaltlich predigt er dabei als Jude den im Judentum verehrten "Schöpfer der Welt" und "Herrn von Himmel und Erde" (17:24).

Uns ist ein ähnlicher Text bekannt, wo der Autor, der ebenfalls Jude ist, seinem paganen Adressaten die zitierten neun ersten Verse der *Phainomena* als die sich auf den einzigen wahren Gott beziehenden vorführt. Das ist der Tora-Kommentar des jüdischen Gelehrten des 2. Jh. v. Chr. Aristobulos (Aristobul), genauer der Prolog dazu, gerichtet an den ägyptischen König Ptolemäus den VI, einige Passagen von welchem uns dank Eusebios von Cäsarea erhalten sind.[9] Aristobulos zitiert Arat nicht ganz genau, er ersetzt dreimal den Namen "Zeus" (Διός) durch "Gott" (Θεοῦ). Die Korrektur wird gleich auch theoretisch begründet: Aristobulos erklärt mit Nachdruck (er wiederholt es zweimal), dass er damit nur den richtigen Sinn des zitierten Textes wiederherstellt, weil das über Zeus Gesagte *mit Recht* nur für den Einen Gott gelten darf (*Praep. ev.* 13.12.7). Ausser Arat benützt Aristobulos in seiner fürs Judentum werbenden Erörterung noch eine Anzahl der Zitate aus den paganen Werken, die nicht alle wirklich den Originaltexten entstammen, sondern teilweise (wohl auch jüdische) Fälschungen sind.[10]

Es wird daraus ersichtlich, dass es beim Zitat Apg 17:28 um mehr als eine Form der Intertextualität geht. Zwar wird ein Halbvers vom pagan-griechischen Dichter (Arat) zitiert, dadurch wird aber auch auf eine bestimmte Situation der jüdischen Polemik und vielleicht auf einen bestimmten Text der letzteren (Aristobulos) angespielt. Lukas will durch die Areopagrede "seines" Paulus offenbar nicht nur sagen, dass die Heiden einen großen religiösen Irrtum begehen, sondern dass sie davor auch schon früher gewarnt wurden. Und nicht nur Dichter wie Arat waren es, sondern auch Juden haben es ständig gesagt und dabei auch auf die paganen Weisen in dem Sinne verwiesen, wie es jetzt auch wieder ein Jude, diesmal Paulus, machen muss (freilich aus einer neuen, christlichen Perspektive—17:31).

Mit dieser Deutung ist der breitere Kontext der Areopagrede berücksichtigt, in dem die Zuhörer des Paulus als *pagane Welt* verstanden werden sollen (vgl. etwa 17:29-31, wo es um "alle Menschen überall" und um den heidnischen Götzendienst geht).

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[9] *Praep. ev.* 13.12 (Fr. 2 von Aristobulos).

[10] S. unten, Kap. 2.

2. "Epimenides"-Zitate: Apg 17, Tit 1:12 und unbekannte (jüdische?) Vorgänger

Es gibt aber auch einen engeren Kontext, in dem diese Zuhörer doch Bürger der Stadt (Polis) *Athen* sind, die sich im Areopag (17:19) wegen eines Fremden versammelt sind, der ihnen "etwas Neueres" (17:21) mitteilen soll.

Mit der Perikope 17:16-34, dessen Teil die Areopagrede ist, weist Lukas mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit auf eine Episode aus der Geschichte von Athen hin, was bisher aber kaum bemerkt wurde.[11] Paulus-Besuch wird nämlich mit dem Epimenides-Besuch verknüpft, den Diogenes Laërtios wie folgt beschreibt:

> Da nun die Athener in jener Zeit von einer Pest heimgesucht wurden und die Pythia ihnen verkündete, sie sollten die Stadt reinigen, sandten sie den Nikias, des Nikeratos Sohn, zu Schiff nach Kreta, um Epimenides zu sich zu rufen. Er kam in der 46. Olympiade, reinigte ihre Stadt und machte der Pest ein Ende, und zwar auf folgende Weise: Eine Anzahl schwarzer und weißer Schafe mit sich führend, ging er nach dem Areshügel (Areopag); von da ab ließ er ihnen völlig freien Lauf; seinen Begleitern gab er die Anweisung, sie sollten immer da, wo sich eines niederlegte, es dem entsprechenden Gott (προσήκοντι θεῷ) als Opfer darbringen. Danach hat das Unheil sein Ende genommen. Daher kommt es, dass man auch heute noch in den athenischen Gauen namenlose Altäre findet, zur Erinnerung an die damalige Sühnung... Die Athener aber bewilligten auf Volksbeschluß ein Talent nebst dem Schiff, das ihn (Epimenides) nach Kreta zurückführen sollte. Er indes nahm Geld nicht an, wohl aber brachte er einen Freundschafts- und Bündnisvertrag zwischen Knosiern und Athenern zustande (1.110-111).[12]

Wenn wir nun die Mitteilung von Diogenes mit Apg 17 vergleichen, ergeben sich folgende Parallelen zwischen den Texten: Paulus 1) kommt auch nach Athen (17:15); 2) stellt sich auch auf (in) Areopagus[13] (17:19);

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[11] Z.B. im bekannten Aufsatz von P.W. van der Horst ("The Altar of the 'Unknown God' in Athens (Acts 17:23) and the Cult of 'Unknown Gods' in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," *ANRW* II.18 [Berlin/New York, 1989] 2.1426-1456) wird Epimenides-Geschichte zwar in Verbindung mit der Altarinschrift erwähnt (p. 1430), aber auf keine Weise mit dem Problem der paganen Zitate in der Areopagrede verknüpft (darum geht es weiter unten, p. 1454).

[12] Leicht bearbeitete Übers. von O. Apelt.

[13] Gericht oder Hügel? Jedenfalls ist in beiden Texten von Areopag die Rede, und möglicherweise ist nur der *Name* für Lukas von Bedeutung, wenn er wirklich auf Epimenides anspielt.

3) redet auch vom gebührenden[14] Kult (17:22-31); 4) fängt seine Rede von der Erwähnung der Altare mit der Aufschrift ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ (17:23); 5) verläßt Athen (17:33—18:1)[15] und 6) verkündet, darüber hinaus, die Auferstehung der Toten—vgl. die Mitteilung von Diogenes über das "mehrmalige Auferstehen" von Epimenides (1.114, vgl. 1.109).

Eine Analogie zwischen Paulus und Epimenides liegt auf der Hand: der Apostel kommt nach Athen, um diese Stadt mit seiner Predigt von derjenigen "Abscheulichkeit des Heidentums" zu befreien, bei deren Ansicht "sein Geist in ihm ergrimmte" (17:16), ähnlich wie einst Epimenides die Stadt vom "Kylon-Schmutz" gereinigt hatte.

Obwohl diese Parallelisierung, wie gesagt, bisher unberücksichtigt blieb, ist es bereits angenommen worden, dass nicht nur der zweite Teil von 17:28 (also 17:28b), sondern auch der erste Teil davon (17:28a) ein Zitat sein konnte, und zwar gerade aus einer Epimenides-Dichtung!

Die Worte ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν könnten wirklich einen verstümmelten Hexametervers darstellen.[16] Es gibt in der Areopagrede eine ähnliche Triade, die, wenn wir eine konzentrische (chiastische) Komposition der Rede annehmen,[17] dem Abschnitt 17:28a genau entspricht. Dies ist 17:25b: αὐτὸς διδοὺς πᾶσι ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα. Auch diese Worte lassen sich bei unwesentlicher Korrektur als ein Hexametervers lesen.

Es ist also durchaus möglich, dass Lukas in der Areopagrede nicht nur Arat, sondern auch eine weitere Dichtung zitiert. Was für ein Text konnte es aber sein? Es wäre sicherlich zu kühn anzunehmen, vom legendären Propheten Epimenides wären irgendwelche authentische Werke erhaltengeblieben, mehr noch, man kann damit rechnen, dass diese Person (wenn sie auch historisch wäre) nichts Schriftliches hinterlassen hat. Eine Pseudo-Epimenides-Dichtung ist dagegen gut vorstellbar.[18]

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[14] Vgl. προσήκοντι θεῷ bei Diogenes.

[15] Paulus bekommt in Athen Anhänger (17:34), Epimenides stiftet Freundschaft mit den "Athenern."

[16] Zur Geschichte des Problems s. K. Lake, "Your Own Poets," in *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I. The Acts of the Apostles* (London: 1933) 5.246-251. Der gemeinte Hexametervers (s. genauere Rekonstruktionen ebenda) sollte mit dem im Tit 1:12 zitierten benachbart sein (s. weiter unten). Nach einer scharfen Kritik von M. Pohlenz ("Paulus und die Stoa," *ZNW* 42 [1949] 101-104) wird in meisten Kommentaren 17:28a nicht als Zitat anerkannt und oft überhaupt nicht erwähnt. Doch trifft die Kritik von Pohlenz lediglich die späteren Zeugnisse vom Zitieren, nicht aber die Frage nach der Herkunft von 17:28a selbst. S. noch weiter unten.

[17] Eine solche Erklärung (zum ersten Mal für diesen Text von E. Des Places vorgeschlagen ("Actes 17,27," *Biblica* 48 [1967] 1-6) wirkt am überzeugendsten, wenn es jetzt auch unmöglich ist auf Einzelheiten einzugehen.

Einiges spricht für den jüdischen Ursprung einer solchen Fälschung. Die sich auf Gott den Welt- und Menschenschöpfer beziehende Triaden sind nämlich auch aus den paganen Texten bekannt, die auf den Ursprung und Charakteristika der jüdischen Religion eingehen. So lesen wir bei Strabon (*Geogr.* 16.761):

> Moses, einer der ägyptischen Priester, zog aus Niederägypten, von dem er einen Teil in seiner Gewalt hatte, unzufrieden mit den dort bestehenden Einrichtungen dorthin (nach Judäa); seinem Auszug schlossen sich viele Verehrer der Gottheit an. Seine Lehre war nämlich diese: Weder die Ägyptier noch die Libyer hätten eine richtige Ansicht von der Gottheit, wenn sie dieselbe wilden Tieren oder dem Vieh ähnlich bildeten; aber auch die Hellenen, die ihre Götter in Menschengestalt formten, seien im Unrecht. *Denn nur dieses eine Wesen sei Gott, das uns alle, Erde und Meer umfasse und das wir Himmel, Welt und Natur des Seienden nennen* (ἓν γὰρ τοῦτο μόνον θεὸς τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν).

Die Quelle von Strabon dürften letztlich jüdisch sein.[19] Auch Aristobulos (*Praep. ev.* 13.12.4; fr. 4) leitet ja eine seiner "pseudo-paganen" Zitate auf ähnliche Weise ein:

> ("Orpheus") äußert sich… in diesem Sinne darüber, dass *das All von der göttlichen Macht durchwaltet wird, dass es entstanden ist und dass Gott über allem steht* (οὕτως ἐκτίθεται περὶ τοῦ διακρατεῖσθαι θείᾳ δυνάμει τὰ πάντα καὶ γενητὰ ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων εἶναι τὸν θεόν).

Zu dieser Bemerkung kommt da gerade noch eine andere: eine wesentliche Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem Zitieren bei Lukas und bei Aristobulos ist nämlich zu vermerken. Bei Aristobulos stehen die Zitate aus Arat und Pseudo-Orpheus nebeneinander. Orpheus und Epimenides sind beide durchaus ähnliche mythologische Gestalten, die im Bewußtsein der Griechen großes Gewicht hatten. Epimenides war doch eine ganz ideale Figur, da er sogar an Totenauferstehung glauben sollte (vgl. Pythagoras, der auch von Aristobulos und Josephus erwähnt wird), ein "Prophet" war (vgl. Diogenes 1.114) und bei den Athenern "richtigen Kult" stiftete. Auch deswegen ist es möglich, dass Lukas neben Arat einen diesem Propheten zugeschriebenen Text zitieren konnte und dass dieser Text dabei jüdischen Ursprung haben konnte.

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[18] Vgl. Brief an Solon unter Epimenides' Namen im selben Bericht von Diogenes (1.113).

[19] Wahrscheinlich über Poseidonios (2.-1. Jh. v.Chr.).

Mit der genannten Möglichkeit ist umso mehr zu rechnen, als ja noch Clemens von Alexandrien an einer weiteren NT-Stelle ein Epimenides-Zitat identifiziert hat.[20] Dieses befindet sich im folgenden Kontext.

Paulus empfiehlt dem Titus, den er "auf Kreta bleiben ließ" (Tit 1:5), mit den dortigen Gemeindemitgliedern recht streng umzugehen,

> Denn es gibt viele, die sich nicht unterordnen, leere Schwätzer und Verführer, insbesondere solche aus der Beschneidung; ihnen muss man den Mund stopfen, da sie ganze Hausgemeinschaften zerstören, indem sie um schmutzigen Gewinnes willen lehren, was sich nicht ziemt. Einer von ihnen hat als ihr eigener Prophet gesagt: "Kreter sind immer Lügner, böse Tiere und faule Bäuche" (Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί). Dieses Zeugnis ist wahr. Darum überführe sie mit Strenge, damit sie im Glauben gesund werden, indem sie sich nicht an jüdische Fabeln halten und an Vorschriften von Menschen, die sich von der Wahrheit abwenden (Tit 1:10-14).

Nach dem Zeugnis von Ischodad (s. Anm. 16) geht es bei den Zitaten in Apg 17:28a und Tit 1:12 um zwei fast direkt benachbarte Verse aus der Dichtung von "Minos": höchstwahrscheinlich wurde der legendäre König mit dem legendären Propheten wegen der Beziehung auf die Insel Kreta hier verwechselt. Was auch immer Ischodad darüber hinaus verwechseln konnte,[21] mindestens kann man nicht ohne Weiteres behaupten, dass es sich bei der Epimenides-Dichtung um eine reine Hypothese handelt.

Damit kommen wir zum Schluß, dass Paulus im engeren Kontext der Areopagrede mit der Figur von Epimenides parallelisiert wird, aus welchem Anlass Lukas dabei auch Verse aus einer pseudepigraphen "Epimenides"-Schrift anführt (17:28a und wahrscheinlich auch 17:25). Es ist auch mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit anzunehmen, dass dies eine jüdische Fälschung war, genauso wie die vom Aristobulos neben den echten Versen von Arat zitierte "Orpheus"-Dichtung.

Was lässt sich aber von dem Epimenides-Zitat im Titusbrief sagen?

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[20] S. oben.

[21] Etwa, wie Pohlenz (s. Anm. 16) meint, die Zeus-Hymne von Kallimachos (8-9) mit der "Minos-Epimenides"-Dichtung.

Wie in Apg 17 können wir auch hier zwischen einem breiteren und einem engeren Kontext unterscheiden. Einerseits kritisiert der Autor in 1:10-16 die falschen Lehrer, die *"sagen, sie kennen den Gott, in ihren Taten ihn aber leugnen"* (1:16). Diese Situation ist natürlich nicht nur für die Titus-Gemeinde typisch.[22] Andererseits geht es doch um Kreta, wie schon der Vers 1:5 besagt. Wenn also 1:12 wieder auf die "Kreter" zurückkommt, steht dies bestimmt in direkter Verbindung mit dem engeren Kontext.

Tit 1:12 lässt sich dann mit den mutmaßlichen Epimenides-Zitaten in Apg 17 vergleichen, wo diese sich ebenfalls auf die konkrete Situation (dort die von Athen) beziehen. Ein mit dem Arat-Zitat (Apg 17:28b) vergleichbarer Verweis auf einen paganen Text fehlt aber im Titusbrief, und ist vom breiteren Kontext aus auch nicht unbedingt erforderlich. Es wird ja unterstrichen (1:10), dass die falschen Lehrer "meistens von der Beschneidung" sind. Dadurch werden die Juden zwar den "unvernünftigen Heiden" als durchaus ähnlich dargestellt,[23] aber es geht doch eben um eine jüdische, nicht um die wohlbekannte heidnische Gottesunkenntnis.

Ob das Epimenides-Zitat trotzdem auch auf den breiteren Kontext verweist, ist davon abhängig, welchem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang diese Zeile entnommen wurde. Aus der erwähnten Passage von Ischodad ist ersichtlich, dass es um Unsterblichkeit von Zeus die Rede ist:[24] in diesem Fall stehen die Kreter mit Sicherheit für die ganze Welt, die den Gott nicht kennt. Da aber die Authentizität der Ischodad-Stelle fraglich ist, können wir vorsichtig bei der Interpretation aus dem engeren Kontext bleiben, was diese andere Möglichkeit aber nicht grundsätzlich ausschließt.

Im allgemeinen jedoch lassen sich die "Epimenides"-Zitate sowohl in der Areopagrede als auch im Titusbrief im Gegensatz zum Arat-Zitat (Apg 17:28b) am besten als dem engeren, lokalen Kontext entsprechende erklären.

3. Griechische Dichter: 1 Kor 15:33 und ein jüdisch-hellenistischer Topos (πλάνη)

Im 1 Korintherbrief (15:33) macht Paulus von einem Jambenvers paganer Herkunft Gebrauch. Der Vers sieht wie folgt aus:

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[22] S. Beispiele im Kap. 3.

[23] Vgl. Gal 4 (Heiden im V. 3 parallel zu den Juden im V. 9).

[24] Wenn es sich wirklich um einen jüdischen Pseudepigraph handelt, ist Zeus bestimmt mit dem einzigen wahren Gott identisch.

> μὴ πλανᾶσθε· φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί.
>
> Irrt euch nicht: schlimme Kontakte verderben gute Sitten.

Niemand hat in Frage gestellt, dass Paulus hier einen Vers zitiert, es gab freilich bereits in der Antike verschiedene Meinungen dazu, woher genauer das Zitat kommt. Es wurde schon damals bald Euripides, bald Menander, bald unbekannten Tragikern oder Komödiographen zugeschrieben. R. Renehan hat überzeugend bewiesen,[25] dass der Vers einer Tragödie entlehnt ist, deren Verfasser höchstwahrscheinlich Euripides war.[26]

Für das Verstehen dieser Stelle erweist sich ein Vergleich mit einigen anderen NT-Texten als äußerst produktiv, die ebenfalls die Einführungsformel μὴ πλανᾶσθε (irrt euch nicht!) beinhalten. Diese kommt noch an folgenden Stellen vor: 1 Kor 6:9, Gal 6:7 und Jak 1:16.

Es lohnt sich vom Jakobusbrief anzufangen:

> μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί. πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἐστιν...
>
> Irrt euch nicht, meine geliebte Brüder! Jede gute Gabe und jedes vollkommenes Geschenk ist von oben herab (gegeben).

Es wurde schon früh darauf hingewiesen, dass es bei den Worten, die da der erwähnten Formel folgen, um einen Hexametervers geht, was in einem jüdisch-christlich geprägten Prosatext ein Zitat aus dem paganen Schrifttum vermuten ließ.[27]

Eine wichtige Untersuchung zu dieser Stelle hat H. Greeven veröffentlicht,[28] wo er auf den Vergleich mit weiteren Stellen, wo im NT der Ausdruck μὴ πλανᾶσθε verwendet wird, eingeht.[29] Greeven ist zum Schluß gekommen, dass in allen vier Fällen dieser Formel eine Sentenz folgt, die "nicht in einer Formulierung ad hoc... dargeboten wird."[30] Dabei hat er aber neben 1 Kor 15:33 nur 1 Jak 1:17 als Zitat identifiziert.

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[25] Renehan, "Classical Greek Quotations," 29-34.

[26] Besonders wichtig ist der Verweis auf das 1906 publizierte Fragment mit den Worten φθείρουσιν ηθ (Hibeh Papyri 1,7,38)—Renehan, "Classical Greek Quotations," 29-30. Allerdings konnte der Vers auch später von einem Komiker, etwa Menander, benützt werden.

[27] Renehan berücksichtigt die Möglichkeit eines Zitates an dieser Stelle nicht.

[28] H. Greeven, "Jede Gabe ist gut, Jak. 1,17," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 14 (1958) 1-13.

[29] Insb. Greeven, "Jede Gabe," 1-7.

[30] Greeven, "Jede Gabe," 7.

Es ist jedoch anzunehmen, dass Gal 6:7 ebenfalls ein Zitat aus einer uns unbekannten Quelle enthält, da es dabei offensichtlich um einen Jambenhalbvers handelt, dessen Ursprung allerdings unbekannt ist:

> μὴ πλανᾶσθε, θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται
>
> Irrt euch nicht: Gott läßt sich nicht spotten!
>
> θεὸς | οὐ μυκ | τηρί | ζεται[31]
>
> 3 4 5 6

Wenn wir nun H. Greeven folgen und auf gründlichere Weise diejenigen Zusammenhänge betrachten, die in 1 Kor, Gal und Jak durch diese Redewendung eingeleitet werden, finden wir, dass sie alle inhaltliche Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen: erstens, ist davon die Rede, dass es in den Gemeinden, an welche die Briefe gerichtet sind, bestimmte falsche Meinungen bzw. Taten gibt (1 Kor 15:12-34: manche glauben nicht an die Totenauferstehung; Gal 5:16–6:8: manche "wandeln im Fleisch"; Jak 1:12-18: manche wollen eigene Sünden damit rechtfertigen, dass sie angeblich von Gott versucht werden; 1 Kor 6:1-11: manche führen Prozesse in heidnischen Gerichten), zweitens, dass es notwendig ist, den Irrtum sein zu lassen (μὴ πλανᾶσθε). Dem folgt ein Zitat, durch das erklärt wird, weswegen ein Irrtum vorliegt oder warum der betreffende Irrtum gefährlich ist.[32] So erscheinen uns pagane Zitate wiederum in Verbindung mit dem "breiteren Kontext" der Polemik gegen Heidentum, mit dem wir bereits in der Areopagrede und im Titusbrief zu tun hatten.

Das Verb πλανάομαι kommt in den jüdisch-hellenistischen Werken und auch im NT häufig vor als Bezeichnung (*terminus technicus*) für Heidentum als Abweichung vom einzigen richtigen Weg zum einzigen Gott.[33] Für uns ist eine bestimmte Gruppe der jüdisch-hellenistischen Texten von Interesse, wo es mindestens eine direkte Parallele zu 1 Kor 15:33 zu finden ist und auch (weniger direkte) Parallelen zu den hier behandelten NT-Stellen.

Es geht um sog. "dramatische Gnomologium," wo jüdische Imitationen der griechischen Werke enthalten waren. Führen wir hier das am meisten charakteristische Fragment an:[34]

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[31] Θεός kann als Synizese (einsilbig) gelesen werden.

[32] In 1 Kor 6:9-10 wird Zitat durch eine Liste ersetzt, die der Liste in Gal 5:19-21 ähnlich ist.

[33] S. Art. πλανάω in W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1988^6).

[34] Übers. von N. Walter. Im pseudojustinischen Traktat *De Monarchia* (3) wird das

> Glaubst du denn, o Nikostratos, dass die Verstorbenen, die hier im Leben Luxus aller Art genossen haben,—nun deckt die Erde sie—, dass sie seither für alle Zeit der Gottheit, wie (vor ihr) versteckt, entkommen wären? Es gibt ein Auge der Gerechtigkeit, das alles sieht! Wenn (schließlich) doch der Fromme und der Frevler das gleiche (Schicksal) haben sollen, dann raube nur—da du (ohnehin) sterben mußt—, stiehl und plündere, richte Aufruhr an! Doch täusche dich nicht (μηδὲν πλανηθῇς)! Auch im Hades gibt's noch ein Gericht, das Gott, der Herrscher aller Dinge, halten wird, er, dessen furchtbaren Namen zu nennen ich nicht wage.

Die Komposition des "Philemon-Diphilos-Fr." und der Passage 1 Kor 15:32b-34 ist ganz analog, wobei in beiden Fällen in der Mitte die Redewendung μὴ πλανᾶσθε bzw. μηδὲν πλανηθῇς steht. Desto auffallender ist es, dass diesen Worten bei Paulus ein Jambenverszitat folgt.

Weitere Parallelen sind anzuführen. Im Pseudo-Sophokles-Fr. geht es um wahre Gottesdienst und falsche Götzendienst, es wird dabei dasselbe Verb πλανάομαι gebraucht (V. 4: καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι). Im "Menander-Philemon-Fr." ist davon die Rede, dass der den Göttern (oder wohl auch dem Gott?) viel Opfernde, der auf solche Weise die Zuneigung der Gottheit zu gewinnen glaubt, *sich irrt* (πλανᾶτ' ἐκεῖνος—V. 7), denn Gott sind keine Opfer gefällig, sondern gute Taten. Im Pseudo-Äschyl-Fr. finden wir wiederum die Idee der "Unkenntnis Gottes" vor (οὐκ οἶσθα αὐτόν—V. 3) und eine Warnung im Stil des μὴ πλανᾶσθε (μὴ δόκει…—V. 1).

Alle diese Parallelen veranlassen uns anzunehmen, dass Paulus die Texte, die in die jüdischen Gnomologien eingefügt worden waren, kennen konnte. Wenn es dem so ist, können wir nicht ausschließen, dass die Jambenverse vom Apostel ähnlichen Sammlungen entlehnt worden sind, in welchen echte Verse der griechischen Autoren neben den Fälschungen (meistens jüdischer Herkunft) stehen konnten.

Möglicherweise war der μὴ πλανᾶσθε-Topos auch weiter verbreitet, dann gehen sowohl die Gnomologien-, als auch die angeführten NT-Stellen auf diesen jüdisch-hellenistischen Topos zurück. Jedenfalls ist diese weitere Verknüpfung zwischen den urchristlichen und den frühjüdischen Texten bemerkenswert. Der Topos scheint wichtiger zu sein, als jeweiliges Zitat selbst: die Worte μὴ πλανᾶσθε ersetzen eigentlich den Verweis auf die paganen Schriften. Nicht der konkrete Autor ist wichtig, sondern allein (oder primär) der Gedanke: hütet euch vor Irrtum, davor haben ja noch heidnische Weisen (Dichter) gewarnt und dann auch Juden mit Verweis

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Fragment dem Philemon zugeschrieben, bei Clemens (*Strom.* 5.121.1-3) aber dem Diphilos.

auf jene Heiden. Jüdisch-christliche Intertextualität ist im Grunde genommen wichtiger als entsprechende pagan-christliche.

4. Euripides: Apg 26:14 und ein weiterer frühjüdischer Topos

Die von uns unternommene Untersuchung der "Epimenides"-Kontexten einerseits und der μὴ πλανᾶσθε-Stellen andererseits haben gezeigt, dass die Verwendung der paganen Werke im NT sich auf die drei von Renehan akzeptierten Stellen nicht begrenzt. Daher lohnt es sich, mindestens noch einen Text zu behandeln, wo schon mehrmals mindestens eine Anspielung auf bestimmte Stellen der bekannten Werke der pagan-griechischen Literatur angenommen wurde.

Es geht um Apg 26:14, wo in der Verteidigungsrede von Paulus die an ihn gerichteten Worte des auferstandenen Jesus angeführt werden:

> πάντων τε καταπεσόντων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἤκουσα φωνὴν λέγουσαν πρός με τῇ Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ, Σαοὺλ Σαούλ, τί με διώκεις; σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν.
>
> Als aber wir alle zu Boden fielen, hörte ich eine Stimme, die auf Hebräisch zu mir sprach: "Saul, Saul, was verfolgst du mich? Es ist schwer für dich gegen den Stachel auszuschlagen!"[35]

"Gegen den Stachel ausschlagen" ist schon auf jeden Fall deutlich sprichwörtlich, doch hat der Zusammenhang manche Forscher veranlasst, hier darüber hinaus eine Anspielung bzw. ein Zitat anzunehmen, und zwar auf die (aus den) "Bakchen" von Euripides (*Bacch.* 795).[36]

Für unser Thema ist, wie jetzt schon klar sein dürfte, vor allem der Kontext des jeweiligen paganen Zitates im rezeptiven Text wichtig, in diesem Fall also in der Paulus-Rede vor Agrippas und Festus. In der Bekehrungsszene von Saulos, wie diese gerade hier (anders als in parallelen Darstellungen Apg 9 und 22) dargestellt ist, gibt es eine Besonderheit, die auf eine Beziehung dieser Szene zur Areopagrede hinweist. Der auferstandene Jesus, vom verblüfften Verfolger gefragt, wer er sei, antwortet da Folgendes:

> Ich bin Jesus, den du verfolgst. Stehe aber auf und trete auf deine Füße, denn ich bin dir dazu erschienen, um dich als Diener und Zeugen für das, was du gesehen hast[37]

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[35] Die Redensweise σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν kommt (außer in wenigen Hanschriften) nur hier, im Kap. 26 (nicht aber in den Kap. 9 oder 22) vor.

[36] πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζοιμι θνητὸς ὢν θεῶι.

[37] Andere Lesart: dass du mich gesehen hast.

> und was du noch sehen wirst, zu gebrauchen. Und ich werde dich vom (jüdischen) Volk erretten und auch von den Heiden, zu denen ich dich sende, damit du ihre Augen auftust, um sie vom Finsternis zum Licht zu bekehren und von der Macht des Satans zu Gott, zu empfangen Vergebung der Sünden und das Erbe zusammen mit denen, die durch den Glauben an mich geheiligt werden (Apg 26:15-18).

Wie in der Areopagrede geht es um (1) die Heiden, die (2) blind sind,[38] nun aber (3) durch den Glauben an den auferstandenen Christus (4) zu Gott bekehren und (5) Vergebung ihrer Sünden bekommen können. Erinnern wir uns daran, dass Paulus (im Gegensatz zur Situation des Kap. 22, wo er sich vor den Jerusalemer Juden verteidigen muss) vor dem Festus steht, der ein Römer (also Heide) ist und wohl auch vor anderen Römern, was auch die Verteidigungsrede in Cäsarea der Athen-Rede ähnlich macht. Saulos, der "den Gott nicht kannte" muss nun blind, danach aber wieder sehend werden und bewirken, dass auch die "blinden" Heiden sehend werden und "Erbe zusammen mit denen, die geheiligt werden" (26:18), empfangen. Es geht also wieder um die Überwindung der "Unkenntnis Gottes," d.h. des Heidentums.

Schon W. Nestle[39] betrachtete den Vers 26:14 nicht abgesondert, sondern im Zusammenhang der Apostelgeschichte als Ganzen. Später wurde die Frage von einem euripideischen Einfluss auf Lukas von O. Weinreich,[40] M. Dibelius[41] und anderen Forschern untersucht.

Es geht um folgende Texte, die vermutlich Parallelen in der Tragödie "Bakchen" haben: Apg 5:17-41; 12:3-19; 16:19-40 (sog. "Befreiungswunderszenen"). Die Frage, ob diese Texte Anspielungen oder zufällige Parallelen sind, ist für das Verstehen von 26:14 wichtig. Wenn Lukas ständig den Text der "Bakchen" im Auge behielt, ist es durchaus möglich, dass die Worte 26:14 als Zitat gemeint, wenn auch ungenau wiedergegeben waren. Die Betrachtung der Parallelen in den Befreiungswunderszenen zu den "Bakchen" und der ganzen Dionysos-Tradition, die bei O. Weinreich besonders ausführlich ist, zeigt, dass Lukas "die Bakchen wahrscheinlich unmittelbar benutzt" hat.[42]

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[38] Das Verb ψηλαφάω (Apg 17:27) bedeutet eigentlich "betasten," was Blindheit voraussetzt.

[39] W. Nestle, "Anklänge an Euripides in der Apostelgeschichte," *Philologus*, 59 (1900) 46-57.

[40] O. Weinreich, *Gebet und Wunder: Zwei Abhandlungen zur Religions- und Literaturgeschichte* (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 1968, 1929^1) 309-341.

[41] M. Dibelius, *Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte* (Berlin: Evangel. Verl.-Anst., 1951) 159-162.

[42] Weinreich, *Gebet und Wunder*, 341.

Jedoch untersucht Weinreich völlig ernsthaft auch die Möglichkeit eines jüdisch-hellenistischen Einflusses auf Lukas und zwar seitens Artapanos und des Tragikers Hesekiel, denen man noch den Verfasser des 3. Makk hinzufügen kann.[43] Sie alle haben offensichtlich die euripideische Tradition mitbenutzt, wobei der Topos der Theomachie von größter Bedeutung war (vgl. Apg 5:39).

Die Befreiungswunderszenen von Artapanos (Fr. 3, bei Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.27.23-24) und Lukas (Apg 16:24-27) scheinen sehr ähnlich zu sein. Als weitere Parallele mag Artapanos, Fr. 3 (*Praep. ev.* 9.27.6)—Apg 14:12 gelten, wo Moses bzw. Paulus mit dem Gott Hermes verglichen wird.[44] Es ist also möglich, dass der Apg-Verfasser in seinem Gebrauch vom euripideischen Theomachie-Topos (auch) auf der jüdischen Tradition aufbaute.

Allerdings konnte Lukas auch unabhängig von der Benutzung konkreter Texte Interesse an diesem Topos haben, der gerade in den "Bakchen" am besten ausgearbeitet wurde. Jedoch zeigen die vorherigen Erwägungen, dass andere NT-Stellen, Areopagrede inbegriffen, mit bestimmten jüdisch-hellenistischen Texten und nicht nur mit den abstrakten Topoi parallelisiert werden können.

Wir sehen jedenfalls auch an diesem Beispiel, dass der pagane Text gerade dort benutzt wird, wo es bereits eine jüdische Tradition vorlag: bei der Beschreibung der vergeblichen Theomachie, die für die Heiden typisch war, nach Paulus aber[45] auch die ungläubigen Juden charakterisierte, einer von denen er selbst als Christenverfolger Saulos gewesen war.

5. Zusammenfassung

Welche Schlüsse lassen sich aus den durchgeführten Untersuchungen der Verwendung von paganen Zitaten im NT ziehen?

Alle Fälle dürfen einem breiteren Kontext zugeordnet werden, in dem es ständig um einen schweren religiösen Irrtum geht, der als "Unkenntnis Gottes" (ἄγνοια τοῦ θεοῦ) bezeichnet wird oder bezeichnet werden kann.

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43) Zu 3 Makk s. J.R.C. Cousland, "Dionysos *theomachos*? Echoes of the *Bacchae* in 3 Maccabees," *Biblica* 82 (2001) 539-548.

44) Vgl. noch Apg. 7:22 und Artapanos, Fr. 3 (*Praep. ev.* 9.27.4). Hier konnte Lukas eine andere Quelle haben (doch wohl auch eine jüdisch-hellenistische), wenn er aber die Moses-Geschichte in der Version von Artapanos kannte, durfte er diese auch in der Stephanus-Rede benutzen.

45) Vgl. Tit 1, aber auch Gal 4.

Das besagt nicht nur der Kontext als solcher, sondern davon ist in einem der benachbarten Verse ausdrücklich die Rede, und gelegentlich kommt noch eine "Signalredewendung" dazu (μὴ πλανᾶσθε).

Zitate	**"Unkenntnis Gottes"**
Apg 17:23-28	Apg 17:23,30
Apg 26:14	Apg 26:18
1 Kor 15:33	1 Kor 15:34 + MΠ
Gal 6:7	MΠ[46]
Tit 1:12	Tit 1:16
Jak 1:17	Jak 1:13-14 + MΠ

Das Thema der heidnischen Abwendung von Gott entstammt bestimmt dem jüdisch-hellenistischen Schrifttum. Mehr oder weniger deutlich sind auch konkrete Bezüge auf die frühjüdischen Werke, wo dieselbe pagane Texte bzw. Textstellen bereits als Zitat- bzw. Anspielungsquellen oder als Nachahmungsvorbilder benützt worden waren. Zitat aus einem paganen Werk kann also gleichzeitig als Anspielung auf ein jüdisch-hellenistisches Werk verstanden werden, das in bestimmter Weise gegen Heidentum gerichtet war.

Zitate	**Frühjüdische Vorbilder**
Apg 17:23-28	Aristobulos, (Pseudo-) Epimenides (?)
Apg 26:14	Artapanos, Tragiker Hesekiel, 3 Makk
1 Kor 15:33	(Pseudo)griechische Dichter
Gal 6:7	(Pseudo)griechische Dichter
Tit 1:12	(Pseudo-) Epimenides
Jak 1:17	(Pseudo)griechische Dichter

Inhaltlich gesehen beziehen sich alle Zitatkontexte auf verschiedene logische Stufen eines Diskurses, in welchem die jüdischen Autoren sich mit dem paganen Polytheismus auseinandersetzten. Der eine Gott, der auch den Heiden (etwa unter dem Namen Zeus) bekannt ist,[47] hat die ganze Welt und auch die Menschen geschaffen.[48] Die Menschen haben ihn aber verlassen (πλάνη),[49] deswegen haben sie auch jeder echten Kenntnis des Gottes verlustig gegangen (ἄγνοια τοῦ θεοῦ).[50] Der Gott lässt sich aber nicht verhöhnen: er bestraft diejenigen, die sich gegen ihn auflehnen (θεομαχία).[51]

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[46] Um Unkenntnis Gottes geht es hier auch im (mutmaßlichen) Zitat selbst.

So sind die "paganen" Zitate im Grunde genommen Anspielungen auf diesen wohlbekannten frühjüdischen Diskurs, als dessen Fortsetzer sich die urchristlichen Prediger und Schriftsteller verstehen.[52]

Die andere Gelegenheit, bei der pagane Werke sonst benutzt werden konnten, ist die Beschreibung der lokalen Umstände, die sich mit den Werken der griechischen Literatur eigentlich gut verknüpft werden könnten, wo es um so prominente griechische Städte ging wie etwa Korinth oder Ephesus. Doch ist die Beziehung der uns bekannten Zitate im NT auf solche lokale Kontexte wesentlich schmaler und fraglicher.

Lediglich die vermutlichen Epimenides-Zitate in der Areopagrede (denen noch die Apg 17:23 angeführte Inschrift ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ zuzurechnen wäre) und das Epimenides-Zitat in Tit 1:12 fallen unter diese Kategorie. Es geht aber bei diesen beiden Referenzen auf eine und dieselbe Person (Epimenides) und wohl auch um einen und denselben (oder doch nahverwandten) Text, der dazu noch jüdische Fälschung sein könnte. Es ist deshalb nicht ganz klar, ob das Zitieren als solches sich hier auf den lokalen Kontext bezieht. Wahrscheinlicher ist diese Annahme für den Titusbrief, aber auch da sind wir des bekannten breiteren Kontextes der ἄγνοια gewahr (1:16).

Andererseits ist das lokale Interesse, insbesondere in der Apostelgeschichte, klar bemerkbar und in letzter Zeit auch recht gründlich erforscht.[53]

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[47] Aristeasbrief 16; Philo, *Spec.* 2.165.

[48] Weish 13:1-5; *OrSib* 3.29-35, Philo, *Opif.* 7 u.ö.

[49] Tob (א) 14:6; *OrSib* fr. 1.19-30; *TestNaph* 3.1-5; Philo, *Dec.* 52 u.ö.

[50] Weish 15:10-11; *JosAs* 12.5; Philo, *Fug.* 8 u.ö.

[51] Dan 4 (Nabuchodonosor); 2 Makk 9 (Antiochus IV.); Josephus, *Bell.* 2.184-203 (Gaius Kaligula).

[52] Selbstverständlich können sie dabei für bestimmte Seiten des Göttlichen Interesse haben, die für die Christen charakteristisch sind, wie etwa die Macht, die Toten zu erwecken (wie in 1 Kor 15).

[53] C. Breytenbach, *Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); P. Pilhofer, *Philippi* (Tübingen: Mohr; 1. Bd. 1995, 2. Bd. 2000); P. Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2004).

Gerade an solchen Stellen wie Apg 14 (Lystra), 16 (Philippi), 18 (Korinth) oder 19 (Ephesus) wurden jedoch bisher keine Verweise auf pagane Schriften entdeckt.

Unser Ergebnis stimmt also mit dem allgemeinen Urteil von Martin Hengel überein: "Was an 'paganen Einflüssen' im Urchristentum vermutet wurde, kann durchweg auf jüdische Vermittlung zurückgehen. Nirgendwo läßt sich eine direkte bleibende Beeinflussung durch heidnische Kulte oder nichtjüdisches Denken nachweisen."[54]

6. Pagane Zitate in der frühchristlichen Literatur: Ausblick

Dieselbe jüdische Modelle, deren Anwendung wir in den NT-Schriften feststellen konnten, gewinnt mit der Zeit noch an Bedeutung für die Prediger des Christentums. Im 2. Jh. ist dadurch die ganze griechischsprachige Apologetik geprägt, der dann auch die lateinische folgt. Ihren direkten Vorläufer hat diese Gattung gerade in der polemischen Schrift *Contra Apionem* des jüdischen Historikers Flavius Josephus (gegen 95 n.Chr.). Dabei geht es nicht nur um Verteidigung des Christentums bzw. Judentums, sondern auch um aktive Bekämpfung der polytheistischen Religiösität, insbesondere des Götzendienstes. Hier steht also die heidnische ἄγνοια τοῦ θεοῦ im Brennpunkt des Interesses.

Mit der Entwicklung des Genres wächst die Zahl der Zitate aus den paganen Werken, von denen die christlichen Apologeten Gebrauch machen. Schon bei Justin und Tatian sind Zitatkontexte deutlich polemisch geprägt, wobei aber die paganen Autoren als Verbündete zitiert werden. Ein Beispiel aus der "Zweiten Apologie" von Justin (2 Ap. 10.5-6) soll angeführt werden. An dieser Stelle verwendet Justin eine kleine Serie von außerbiblischen Zitaten und Anspielungen. Es geht um Vergleich von Jesus Christus und Sokrates. Es wird zunächst die Anklageformel zitiert (10.5—Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.1; vgl. Plat. *Ap.* 24b), dann folgt eine Plato-Anspielung (10.6—Plat. *Rep.* 2.377d u.a.) und gleich ein (nicht ganz genaues) Zitat aus "Timäus" (28c). Die Stelle sieht wie folgt aus:

> Der kräftigste von ihnen allen aber, welcher in dieser Beziehung Sokrates war, wurde der gleichen Vergehen angeklagt wie wir; denn auch von ihm gaben sie an, dass er

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[54] M. Hengel, "Das früheste Christentum als eine jüdische messianische und universalistische Bewegung," in *Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana: Kleine Schriften II* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1999) 202.

> neue Gottheiten einführe, die Götter hingegen, welche der Staat anerkenne, nicht gelten lasse. Er aber hatte die Leute zwar allerdings gelehrt, sie sollten die Dämonen als wahrhaft böse und die eben es gewesen seien, so jene Dinge verübt hätten, welche die Dichter erzählten, verschmähen und ablehnen, wie er denn auch den Homer und die übrigen Dichter aus dem Staate abgeschafft wissen wollte; dass aber die Menschen den ungekannten Gott mittelst der Vernunft suchen und kennen lernen möchten, dazu mahnte er, wenn er auch sagte: "Den Vater und Schöpfer aller Dinge zu finden ist aber nicht leicht; und ebensowenig ist den Gefundenen vor allen zu verkünden sicher."

Es geht also hier um wahren Gott und unwahre "Götter," um Kenntnis und Unkenntnis des Einen Gottes. Ausdrucksvoll sind die Worte θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγνώστου αὐτοῖς, die unter den paganen Zitaten stehen und ganz deutlich an die Areopagrede von Paulus erinnern, darüber hinaus aber auf die frühere jüdische Polemik gegen Heidentum verweisen.

Das hier ansatzweise vorkommende Zitieren mehrerer Stellen aus verschiedenen paganen Werken nacheinander kommt im NT zwar nicht vor, wird aber bereits von Aristobulos verwendet. Insbesondere seit Athenagoras (160er Jahre n.Chr.) findet diese literarische Form in der christlichen Apologetik immer häufigere Verwendung. So stoßen wir in der Apologie von Theophil, in den pseudojustinischen Traktaten (*Cohortatio ad Graecos*, *De Monarchia*) und besonders oft bei Clemens von Alexandrien darauf. Die *Stromata* von Clemens mit ihren mehr als tausend Anknüpfungen an pagan-griechisches Schrifttum bilden den Höhepunkt der christlichen Benutzung desselben. Wenn nun Clemens (s. Zitat anfangs) hier im Apostel Paulus seinen Vorläufer sieht, so hat er ja, wie wir uns überzeugen konnten, nicht unrecht: die obenuntersuchten NT-Texte bilden erste Stufe zum "christlichen Hellenismus" im christlichen Schrifttum. Jedoch liegen die Anfänge der Tradition im frühen Judentum, wovon die Werke vom selben Clemens reichlich Zeugnis ablegen: so werden Aristobulos, Artapanos, jüdische Nachahmungen der griechischen Dichter sowie natürlich Philo und Josephus in seinem Werk ständig rezipiert.

Im 4. Jh. schaffen Eusebios und Laktanz zwei große Werke (*Praeparatio evangelica* und *Divinae institutiones*), die sich viel mit der antiken Literatur auseinandersetzen, wobei im Zentrum ständig dieselbe Modelle steht. Ihnen folgt im 5. Jh. noch die *Curatio* von Theodoret. Andere Modellen der Benutzung des Griechischen stehen immer im Schatten dieses chronologisch ersten und aus dem Frühjudentum stammenden Diskurses. Was von der Belesenheit des jeweiligen christlichen Schriftstellers in der klassischen Literatur kommt, bleibt für seine Leser begrenzt bemerkbar. Gerade das Zitieren sorgt ja dafür, dass die Lesenden auf bestimmte Intertextualität verwiesen werden. Dort aber, wo keine Zitate bzw. zitatähnliche Anspielungen vorkommen, die mindestens durch solche Signale wie μὴ πλανᾶσθε gekennzeichnet sind, ist es lediglich einigen wenigen möglich, einen Verweis auf paganes Schrifttum wahrzunehmen.[55]

So bleibt die schon im NT benutzte Rezeptionsmodelle auch weiterhin als wichtigster Weg der "Hellenisierung des Christentums" oder, wenn man will, auch der "Christianisierung des Griechentums" bestehen.[56]

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[55] So steht es beispielsweise mit möglichen Homer-Anspielungen im lukanischen Doppelwerk oder mit der Nachahmung der Gattung des platonischen Dialogs im "Gespräch mit dem Juden Tryphon" von Justin.

[56] Vgl. Diskussion zu dieser Begrifflichkeit bei J. Walter, *Pagane Texte und Wertvorstellungen bei Lactanz* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2006) 12-16.

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Kein Gewinn = Gewinn

Die kynisch geprägte Struktur der Argumentation in 1 Tim 6:3-12

Nils Neumann
Kassel

Abstract

In the last chapter of 1 Timothy there is one passage arguing passionately and polemically against differently minded teachers. It calls on its readers to beware of the different teaching (1 Tim 6:3-12). This New Testament text brings forward a train of thought that shows far reaching parallels to the Cynic Philosophy of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. The criticism which 1 Timothy passes on its opponents corresponds to the criticism of the contemporary Cynics against their adversaries. It mainly concerns the hypocritical motivations that lead the differently minded teachers to preach their message: according to the view of their critics they only aim to make money out of their teachings. In this reasoning polemical and paraenetical components unite. The careful consideration of this New Testament passage's similarity to the cynic world of thought also faciliates the description of the specific character in the intention of 1 Timothy against the cynic background, i.e. the christological accentuation of the favoured good teaching and lifestyle.

Keywords

1 Timothy; Cynicism; φιλαργυρία; αὐτάρκεια

Dass es gewisse Berührungspunkte zwischen der kynischen Philosophie der hellenistischen Antike und einzelnen Gedanken des frühen Christentums gibt, ist in der exegetischen Forschung schon gelegentlich beobachtet worden.[1] Und dass sich bestimmte Ähnlichkeiten zur zeitgenössischen

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[1] Vgl. dazu insbes. die Arbeiten von F.G. Downing, "Cynics and Christians," *NTS* 30 (1984) 584-593; ders., "Cynics and Early Christianity," in *Le cynisme ancien et ses prolongements: Actes du colloque international du CNRS* (hg. M.-O. Goulet-Cazé; Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1993) 281-304. Des weiteren gibt es Untersuchungen, die eine Abhängigkeit der Logienquelle Q vom Kynismus plausibel machen. Vgl. insbes. L.E. Vaage,

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Popularphilosophie in der Argumentation von 1 Tim 6:3-12 finden, darüber geben die wissenschaftlichen Kommentare in pauschaler Formulierung Auskunft.[2] Dass aber in der Polemik gegen die Anders-Lehrenden, wie sie in 1 Tim 6:3-12 begegnet, bis ins Detail hineinreichende Berührungspunkte gerade mit dem kynischen Zweig der Popularphilosophie des 1. und 2. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts bestehen, ist von der exegetischen Forschung bislang nicht gesehen worden.[3] Der Zweck der vorliegenden Studie liegt deswegen darin, die Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen der Argumentation in 1 Tim 6:3-12 und der antiken kynischen Denkweise anhand der einschlägigen Quellen aufzuzeigen, um auf dieser Basis dann auch die Eigenarten des ntl. Textabschnitts aus dem 1. Timotheusbrief umso präziser benennen zu können.

Nachdem die kynische Richtung in der Philosophie im 4. und 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr. mit dem Wirken von Antisthenes von Athen, Diogenes von Sinope, Krates von Theben und Menippos von Gadara ihre erste Blütezeit erreicht hat, ebben Einfluss und Verbreitung des Kynismus anschließend deutlich ab, um erst in der Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. erneut zuzunehmen.[4] Zur Entstehungszeit des 1. Timotheusbriefs um 100 n. Chr.[5] befinden sich die kynischen Gedanken also gerade auf dem Weg zu neuer Popularität. Der Kynismus entwickelt sich rasch zu einer weit ver-

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Q: The Ethos and Ethics of an Itinerant Intelligence (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1987). Dazu kritisch Ch.M. Tuckett, “A Cynic Q?” *Bib* 70 (1989) 349-376. Vgl. außerdem meine Untersuchung zum Beginn des Lukasevangeliums: N. Neumann, *Lukas und Menippos: Hoheit und Niedrigkeit in Lk 1:1-2:40 und in der menippeischen Literatur* (NTOA 68; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008). Schließlich taucht in einzelnen Veröffentlichungen auch der Gedanke auf, dass Paulus mancherorts kynische Gedanken rezipiert. Vgl. H. Funke, “Antisthenes bei Paulus,” *Hermes* 98 (1970) 459-471; A.J. Malherbe, “Exhortation in First Thessalonians,” *NT* 25 (1983) 283-256; ders., “ ‘Gentle as a Nurse’: The Cynic Background to 1 Thess 2,” *NT* 12 (1970) 203-217.

[2] Vgl. insbes. M. Dibelius, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (HNT 13; Tübingen: Mohr, ^{2}1931) 52; H. Merkel, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (NTD 9/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ^{13}1991) 48. Vgl. auch N. Brox, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (RNT 7/2; Regensburg: Pustet, ^{4}1969) 209.

[3] Am weitesten gehen in dieser Richtung die Überlegungen von F.E. Brenk, “Old Wineskins Recycled: Autarkeia in 1 Timothy 6:5-10,” *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 3 (1990) 39-51: Brenk untersucht die Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen 1 Tim 6:5-10 und popularphilosophischen Konzeptionen der Antike und heftet seine Ausführungen dabei an die Benutzung der Stichworte αὐτάρκεια und πορισμός (vgl. insbes. ebd., 50).

[4] Vgl. D.R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism: From Diogenes to the 6th Century A.D.* (Hildesheim: Olms, Nachdruck 1967) 117.

[5] Zur Datierung des 1. Timotheusbriefs vgl. Brox, *Pastoralbriefe*, 58; J. Roloff, *Der erste Brief an Timotheus* (EKK 15; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988) 46.

breiteten philosophischen Richtung und kann in diesem Sinne daher mit Recht als "Popularphilosophie" bezeichnet werden. Als Quellen, die Rückschlüsse auf das Denken und Handeln der kynischen Philosophen in den beiden ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten erlauben, stehen nun die folgenden Texte zur Verfügung:[6] Im Übergang zwischen dem späten 1. und frühen 2. Jahrhundert schreibt der Stoiker[7] Epiktet (etwa 50-125)[8] eine Abhandlung "Über den Kynismus,"[9] und Dio Chrysostomos (etwa 40-nach 112)[10] hält einige Reden, die ebenfalls deutlich den Einfluss der kynischen Philosophie erkennen lassen;[11] Diogenes von Sinope als idealer Kyniker der ersten Blütezeit dient in Dions Reden häufig als Musterbeispiel einer tugendhaften Lebensführung. Im 2. Jahrhundert schreibt in Syrien der philosophische Autor Lukian von Samosata (etwa 120-190)[12] eine Reihe von Dialogen,[13] von welchen einige ebenfalls deutlich kynisch geprägt sind. Lukian stellt sich selbst als Verbündeten des Kynismus vor,[14] und in seinen komischen Schriften rezipiert er vielfach die auf den Kyniker Menippos von Gadara zurückgehende literarische Tradition.[15] Hier begegnen kynische Gedanken, die in die Form von erzähltem Geschehen gegossen sind.[16] Schließlich widmet in der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.[17] Diogenes Laertios den Kynikern ein ganzes Buch in seinem umfangreichen Werk über die verschiedenen philosophischen Richtungen;[18] hier sind wie bei Lukian ebenfalls Traditionen aus dem frühen bzw. frühen kaiserzeitlichen Kynismus verarbeitet.[19]

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[6] Eine ähnliche Auswahl von Quellen legt auch R. Bultmann (*Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Nachdruck 1984] 6-9) seiner Untersuchung über die kynisch-stoische Diatribe zugrunde. Vgl. hierzu auch die Quellen, welche Downing, "Cynics and Christians," 584-585 nennt.

[7] In dieser Zeit lassen sich Stoa und Kynismus nicht scharf voneinander abgrenzen (vgl. Diog. L. 6.104). Vgl. hierzu auch Dudley, *History*, 137; J.M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) 54.

[8] Zur Datierung vgl. B. Inwood, "Epiktetos," *DNP* 3 (1997) 1123-1125, hier 1123.

[9] Ausgabe: M. Billerbeck, hg., *Epiktet: Vom Kynismus* (Leiden: Brill 1978).

[10] Zur Datierung vgl. M. Weißenberger, "Dion Cocceianus von Prusa," *DNP* 3 (1997) 621-622, hier 621.

[11] Ausgabe: J.W. Cohoon und H.L. Crosby, hgg., *Dio Chrysostom* (5 Bde.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912-1951).

[12] Zur Datierung vgl. H.-G. Nesselrath, "Lukianos von Samosata," *DNP* 7 (1999) 493-501, hier 493.

[13] Ausgabe: A.M. Harmon, K. Kilburn and M.D. Macleod, hgg., *Lucian* (8 Bde.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913-1967).

[14] So auch R. Helm, "Lucian und die Philosophenschulen," *NJKA 9* (1902) 188-213, 263-278, 351-369, hier 358-360, 367-368. Vgl. hierzu auch H.-G. Nesselrath, "Lukian und die antike Philosophie," in *Die Lügenfreunde, oder: der Ungläubige* (SAPERE 3; hg. M. Ebner, H. Gzella und E. Ribbat; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001) 135-152, hier 149.

[15] Vgl. Neumann, *Lukas und Menippos*, 210-213. Vgl. hierzu aber auch Helm, "Lucian," 364. In diesem Zusammenhang stellt H.D. Betz (*Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament: Religionsgeschichtliche und paränetische Parallelen* [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961] 183-184) fest, dass besonders in den menippeischen Texten Lukians Tugend- und Lasterkataloge

Was die zeitgenössischen Kyniker denken, berührt sich in nicht wenigen Punkten mit der Argumentation im Schlusskapitel des 1. Timotheusbriefs. Hier polemisiert der in apostolischer Autorität schreibende Verfasser gegen diejenigen, die eine abweichende Lehre vertreten (1 Tim 6:3: ἑτεροδιδασκαλέω) und ermahnt seinen Leser, sich vor deren Lehre in Acht zu nehmen. Die Wendung ταῦτα δίδασκε καὶ παρακάλει (v. 2) kennzeichnet dabei den

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anzutreffen sind. Betz spricht hier von "paränetischen" Äußerungen. Für den Kontext der vorliegenden Untersuchung besitzt vor allem die Beobachtung Gewicht, dass wie in Lukians menippeischen Stücken auch in 1 Tim 6 katalogartige Aufzählungen von Tugenden und Lastern begegnen.

[16] Überhaupt ist es charakteristisch für die kynische Überlieferung, dass sie eine weitgehend anekdotische Prägung trägt. Vgl. hierzu auch G. Rudberg, "Zur Diogenes-Tradition," in *Die Kyniker in der modernen Forschung: Aufsätze mit Einführung und Bibliographie* (BSPh 15; hg. M. Billerbeck; Amsterdam: Grüner, 1991) 107-126; vgl. ferner M. Billerbeck, "Greek Cynicism in Imperial Rome," in *Die Kyniker in der modernen Forschung: Aufsätze mit Einführung und Bibliographie* (BSPh 15; hg. M. Billerbeck; Amsterdam: Grüner, 1991) 147-166, hier 147-148.

[17] Zur Datierung vgl. D.T. Runia, "Diogenes Laertios," *DNP* 3 (1997) 601-603, hier 601.

[18] Ausgabe: R.D. Hicks, hg., *Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (2 Bde.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925).

[19] Als Beispiel nenne ich die bekannte Anekdote über Diogenes und König Alexander (Diog. L. 6.38), die schon im frühen 2. Jh. bei Plutarch begegnet (Plut., *Alex.* 14.1-5; Ausgabe: B. Perrin, hg., *Plutarch's Lives* [Bd. 7; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919]; zur Datierung nach 96 n.Chr. vgl. C.B.R. Pelling, "Plutarchos II: Biographien," *DNP* 9 [2000] 1160-1165, hier 1160), und deren Präsenz bereits in der 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. n.Chr. sich durch die Existenz eines Reliefs belegen lässt, welches die Szene darstellt (zu diesem Relief und seiner Datierung vgl. W. Amelung, "Notes on Representations of Socrates and of Diogenes and Other Cynics," *AJA* 31 [1927] 281-296, hier 289-291). Als weitere Quellen zum Kynismus verwende ich die schwer zu datierenden Kyniker-Briefe, die Krates und Diogenes zugeschrieben werden (Ausgaben: A.J. Malherbe, hg., *The Cynic Epistles: A Study Edition* [Missoula: Scholars, 1977] und E. Müseler, hg., *Die Kynikerbriefe* [Bd. 2; Paderborn: Schöningh, 1994]; zu ihrer Datierung vgl. Malherbe, *Cynic Epistles*, 10 u. 14-15), und einige erhaltene Fragmente des Kynikers Teles, die aus dem 3. Jh. v.Chr. stammen. Ausgabe: E.N. O'Neil, hg., *Teles: The Cynic Teacher* (Missoula: Scholars, 1977); zu ihrer Datierung vgl. O'Neil, *Teles*, xii; vgl. hierzu ferner M.-O. Goulet-Cazé, "Teles," *DNP* 12/1 (2002) 95.

Beginn des neuen Gedankengangs, der als Anklage gegen die Anders-Lehrenden eingeleitet wird und in dem Vorwurf gipfelt, diese Lehrer betrieben ihre Lehre mit dem Ziel, sich materiell zu bereichern (v. 5). Dieser als verwerflich gekennzeichneten Haltung setzt der Text eine andere Sichtweise entgegen, die die εὐσέβεια tatsächlich als einen Gewinn beschreibt, diesen Gewinn dabei aber in einem nicht-materiellen Sinne versteht (v. 6). Aufgrund dieses Verständnisses ruft der Text seinen Adressaten zur Genügsamkeit auf. Danach wird die Ablehnung des Strebens nach materiellem Gewinn eingehender präzisiert und begründet: Eine solche Haltung gereicht dem Menschen nur zum Nachteil. Geldgier zieht allerlei schlechte Folgen nach sich (v. 10). Wieder kontrastiert der Text die abgelehnte Denkweise mit einer erstrebenswerten, indem er dazu ermahnt, sich um Glauben zu bemühen (vv. 11-12). Der Aufbau des gesamten Abschnitts lässt sich damit als ein Hin und Her zwischen Polemik und Paränese veranschaulichen. Die polemischen Passagen üben dabei eine abschreckende Wirkung auf den Leser des Briefs aus und fungieren insofern gleichzeitig auch als Warnung:

3-5	Polemik	Einführung: Anklage gegen die Anders-Lehrenden
6-8	Paränese	Kontrast: Aufforderung zur Genügsamkeit
9-10	Polemik	Konkretion der Anklage: Geldgier als Wurzel alles Schlechten
11-12	Paränese	Kontrast: Aufforderung, sich um den Glauben zu bemühen

Diesem Wechsel von Polemik und Paränese entsprechend sollen nun zunächst die einzelnen Züge der in 1 Tim 6:3-12 bekämpften Haltung mit ihren Berührungspunkten zur kynischen Philosophie (I.) sowie die Eigenarten der favorisierten Haltung mit ihren kynischen Parallelen (II.) erörtert werden. Auf dieser Grundlage kann dann eine Verhältnisbestimmung zwischen der kynischen Denkweise und der Argumentation am Ende des 1. Timotheusbriefs erfolgen (III.).

I.

Es treten falsche Lehrer auf, welche es argumentativ zu bekämpfen gilt.—Dieser Überzeugung verleiht der Abschnitt 1 Tim 6:3-12 Ausdruck. Dabei steht aber nicht etwa der Inhalt der von den abzulehnenden Lehrern vertretenen Lehre im Zentrum der Ausführungen, sondern der Text kritisiert primär *das heuchlerische Gewinnstreben* dieser Menschen. Nach der Darstellung des 1. Timotheusbriefs haben es die Anders-Lehrenden vor allem darauf abgesehen, sich selbst zu bereichern; sie behandeln die εὐσέβεια[20] wie einen Gewinn bzw. eine Erwerbsquelle (v. 5: πορισμός).[21] Anscheinend treten sie als umherreisende Lehrer oder Apostel auf und erwarten von der Gemeinde, in welcher sie zu Gast sind, neben Kost und Logis möglicherweise sogar eine pekuniäre Bezahlung für ihre Dienstleistungen.[22] Damit weisen diese Leute eine starke Ähnlichkeit zu denen auf, welche in zeitgenössischen kynischen Texten als heuchlerische Philosophen kritisiert werden.[23] Vor allem begegnen in Lukians Schriften solche Menschen, die sich hinter der Maske des aufrichtigen Philosophen verbergen, um sich auf diese Weise materielle Zuwendungen zu erschleichen. Nur augenscheinlich handeln sie nach der Tugend, die sie lehren; tatsächlich aber treiben ganz untugendhafte Motive sie zu ihrem Handeln an.[24] So rät der falsche Philosoph Thraskyles dem gerade zu unverhofftem Reichtum gelangten Timon dazu an, seinen Besitz ins Meer zu werfen, um sich von ihm zu befreien[25]—jedoch an einer nicht zu tiefen Stelle. In Wirklichkeit

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20) Die εὐσέβεια bezeichnet hier diejenige Haltung, mit der ein Mensch die Gesamtheit seines Denkens und Handelns auf Gott hin ausrichtet. Ähnlich K.-H. Ostmeyer, *Kommunikation mit Gott und Christus. Sprache und Theologie des Gebets im Neuen Testament* (WUNT 197; Tübingen: Mohr, 2006) 154; vgl. auch W. Foerster, "σέβομαι," *ThWNT* 7 (1964) 168-195, hier 181, 182. Auch Brox (*Pastoralbriefe*, 210) bringt die εὐσέβεια an dieser Stelle in Verbindung mit der praktischen Tätigkeit der Lehrer, die in der christlichen Gemeinde wirken.

21) Zum Gebrauch von πορισμός an dieser Stelle vgl. auch G. Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (ThHK 13; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1965) 135. Vgl. hierzu ferner Foerster, "σέβομαι," 181.

22) Vgl. hierzu auch die Überlegungen bei Holtz, *Pastoralbriefe*, 136; C. Spicq, *Saint Paul: Les Épitres Pastorales* (Paris: Gabalda, 1947) 188. Vgl. ferner P. Dschulnigg, "Warnung vor Reichtum und Ermahnung der Reichen: 1 Tim 6:6-10, 17-19 im Rahmen des Schlussteils 6:3-21," *BZ* 37 (1993) 60-77, hier 72.

23) Diese Parallele sehen auch Brenk, "Wineskins," 39; Roloff, *Brief*, 333.

24) Vgl. hierzu auch den Befund bei Helm, "Lucian," 354, 357-358. Vgl. ferner G.A. Gerhard, "Zur Legende vom Kyniker Diogenes," in *Die Kyniker in der modernen Forschung: Aufsätze mit Einführung und Bibliographie* (BSPh 15; hg. M. Billerbeck; Amsterdam: Grüner, 1991) 89-106, hier 97.

25) Die Aufforderung nimmt die Legende vom Kyniker Krates von Theben auf: Auch von diesem wird erzählt, er habe seinen Besitz ins Meer geworfen, um dadurch das Ideal der Tugend angemessen verwirklichen zu können (vgl. Diog. L. 6.87-88).

will Thraskyles sich nämlich entgegen seiner nach außen vertretenen Einstellung selbst am Besitz Timons bereichern (Luc., *Timon* 54-57). Von der Geldgier getrieben agieren auch die falschen Philosophen in den Stücken Piscator und Fugitivi (Luc., *Pisc.* 42; Fug. 14). In ihren Ranzen befinden sich nicht etwa die nötigsten Dinge des täglichen Bedarfs, sondern es kommen Goldmünzen zum Vorschein (*Pisc.* 45; *Fug.* 31). So verstoßen die Geldgierigen gegen alle Werte, die sie in ihren Lehren vertreten; sie lehren gegen Bezahlung (ἐπὶ μισθῷ διδάσκουσιν: Luc., *Pisc.* 34; ganz ähnlich auch Luc., *Nec.* 5). Auch Dion von Prusa beobachtet dieses Phänomen in seiner Umwelt und nennt es beim Namen (Dio Chrys. 32.10): Ausdrücklich führt er das Streben nach Geld (ἀργύριον) als den Grund dafür an, dass die Heuchler sich in den Deckmantel der Philosophie kleiden (Dio Chrys. 32.11; ähnlich auch Luc., *Icar.* 30). In ihrem Tun spiegelt sich ihre φιλαργυρία (Luc., *Pisc.* 42), die ja auch in 1 Tim 6:10 angeprangert wird. Die Lügner umgeben sich mit dem Schein der Tugend. Die genannten kynischen Texte polemisieren durchweg scharf gegen solche Menschen.

In Wirklichkeit zieht die beschriebene Einstellung jedoch allerhand Schlechtes nach sich. Ῥίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστιν ἡ φιλαργυρία—Die Wurzel nämlich aller schlechten [Eigenschaften und Taten] ist *die Liebe zum Geld* (1 Tim 6:10). Darum weiß der 1. Timotheusbrief, und darum wissen auch die antiken Kyniker.[26] Sie formulieren ihre Einsicht mit nahezu identischen Worten.[27] Die Aussagen fungieren gleichzeitig als Schelte gegen die Gierigen wie auch als Warnung an diejenigen, die in Gefahr stehen, sich ebenfalls gierig zu verhalten. Während im NT die Vokabel φιλαργυρία Hapaxlegomenon ist,[28] begegnet sie in kynischen Texten häufig. Über Diogenes von Sinope, das Musterbeispiel eines Kynikers, wird erzählt: τὴν φιλαργυρίαν εἶπε μητρόπολιν πάντων τῶν κακῶν (Diog. L. 6.50). Und denselben Ausspruch gibt Johannes Stobaios in seiner Zitatensammlung als ein Wort des kynischen Philosophen Bion von Borysthenes wieder (Stob. 3.10.37).[29] Gegenüber dem Wortlaut im 1.

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[26] Zur Ablehnung des Strebens nach Reichtum bei den Kynikern vgl. auch Gerhard, “Legende,” 96.

[27] Vgl. hierzu auch L. Oberlinner, *Kommentar zum 1. Timotheusbrief* (HThK 11/2, erste Folge; Freiburg: Herder, 1994) 283, Anm. 52. Vgl. ferner H. Almqvist, *Plutarch und das Neue Testament: Ein Beitrag zum Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* (Uppsala: Appelberg, 1946) 126 u. Spicq, *Épitres*, 191.

[28] So auch Holtz, *Pastoralbriefe*, 138.

[29] Βίων ὁ σοφιστὴς τὴν φιλαργυρίαν μητρόπολιν ἔλεγε πάσης κακίας εἶναι (F35A in

Timotheusbrief ist hier lediglich die Metapher der Wurzel[30] gegen die der Mutterstadt ausgetauscht. Und es existieren weitere enge Parallelen. Denn wie die Liebe zum Geld (φιλαργυρία) kann auch die Habgier (πλεονεξία)[31] an dieser zentralen Stelle kynischer Kritik am menschlichen Verhalten auftauchen. Da heißt es bei Dio Chrysostomos, die πλεονεξία sei die Ursache der größten Übel (τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτία: Dio Chrys. 17.6) bzw. selbst das schlimmste Übel für den Menschen (17.7).[32] Weshalb aber erachten die Kyniker gerade menschliches Besitzstreben als das schlimmste Laster? Dies hat seinen Grund darin, dass nach kynischer Überzeugung die φιλαργυρία oder die πλεονεξία als menschliche Grundhaltung viele konkrete Missetaten gebiert. Viele Reiche haben sich ihren Wohlstand überhaupt erst durch ihr niederträchtiges Handeln erworben (Ps-Luc., *Kyn.* 8). Entsprechend weist der Begründer der kynischen Richtung, Antisthenes, in Xenophons Gastmahl darauf hin, dass die Gier zu nichts anderem als Mord und Diebstahl führt (Xenoph., *Symp.* 4.36). Deswegen schilt Diogenes die φιλαργυροί (Diog. L. 6.28). Die Dialoge Lukians stellen den Zusammenhang zwischen Reichtum und üblem Tun wieder und wieder in erzählerischer Form dar. Beispielsweise sitzen in Lukians Contemplantes ein Angehöriger der Götterwelt und ein Angehöriger der Totenwelt, nämlich Hermes und Charon, auf einem hohen Berg, um das Treiben der Menschen von oben her zu beobachten und zu analysieren. Sie kommen auf das Gold zu sprechen, das den Menschen so viel bedeutet, und Hermes erklärt dem Charon, welche Konflikte um des Goldes willen auf Erden entstehen (Luc., *Cont.* 11): Er entfaltet eine lange Liste von menschlichen Boshaftigkeiten und Übeltaten.

Solches entspricht kynischer Überzeugung: Weil die Habgier tatsächlich die Ursache dafür ist, dass die Menschen sich niederträchtig verhalten, darum lassen die konkreten Missetaten sich in ausgedehnten Katalogen

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der Textausgabe von J.F. Kindstrand, hg., *Bion of Borysthenes: A Collection of Fragments with Introduction and Commentary* [Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1976]).

[30] Zur Verwendung des Begriffs ῥίζα in 1 Tim 6:10 vgl. auch den Interpretationsvorschlag bei H. Rönsch, "Exegetisches zu 1 Tim 6:10," *ZWTh* 27 (1884) 140-146, inbes. 145.

[31] Auch Holtz (*Pastoralbriefe*, 138) sieht die semantische Verwandtschaft zwischen φιλαργυρία und πλεονεξία.

[32] Neben den hier zitierten Stellen nennt Dibelius (*Pastoralbriefe*, 53) noch weitere hellenistische Belege. Vgl. zur Verbreitung der Redensart auch M. Hengel, *Eigentum und Reichtum in der frühen Kirche: Aspekte einer frühchristlichen Sozialgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1973) 17.

anschaulich schildern.[33] Daher weisen die kynischen Texte an vielen Stellen sog. *Lasterkataloge* auf, die die Vergehen der Reichen und Gierigen aufzählen. Interessanterweise verbindet auch der Text des 1. Timotheusbriefs seine Kritik an den Anders-Lehrenden mit einer Aufzählung von deren schlechten Eigenschaften. Die Liste umfasst ζήτησις, λογομαχία, φθόνος, ἔρις, βλασφημίαι, ὑπόνοιαι, πονηραί, διαπαρατριβαί (1 Tim 6:4-5). Es handelt sich hier also in erster Linie um solche Eigenschaften, die die Art und Weise betreffen, mit der die anderen Lehrer ihre Gedanken präsentieren. So diskreditiert die Kritik gleichzeitig auch die Inhalte der abweichenden Lehre.[34] In den kynischen Texten begegnen zwei Sorten von Lasterkatalogen, die sich graduell, nicht jedoch prinzipiell unterscheiden: Hier geht es einerseits um die schlechten Eigenschaften der Reichen und andererseits um die schlechten Eigenschaften der heuchlerischen Philosophen. Beide kritisierten Menschengruppen haben ja den wichtigen Charakterzug gemeinsam, dass sie alle ihr Handeln an der Gier nach materiellem Besitz orientieren.[35] Darum gleichen sich auch ihre Vergehen. Feststehende, mehrfach wiederkehrende Verbindungen von Begriffen gibt es in den kynischen Lasterkatalogen nicht. Mehrfach werden Diebstahl, Gewalttat und Ehebruch als die Missetaten genannt, die aus der Gier der Reichen erwachsen (z.B. Luc., *Cat.* 26). In der Cataplus des Lukian werden die Vergehen des reichen Tyrannen beim letzten Gericht im Hades benannt und sanktioniert. Im Stück Timon dagegen treten die schlechten Eigenschaften als anthropomorphe Wesen auf, die dem Reichen unsichtbar und doch körperlich Gesellschaft leisten.[36] Gemeinsam bilden sie einen Katalog seiner Laster (Luc., *Timon* 28; 44). Und auch die falschen Philosophen weisen nach der Ansicht der kynischen Schriften derartig viele verwerfliche Eigenschaften auf, dass diese sich in langen Listen aufreihen lassen. Nachdem sich Lukians Fischer darüber empört hat, dass die Falschphilosophen gegen Bezahlung lehren, zählt er ihre Laster auf (Luc., *Pisc.* 34). Weitere Lasterkataloge über die betrügerischen Lehrenden finden sich beispielsweise

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(33) Zu Tugend- und Lasterkatalogen als Spezifika der kynisch-stoischen Diatribe vgl. auch Bultmann, *Stil*, 19. Vgl. hierzu ferner A. Vögtle, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament. Exegetisch, religions- und formgeschichtlich untersucht* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1934) 64.

(34) Vgl. hierzu auch Holtz, *Pastoralbriefe*, 134.

(35) Ihnen steht der wahre kynische Philosoph als Beispiel der rechten Lebensführung gegenüber (vgl. Vögtle, *Tugend- und Lasterkataloge*, 67).

(36) Zum Gebrauch dieses Stilmittels in der kynisch-stoischen Diatribe vgl. auch Bultmann, *Stil*, 34-35.

Luc., *Icar.* 29; *Fug.* 16; 27. Unverstand, Überheblichkeit und zornerfüllte Rhetorik (ἄνοια, ὕβρις, ὀργή) nehmen hier unter den Missetaten die vordersten Plätze ein (z.B. Luc., *D. Mort.* 366). Bisweilen finden sich unter den aufgelisteten Vergehen aber auch Elemente, die ebenfalls im Lasterkatalog von 1 Tim 6:4-5 vorkommen: Der Neid (φθόνος: Diogenes, *Ep.* 36.6; Epict., *Diss.* 3.22.61) und der Zank (ἔρις: Luc., *D. Mort.* 369-370). So ähneln die im 1. Timotheusbrief bekämpften Lehrer deutlich den vermeintlichen Philosophen, gegen welche die kynischen Texte polemisieren. Auf die Leserschaft dieser Texte übt solche Polemik wiederum eine warnende Funktion aus. Über die bereits genannten Untugenden hinaus reihen die Quellentexte unter den Lastern der falschen Philosophen auch die Signalvokabel τῦφος ein (Luc., *D. Mort.* 369-370). Diese Menschengruppe erscheint unter anderem als τετυφομένον (Luc., *Icar.* 29).[37]

Auch 1 Tim 6:4 gebraucht das Verbum τυφόομαι: Wie die Lügenphilosophen in den Schriften Lukians sind auch die Anders-Lehrenden in dem ntl. Textabschnitt τετύφωται, d.h. einer eitlen Selbsttäuschung verfallen. Sowohl die Lehre der Anders-Lehrenden im 1. Timotheusbrief als auch die Lehre der falschen Philosophen in den Polemiken der Kyniker erhalten dieses Prädikat: *Die falsche Lehre ist* τῦφος.[38] Wer solches denkt und lehrt, handelt aus eigensüchtigen Beweggründen und ist daher letztlich so verblendet, dass er die Wahrheit nicht erkennen kann. Im NT kommt die Vokabel τυφόομαι nur in den Pastoralbriefen vor (außer 1 Tim 6:4 noch 1 Tim 3:6; 2 Tim 3:4);[39] τῦφος steht nirgends in den ntl. Schriften. In den Schriften der Kyniker dagegen nimmt τῦφος eine Schlüsselposition in den polemischen Abschnitten ein: Τῦφος herrscht dort, wo ein Mensch nach Besitz giert und aufgrund dieser Priorität einen irregeleiteten Lebenswandel an den Tag legt.[40] Daher hält der wahre Kyniker goldene Kronen und purpurne Kleidung für τῦφος[41]—im Gegenteil zu seiner eigenen typischen Kleidung, die aus Mantel, Stab und Ranzen besteht (Ps-Luc., *Kyn*. 19). Auch Krates bezeichnet das Besitzstreben als τῦφος (Diog. L. 6.86). Der τῦφος ist das Gegenteil der Tugend, der ἀρετή (Diogenes, *Ep*. 21).[42] Wer dies erkennt, bezieht Stellung gegen das verblendete Leben (τετυφώμενος βίος: ebd.). Am Ende seines Lebens muss der reiche Tyrann Lampichos neben seinem Reichtum auch seinen τῦφος vor der Überfahrt in den Hades zurücklassen (Luc., *D. Mort*. 366). Indem sie fortgesetzt die Verblendung und Dummheit der Gierigen thematisieren, üben die genannten Schriften eine polemische Funktion aus.

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[37] Eine umfangreiche Zusammenstellung von sog. Lasterkatalogen in den Werken Lukians bietet Betz, *Lukian*, 185-193.

[38] Vgl. hierzu auch Holtz, *Pastoralbriefe*, 134-135.

[39] So auch Holtz, *Pastoralbriefe*, 135.

[40] Ganz ähnlich bestimmt Th. Gomperz (*Griechische Denker: Eine Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* [Bd. 2; Leipzig: Veit, ^{3}1912] 124) den semantischen Wert des Begriffs τῦφος. Zum Gebrauch von τῦφος bei den Kynikern vgl. ferner I. Nachov, "Der Mensch in der Philosophie der Kyniker," in *Der Mensch als Maß der Dinge: Studien zum griechischen Menschenbild in der Zeit der Blüte und Krise der Polis* (hg. R. Müller; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1976) 361-398, hier 380; L.E. Navia, *Classical Cynicism: A Critical Study* (Westport: Greenwood, 1996) ix, 30. Zur Bedeutung von τυφόομαι in 1 Tim 6:4 vgl. auch Oberlinner, *Kommentar*, 274.

Wo das Besitzstreben die Lebensführung eines Menschen bestimmt, ist dies nach der Ansicht der Kyniker nun aber nicht nur dumm, sondern eine solche Haltung ist zudem auch noch krankhaft. Deswegen weisen die kynischen Texte vielerorts auf *die Krankheit der Gierigen* hin und polemisieren somit gegen diese. Zunächst kommt hier eine konkret körperliche Art der Krankheit in den Blick. Die Reichen schlemmen gerne und können sich dies auch finanziell leisten. Durch ihre gewohnheitsmäßige ungesunde Ernährung neigen sie daher dazu, häufig krank zu werden. Ihre körperliche Fitness lässt zu wünschen übrig. Das wird dem armen Schuster in Lukians Gallus bewusst, als er sich die Lebensführung der Reichen besieht (Luc., *Gall*. 23). Außerdem müssen sich die Wohlhabenden Tag und Nacht um ihren Besitz sorgen. Sie fürchten sich vor Diebstahl und können nachts nicht schlafen. Auch das schadet ihrer Gesundheit (Luc., *D. Mort*. 354; vgl. auch Dio Chrys. 6.35). Der personifizierte Reichtum selbst tritt in Lukians Timon als eine kränkliche Figur in Erscheinung: Er humpelt und ist blind (Luc., *Timon* 20). Besitzsüchtiger Lebenswandel und Krankheit verbinden sich somit in den kynischen Quellentexten eng miteinander. Unter den Krankheiten, die die Kyniker bei den Reichen diagnostizieren, nimmt eine eine hervorgehobene Stellung ein, nämlich die Wassersucht. Diese Krankheit, durch die der Betroffene einen immerwährenden unstillbaren Durst verspürt, versinnbildlicht die immense und krankhafte Gier der Wohlhabenden. Deutlich zieht Teles diese Parallele zwischen dem Reichen und dem ὑδρωπικός (Teles 39-40H; vgl. auch Luc., *Gall*. 23).[43] Sofern die Krankheit also treffend die Lebensführung der

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41) Zum Verhältnis zwischen Reichtum und τῦφος vgl. auch Navia, *Cynicism*, 45.

42) Zur Tugend als zentralem Motiv kynischer Lebenspraxis vgl. auch Rist, *Stoic Philosophy*, 57. Vgl. hierzu außerdem Navia, *Cynicism*, 71.

43) Zum Gebrauch dieser bildhaften Rede von der Wassersucht bei den Kynikern vgl. insbes.

Reichen und Gierigen charakterisiert, können die Kyniker auch die Gesamtheit des Trachtens und Handelns der Reichen als Krankheit—νόσος—bezeichnen (etwa Xenoph., *Symp.* 37; vgl. auch Dio Chrys. 6.35).[44] Vor diesem Hintergrund erklärt sich auch die Benutzung der Vokabel νόσος in 1 Tim 6:4, wo sie in Verbindung mit τυφόομαι die Denkweise der Anderslehrenden umschreibt und kritisiert. Beide rhetorischen Spitzen wenden sich gegen deren Profitgier und fungieren deutlich als Polemik.[45]

II.

Besonders Lukians Schriften illustrieren, weshalb die kynischen Philosophen den τῦφος und νόσος, der sich im Streben nach materiellem Besitz manifestiert, als so lächerlich ansehen: Wenn ein Mensch stirbt, muss er sowieso von allem Habe Abschied nehmen. *Der Tod ist das Ende des materiellen Besitzes.* Lukians menippeische Werke gestalten gerade dieses Motiv häufig aus; an vielen Stellen erzählen seine Dialoge den Weg von Verstorbenen in den Hades. Die Überfahrt von reichen Menschen auf Charons Kahn geschieht im Zeichen der Trauer um den Verlust des irdischen Besitzes. Reichtum hat im Totenreich keinen Bestand mehr (vgl. insbes. Luc., *Cat.*, pass.). Unter den *Dialogi Mortuorum* gibt es eine Szene, in welcher verschiedene Tote den Kahn Charons besteigen wollen. Doch bevor ihnen dies erlaubt wird, müssen sie ihre irdischen Güter loslassen, da der Kahn sonst zu sinken droht: Der Reiche wird so schmerzlich von seinem Reichtum getrennt, der Schöne von seiner Schönheit, der Starke von seiner Stärke (Luc., *D. Mort.* 364). Jeder Mensch betritt den Hades infolge dieses Prozesses völlig nackend (Luc., *Cont.* 20; *Nec.* 12). Aller Besitz erweist sich unter diesem Blickwinkel als eine Leihgabe, welche dem Menschen zwar für kurze Zeit zur Verfügung steht, die ihm jedoch niemals endgültig gehört (Luc., *Nec.* 16). Aber nur die wenigsten der irdischen Menschen erkennen dies. So wirkt es auf den Fährmann Charon erheiternd, als er einmal das Treiben in der irdischen Welt beobachtet, denn das

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W. Braun, *Feasting and Social Rhetoric in Luke 14* (MSSNTS 85; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 30-38.

[44] Als Arzt weiß sich der kynische Philosoph daher mit seiner Botschaft insbesondere zu den νόσοι gesandt (Diog. L. 6.6). Zu der gängigen Metapher vom Kyniker als Arzt vgl. auch Dio Chrys. 8.5; 10.1.

[45] Vgl. dazu auch A.J. Malherbe, "Medical Imagery in the Pastoral Epistles," in *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 121-136, hier 123.

Verhalten der Menschen richtet sich nach der irrigen Annahme, sie besäßen das, was sie haben, für immer (Luc., *Cont.* 17). Dieselbe Einsicht ist es, die auch der 1. Timotheusbrief ausspricht, wenn er feststellt: Nichts nämlich haben wir hineingebracht in die Welt, so dass wir auch nichts hinausbringen können (1 Tim 6:7). Wie die Kyniker ermahnt der ntl. Text seinen Leser somit, sich hinsichtlich des irdischen Besitzes keine Illusionen zu machen.

Hat sich der materielle Besitz unter dieser Perspektive des Todes als letztlich wertlos erwiesen und damit seinen Stellenwert für die Ausrichtung einer sinnvollen menschlichen Lebensführung verloren, dann müssen andere Werte an seine Stelle treten. Die kynischen Texte antworten auf diese Herausforderung mit einer *Neudefinition des Begriffs "Reichtum."*[46] Herkömmlich verstandener Reichtum ist—wie oben gezeigt—nach der Ansicht der Kyniker sogar schädlich für einen tugendgemäßen Lebenswandel. Im Gegenteil! Gerade die besonders anspruchslose und von der Armut geprägte Lebensführung beschert dem so Lebenden eine Reihe von Gütern, die es tatsächlich wert sind, "Reichtum" genannt zu werden. Denn diese Güter sind Güter der Seele (so Antisthenes in Xenoph., *Symp.* 4.40-43); sie können nicht von Dieben gestohlen werden (Luc., *Timon* 36). In einer dem kynischen Philosophen Krates zugeschriebenen Epistel heißt es gegenüber den Reichen: "Nichts habend haben wir alles; ihr aber—alles habend habt ihr nichts" (Krates, *Ep.* 7). Geltende Wertvorstellungen verkehren sich auf diese Weise in ihr Gegenteil. Die Kyniker füllen den Begriff πλοῦτος inhaltlich neu. Und so verfährt auch der 1. Timotheusbrief mit dem Begriff πορισμός, wenn er in einer scheinbaren Paradoxie zuerst behauptet, es sei verkehrt zu meinen, die εὐσέβεια sei ein Gewinn, um gleich anschließend fortzufahren, sie sei tatsächlich ein großer Gewinn

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[46] Hier geschieht also eine Umkehrung von geltenden und allgemein anerkannten Normen- und Wertvorstellungen. Damit begegnet an dieser Stelle ein Grundmotiv kynischer Gedankenführung (vgl. dazu auch Gomperz, *Denker*, 124). Eine Legende besagt, Diogenes von Sinope habe Münzfälscherei betrieben, indem er Geldstücken (νομίσματα) eine neue Prägung aufgedrückt hat (παραχαράσσω). Da aber νόμισμα auch gemeinhin anerkannte Vorstellungen bzw. Werte bezeichnen kann, fungiert das Schlagwort παραχαράττειν τὸ νόμισμα bei den Kynikern vor allem als Umschreibung des Vorgangs, in dem sie geltende Normen in ihr Gegenteil verkehren (vgl. Diog. L. 6.20). Vgl. dazu insbes. H. Bannert, "Numismatisches zu Biographie und Lehre des Hundes Diogenes," *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 1 (1979) 51-63. Vgl. hierzu auch Bultmann, *Stil*, 27; Dudley, *History*, 59; Gomperz, *Denker*, 127; Nachov, "Mensch," 363; Navia, *Cynicism*, 10, 88-91.

(1 Tim 6:5-6).[47] Bei dem zuletzt genannten und recht verstandenen πορισμός kann es sich um einen materiellen Gewinn nicht handeln, denn dieses Verständnis hat der Text im selben Atemzug bereits ausgeschlossen. Vielmehr manifestiert sich der recht verstandene Gewinn in der εὐσέβεια μετὰ αὐταρκείας (v. 6). Bemerkenswerterweise taucht das Stichwort αὐτάρκεια auch dort auf, wo die Kyniker den Begriff des Reichtums mit neuem Inhalt füllen: Lukian erzählt, wie sich die Väter des Kynismus, Diogenes und Krates, im Hades darüber freuen, dass sie ihren Schülern unvergängliche Reichtümer vermachen konnten, welche auch den Tod des Menschen überdauern. Konkret nennen sie die folgenden Reichtümer: σοφία, αὐτάρκεια, ἀλήθεια, παρρησία, ἐλευθερία (Luc., *D. Mort.* 378-379).[48]

Überhaupt handelt es sich bei der Vokabel *αὐτάρκεια* um ein Stichwort, das im kynischen Denken einen wichtigen Platz einnimmt, während es im NT lediglich zweimal vorkommt (außer 1 Tim 6:6 noch 2 Kor 9:8).[49] Die αὐτάρκεια fungiert in der hellenistischen Philosophie als kynisches Gegenmodell zum menschlichen Gewinnstreben und findet in diesem Sinne vielfach Erwähnung in den Aussprüchen der Kyniker.[50] Der Weise richtet sein Leben an der αὐτάρκεια aus; er lebt αὐτάρκης (Diog. L. 6.11); insbesondere gilt dies im Hinblick auf das Musterbeispiel kynischer Lebensführung, Diogenes von Sinope (Diog. L. 6.78). Der Kyniker Teles widmet einen größeren Abschnitt seiner Überlegungen der αὐτάρκεια (Teles 5-20H) und fordert darin seine Adressaten dazu auf, das Wenige, was sie haben, mit Besonnenheit (σωφροσύνη) und Unverblendetheit (ἀτυφία) zu nutzen (6H). Denn wer αὐτάρκης lebt, befreit sich dadurch selbst von der Schlechtigkeit, der κακία (Diogenes, *Ep.* 46). Wie im 1. Timotheusbrief verbindet sich die Neudefinition des Reichtums auch bei den Kynikern eng mit der αὐτάρκεια. Diogenes stellt die αὐτάρκεια selbst als Reichtum dar; über ihn heißt es: ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἐν ἀνθρώποις πλούσιος εἶπεν· ὁ αὐτάρκης (*Gnomologium Vaticanum* 743.180).[51]

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[47] Zur Neudefinition von πορισμός in 1 Tim 6 vgl. auch Oberlinner, *Kommentar*, 278. Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang außerdem Foerster, "σέβομαι," 183.

[48] Zum Verständnis des Reichtums bei den Kynikern vgl. auch Navia, *Cynicism*, 44-45. Zur Neudefinition des Reichtums in der kynisch-stoischen Diatribe vgl. ferner Bultmann, *Stil*, 28.

[49] Vgl. ferner die Verwendung von αὐτάρκης in Phil 4:11.

[50] So auch Holtz, *Pastoralbriefe*, 136-137: Holtz wehrt sich freilich gegen den Gedanken kynischen Einflusses auf den ntl. Gedankengang. Vgl. hierzu auch Dibelius, *Pastoralbriefe*, 52. Dschulnigg ("Warnung," 61); J. Jeremias (*Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus* [NTD 9; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ^{10}1970], 39); Merkel (*Pastoralbriefe*, 48); Oberlinner (*Kommentar*, 278) schreiben die αὐτάρκεια der Stoa zu (Brenk, "Wineskins," 41 dagegen legt sich in der Zuordnung an dieser Stelle nicht fest). Auch wenn sich Kynismus und Stoa zur Entstehungszeit des 1. Timotheusbriefs nicht scharf auseinanderdividieren lassen (s.o. Anm. 7), übernimmt die Stoa den Begriff ursprünglich dennoch vom Kynismus (vgl. Brenk, "Wineskins," 45; vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang ferner Almqvist, *Plutarch*, 125). Zur αὐτάρκεια bei den Kynikern vgl. auch Billerbeck, "Cynicism," 151; Gomperz, *Denker*, 122; Navia, *Cynicism*, 69; A.N.M. Rich, "The Cynic Conception of AYTAPKEIA," in *Die Kyniker in der modernen Forschung: Aufsätze mit Einführung und Bibliographie* (BSPh 15; hg. M. Billerbeck; Amsterdam: Grüner, 1991); Rist, *Stoic Philosophy*, 58.

Konkret bedeutet das der αὐτάρκεια gemäße Leben, zu dem die Kyniker und auch der 1. Timotheusbrief ihre Leserschaft ermutigen, sich mit einfachsten Speisen und einfachster Kleidung sowie Unterkunft zu begnügen. Αὐτάρκεια ist *Beschränkung auf das Nötigste.* So sieht es der 1. Timotheusbrief (1 Tim 6:8), und so sehen es auch die kynischen Philosophen. Wie 1 Tim 6:8 so legen auch die Kyniker ihren Akzent auf Nahrung, Kleidung und Unterschlupf, wenn sie den einfachen Lebensstil beschreiben.[52] Lexikalisch besonders nahe an der ntl. Formulierung steht eine Aussage des Dion von Prusa, der in seiner Schrift über die Habgier feststellt, der Mensch habe in Wirklichkeit nur wenige tatsächliche Bedürfnisse, nämlich σκέπη und τροφή (Dio Chrys. 17.21);[53] in 1 Tim 6:8 ist die Rede von διατροφή und σκέπασμα. Ähnlich beschreiben auch Diogenes Laertios (Diog. L. 6.31, 104) und der Philosoph in einem dem Lukian zugeschriebenen Text das Leben der Kyniker (Ps-Luc., *Kyn.* 5), und Teles fordert von seinen Schülern, sie sollten mit dem zufrieden sein, was sie haben (Teles 38H; 41H). In dieser Aussage zeigt sich bereits, wie sehr die Kyniker davon überzeugt sind, dass es durchaus möglich ist, mit der Nahrung und Kleidung auszukommen, die sich mit einfachen Mitteln beschaffen lässt. So spricht es beispielsweise der Antisthenes in Xenophons Gastmahl aus: Obwohl er sich nicht um den Erwerb von Besitz bemühe, habe er dennoch immer genug, um weder hungern noch frieren zu müssen (Xenoph., *Symp.* 4.37). Der Weise hat alles, was er zum Leben benötigt (Luc., *Timon* 36), denn Nahrung und Unterschlupf finden sich kostenlos in der Natur (Teles 7H). Wer sich also auf das Nötigste beschränkt, gerät niemals in Not

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[51] Ich folge hier der Quellen-Ausgabe von G. Giannantoni, hg., *Socraticorum Reliquiae* (Bd. 2; Rom: Ed. dell'Ateneo, 1983) #241. Die letztgenannte Parallele führt auch Brenk, "Wineskins," 43 an.

[52] Zum einfachen Lebensstil der Kyniker vgl. auch Navia, *Cynicism*, 25-26. Dass der 1. Timotheusbrief mit diesem Gedanken ein Motiv aus der kynischen Philosophie aufnimmt, sehen auch Dchulnigg, "Warnung," 63; Oberlinner, *Kommentar*, 281; Roloff, *Brief*, 336.

[53] Als weiteren Beleg für die Verbindung von σκέπη und τροφή führt Dibelius (*Pastoralbriefe*, 53) die Abhandlungen des Musonius an.

(Krates, *Ep.* 18; Diogenes, *Ep.* 36.4-5). Vorräte zu sammeln ist deswegen überhaupt nicht sinnvoll (Dio Chrys. 10.11).

Für einen Menschen, der sein Leben nicht an der φιλαργυρία sondern an der αὐτάρκεια ausrichtet, ergeben sich durchweg positive Folgen. Dieser Mensch kann sich nicht bloß darauf verlassen, immer versorgt zu sein. Sondern weil er nicht nach materiellem Besitz strebt, kann er obendrein auch noch das kynische Tugendideal verwirklichen.[54] Sog. *Tugendkataloge* beschreiben in den Texten der Kyniker die guten Eigenschaften dessen, der sich der αὐτάρκεια verpflichtet.[55] Besonders eindrücklich verwendet wieder Lukian im Stück Timon einen Tugendkatalog: Wie die schlechten Eigenschaften treten dort auch die guten Eigenschaften als personifizierte Wesen auf, die den armen Menschen umgeben (Luc., *Timon* 31). Die Armut befreit den Menschen von ὕβρις und τῦφος (Timon 32). Gegenüber den Lasterkatalogen finden sich Tugendkataloge in den Quellen aber deutlich weniger vor. Die kynischen Texte verfolgen primär ein polemisches Anliegen und wollen vergleichsweise seltener das für gut erachtete Verhalten schildern.[56] Deutlich verfolgt aber der 1. Timotheusbrief ein paränetisches Anliegen. Der Tugendkatalog umfasst an dieser Stelle die Eigenschaften δικαιοσύνη, εὐσέβεια, πίστις, ἀγάπη, ὑπομονή, πραϋπαθία (1 Tim 6:11). Es fällt auf, dass die beiden ersten dieser Eigenschaften auch in den hellenistischen Quellentexten zum Kynismus eine Rolle spielen,[57] nämlich dort, wo Diogenes Laertios die Philosophie des Antisthenes schildert. Nach der Lehre des Antisthenes führt man ein gutes Leben εὐσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως (Diog. L. 6.5). Und in seiner Schrift περὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀσεβείας (Diog. L. 6.17) grenzt sich Antisthenes offenbar von denen ab, die die Ideale der δικαιοσύνη und εὐσέβεια mit ihrem Lebensstil verneinen.[58]

Bildhaft gesprochen entspricht die tugendhafte Lebensführung, die die Kyniker praktizieren und von ihren Mitmenschen fordern, der körperlichen *Gesundheit.* Wer der αὐτάρκεια gemäß lebt und sich einfach ernährt, bleibt dadurch sehr gesund. Der Leib wird abgehärtet und ist folglich viel widerstandsfähiger als der Körper eines reichen Menschen (Luc., *Gall.* 23; *Timon* 36; Dio Chrys. 8.16). Mehrfach taucht in den kynischen Quellen das Adjektiv ὑγιαίνος zur Beschreibung der genügsamen Lebenspraxis und ihrer erfreulichen Konsequenzen auf (Krates, *Ep.* 13; Dio Chrys 10.16). In diesem Sinne bemühen sich die Kyniker wie Ärzte um die Gesundheit ihrer Zeitgenossen (Diog. L. 6.6; Dio Chrys. 8.5; 10.1).[59] Das kontrastierende Motiv von Krankheit und Gesundheit als Umschreibung der Tugend bzw. Untugend eines Menschen begegnet in Lukians Cataplus in narrativer Form (Luc., *Cat.* 23-28): Dort müssen die Verstorbenen vor dem letzten Gericht erscheinen und werden vom Richter dazu aufgefordert, ihre Kleider abzulegen. Jede im Leben begangene Missetat wird sodann als Narbe auf der Seele des Toten für die Augen aller Umstehenden sichtbar. Während Narben die Seele des besitzsüchtigen Tyrannen übersäen, findet sich keine einzige Narbe auf der Seele des armen Schusters. Besonders interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang der Zustand des kynischen Philosophen, der ebenfalls vor dem Richter steht. Zwar lassen sich noch vereinzelte Narben auf seiner Seele erkennen, doch diese sind ganz verblasst und kaum mehr sichtbar. Dies erklärt der Kyniker, indem er auf seine Hinwendung zur Philosophie verweist: Sobald er sich als kynischer Philosoph der Tugend zugewandt habe, hätten die Narben zu verschwinden begonnen (Luc., *Cat.* 24). Der Text umschreibt den tugendgemäßen Lebensstil des Kynikers damit als einen Prozess körperlicher bzw. seelischer Gesundung. Auch in 1 Tim 6:3 ist unter Verwendung der Vokabel ὑγιαίνω von Gesundheit die Rede. Dass die gesunden Worte bzw. Lehren,[60] die der ntl. Text hier fordert, einen Lebensstil zum Inhalt haben, der nicht auf einen materiellen Vorteil aus ist, das macht der Kontext deutlich. Die gesunden Worte des Herrn Jesus Christus stehen somit dem νόσος der Anders-Lehrenden (v. 4) antithetisch gegenüber.[61] Die Gesundheit, zu der der Text ermutigt, kann sich dann entfalten, wenn ein Mensch sein Leben nicht dem Besitzstreben widmet. Insofern berührt sich die Argumentation des 1. Timotheusbriefs auch an dieser Stelle mit der Denkweise der zeitgenössischen Kyniker. Das gute und gesunde, der Tugend entsprechende

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[54] Vgl. hierzu auch Gomperz, *Denker*, 130.

[55] Vgl. hierzu auch Vögtle, *Tugend- und Lasterkataloge*, 68. Einen ausführlichen Überblick über die Tugendkataloge in den Stücken Lukians gibt Betz, *Lukian*, 206-211.

[56] Ähnlich im Hinblick auf die Werke Lukians auch Betz, *Lukian*, 204.

[57] Ferner folgen δικαιοσύνη und εὐσέβεια auch in dem Tugendkatalog aufeinander, den Vögtle (*Tugend- und Lasterkataloge*, 59-60) aus dem Werk des Stobaios zitiert. Vgl. auch Vögtle, *Tugend- und Lasterkataloge*, 134 u. insbes. 174.

[58] Wenn der Tugendkatalog in 1 Tim 6:11 außerdem Sanftmut und Geduld umfasst, dann verkörpert der so beschriebene Mensch das Gegenteil von den Lügenphilosophen, die vor allem Lukian kritisiert, denn diese zeichnen sich in erster Linie durch ihre Beschimpfungen und ihre Zankeslust aus (s.o. zu den Lasterkatalogen in den hellenistischen Quellen).

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59) Vgl. hierzu auch Malherbe, "Medical Imagery," 128.

60) Zur Verwendung dieses Ausdrucks in den Pastoralbriefen vgl. auch Malherbe, "Medical Imagery," 121.

61) Vgl. hierzu auch Foerster, "σέβομαι," 181.

Leben wird dort erreicht, wo Menschen sich nicht von der φιλαργυρία korrumpieren lassen. Hier ist sich der ntl. Briefautor mit den kynischen Philosophen einig. Wie die Kyniker bringt auch der ntl. Abschnitt seine Überzeugung auf die nur scheinbar paradoxe Formel: "Kein Gewinn = Gewinn."

III.

Die Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen der Argumentation in 1 Tim 6:3-12 und den Vergleichstexten aus dem Bereich der antiken kynischen Philosophie reichen so weit, dass es sich bei diesem Befund kaum um eine zufällige Koinzidenz handeln kann. Vielmehr geben die vorliegenden Ausführungen einen Beleg dafür ab, wie lebhaft die frühen Christen des späten 1. und frühen 2. Jahrhunderts sich im Dialog mit ihrer hellenistischen Umgebung befinden. Dieser manifestiert sich im hier behandelten Text insbesondere in den folgenden Punkten:

A. Polemik und Warnung
    - Die Verurteilung heuchlerischen Gewinnstrebens
    - Der Ausspruch von der φιλαργυρία als Ursache aller κακοί
    - Die Verwendung eines Lasterkatalogs
    - Die Darstellung der falschen Lehre als τῦφος
    - Der Gebrauch der Krankheits-Metapher

B. Paränese und Ermutigung
    - Die Ansicht, der Tod setze allem materiellen Besitz ein Ende
    - Die Neudefinition des Begriffs "Reichtum" bzw. "Gewinn"
    - Das Ideal der αὐτάρκεια
    - Deren Konkretion in der Beschränkung auf einfachste Speise, Kleidung und Unterkunft
    - Die Verwendung eines Tugendkatalogs
    - Der Gebrauch der Gesundheits-Metapher

Die Texte arbeiten in starkem Maße mit Gegensatzpaaren. Den in der Polemik verurteilten Denk- und Handlungsweisen steht jeweils ein positives Pendant gegenüber, zu welchem die Schriften ermahnen und ermutigen:

Polemik:	Paränese:
φιλαργυρία –	αὐτάρκεια
falscher, vergänglicher Reichtum –	wahrer, unvergänglicher Reichtum
Laster –	Tugend
Krankheit –	Gesundheit

Offenbar darf der Einfluss des Kynismus auf die Anfänge der christlichen Bewegung—zumindest für den Fall des 1. Timotheusbriefs—nicht unterschätzt werden.[62] Trotzdem lässt sich die Lehre, die der 1. Timotheusbrief vertritt, selbstverständlich nicht vorschnell mit der kynischen Philosophie identifizieren. Der ntl. Text behandelt die bekämpften Anders-Lehrenden so, wie auch kynische Schriften die Lügenphilosophen behandeln. Aber er besitzt ein deutlich eigenes Profil.

Vor der Folie der weitreichenden Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen der Argumentationsweise bei den Kynikern und im 1. Timotheusbrief lassen sich daher nun aber auch die Eigenarten des ntl. Textabschnitts umso genauer benennen. Es fällt dabei insbesondere zweierlei auf, wobei sich beide Beobachtungen zueinander wie die zwei Seiten derselben Münze verhalten.—Erstens: Im Zentrum des Interesses, welches der 1. Timotheusbrief verfolgt, steht die Bewahrung der rechten Lehre und Lebensführung.[63] Die Signalvokabel εὐσέβεια findet sich in extrem hoher Konzentration vor; der Text gebraucht sie im Sinne einer auf Gott ausgerichteten Haltung des Menschen, die sowohl das Denken als auch das Handeln einschließt.[64] Dabei wird der Aspekt der rechten Lehre bzw. des rechten Glaubens im Zusammenhang mit der εὐσέβεια teils ausdrücklich akzentuiert (deutlich etwa in 3:16). Allein in dem hier behandelten Abschnitt 1 Tim 6:3-12 kommt εὐσέβεια viermal vor (vv. 3, 5, 6, 11).[65] Auch die zum Wortstamm διδασκ- gehörenden Vokabeln nehmen im 1. Timotheusbrief eine herausgehobene Position ein; so begegnet im hier behandelten Abschnitt auch das Nomen διδασκαλία (v. 3).[66] Ferner gibt der Gebrauch von ἀλήθεια (v. 5)[67] und πίστις (vv. 10, 11, 12)[68] einen deutlichen Hinweis auf das hier zentral verhandelte Thema. Der 1. Timotheusbrief setzt sich nach Kräften für den rechten Glauben und die rechte Lehre ein; darin besteht auch zuvorderst die Pragmatik des hier zur Debatte stehenden Abschnitts 1 Tim 6:3-12. Und gerade in der Konzentration auf die lehrmäßige Fixierung des Glaubens unterscheidet sich der 1. Timotheusbrief stark von den antiken Kynikern. Diese messen der Lehre nämlich allenfalls sekundäre Bedeutung zu. Im Zentrum ihrer Bemühungen steht eine tugendhafte Lebensführung, die sich von lehrmäßigem Ballast zu befreien trachtet.[69] Darum gilt der Kynismus als Abkürzung zur Tugend, d.h. als ein von überflüssigen Gedankengebäuden freier Weg (z.B. Diog. L. 6.104). Was die Kyniker lehren, ist diesem obersten Ziel des tugendgemäßen Lebens zu- und damit untergeordnet. Im 1. Timotheusbrief verhält es sich anders herum: Hier steht die rechte Lehre im Mittelpunkt. Wo Fragen der Lebensführung erörtert werden, stehen sie im Dienst der rechten Lehre.[70]

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[62] Darüber hinaus zeigen sich auch im Lukasevangelium deutliche Spuren kynischer Denktraditionen. Vgl. dazu meine Untersuchung Neumann, *Lukas und Menippos.*

[63] So auch J. Thurén, "Die Struktur der Schlussparänese 1 Tim 6:3-21," *ThZ* 26 (1970) 241-253, hier 243. Vgl. ferner auch ebd., 252-253.

[64] Auch die oben genannten kynischen Texte Diog. L. 6.5, 17 stellen ja εὐσέβεια und δικαιοσύνη als Begriffspaar nebeneinander. Die Parallele zur δικαιοσύνη verdeutlicht dabei die lebenspraktische Komponente der εὐσέβεια. Foerster ("σέβομαι," 181, 182) hebt in seinen Ausführungen über die εὐσέβεια in den Pastoralbriefen den Aspekt der Lebensführung hervor, bemerkt aber auch, dass dieser sich eng mit dem Aspekt des Glaubens bzw. der Lehre verbindet. Vgl. hierzu auch Ostmeyer, *Kommunikation*, 154.

[65] Insgesamt begegnet εὐσέβεια im 1 Tim achtmal: 2:2; 3:16; 4:7, 8; 6:3, 5, 6, 11.

Und zweitens: Die rechte Lehre, für die der ntl. Text sich hier einsetzt, trägt eine strikt christologische Ausrichtung. Wo es um die Lehre geht, beruft der Text sich häufig auf Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς. Christus Jesus fungiert als

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[66] Weitere Belegstellen sind: διδασκαλία (1:10; 4:1, 6, 13, 16; 5:17; 6:1, 3), διδάσκαλος (2:7), διδάσκω (2:12; 4:11; 6:2), διδακτικός (3:2).

[67] Sonst im 1 Tim noch 2:4, 7 [2x]; 3:15; 4:3.

[68] Darüber hinaus im 1 Tim auch 1:2, 4, 5, 14, 19 [2x]; 2:7, 15; 3:9, 13; 4:1, 6, 12; 5:8, 12; 6:21.

[69] Vgl. hierzu auch Downing, "Cynics and Christians," 585.

[70] Dass die rechte Lehre im Zentrum aller Bemühungen des 1. Timotheusbriefes steht, liegt m.E. auf der Hand. Besonders deutlich kommt dieser Zusammenhang zwischen Lehre und Lebensführung darin zum Ausdruck, dass die ethischen Fragen, welche der Brief anspricht, durchweg den Fragen der Gemeindeordnung zugeordnet sind. Die Anweisungen über die Stellung der Frau (2:8-15), über den Lebenswandel der ἐπίσκοποι (3:1-7) und διάκονοι (3:8-13), über die Qualifikation rechter Witwen (5:3-16), sowie über das Verhältnis zwischen Herren und Sklaven (6:1-2)—all diese Anweisungen ergehen an den Gemeindeleiter Timotheus, der sie als Anweisungen eben auch in lehrhafter Form weitergeben soll (explizit in 6:2), um damit die Wahrung der rechten Lehre in ihrer Gesamtheit für die Gemeinde abzusichern. Zwischen der Lehre und dem ihr gemäßen Handeln lässt sich damit eine Hierarchie erkennen: Die Lehre ist dem Tun vorgeordnet, aber keiner von beiden Aspekten lässt sich vom anderen loslösen. Das Handeln wird durch seine Unterordnung unter die Lehre also keineswegs bedeutungslos.

Ursprung und damit Garant der rechten Lehre (1 Tim 6:3);[71] in diesem Sinne ist er vor Pontius Pilatus als Bekenner aufgetreten (6:13). Christus Jesus selbst setzt Menschen in den Dienst ein (1:12), und wer ihm dient, beachtet die rechte Lehre (4:6). Der christliche Glaube als Lehre bezieht seine Autorität somit ganz von dem, der auch den Gegenstand dieser Lehre und dieses Glaubens abgibt, nämlich von Christus Jesus.

Alles in allem stellt der biblische Textabschnitt 1 Tim 6:3-12 sich damit als eine Adaption einer zeitgenössischen kynischen Gedankenführung auf den Bereich der frühchristlichen Theologie dar. Die kynische Argumentationsweise steht vollständig im Dienst der Christologie; sie erhält dadurch eine wesentlich neue inhaltliche Ausrichtung. Jedoch geschieht dies in einer Weise, in der die Einflüsse, die solches Denken und Argumentieren prägen, immer noch klar erkennbar bleiben.

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[71] Manche Ausleger ziehen die Möglichkeit in Betracht, dass die Formulierung in 6:3 auf eine Sammlung von Jesusworten hinweist, welche der Quelle Q ähnelt. Für diese Annahme spricht auch die Beobachtung, dass der 1. Timotheusbrief schon an früherer Stelle (5:8) scheinbar auf ein Q-Logion zurückgreift (Q 10:7). Vgl. hierzu auch die Überlegungen bei Holtz, *Pastoralbriefe*, 133-134; weiter Spicq, *Épitres*, 186. Dagegen Dibelius, *Pastoralbriefe*, 52; kritisch auch Oberlinner, *Kommentar*, 273.

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The Sea That is No More

Rev 21:1 and the Function of Sea Imagery in the Apocalypse of John[*]

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Abstract
The enigmatic phrase in Rev 21:1, "the sea is no more", has yet to be adequately explained or related cogently to the rest of the book. In this article I categorise the multiple roles in which θάλασσα appears in Rev 4-20 and address the potential implications of each use of sea imagery for explaining its absence from John's vision of the new heaven and earth. Along the way, the various theories that have been proposed by other interpreters are assessed; this is followed by a brief consideration of the potential relevance of several parallels that have been suggested. On the basis of these investigations and an analysis of the context of Rev 21-22, it is proposed that the difficult phrase in 21:1c is best explained in terms of the use of a new-creation typology that serves to highlight the way in which this new creation differs from that described in Gen 1.

Keywords
Revelation; cosmology; eschatology; new creation; θάλασσα

The relationship between the present world and the new creation envisioned by early Jews and Christians is never easy to specify, and the eschatological perspective of any given ancient author can rarely be neatly classified. For the book of Revelation, some degree of clarity can nevertheless be gained by paying attention to the negative statements John[1] includes in his description of the new heaven and earth. By attending to what the

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[1] The author will be referred to as "John", but my conclusions regarding Rev 21:1c do not depend on any particular view of the book's authorship.

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new creation is *not*, it may be possible to learn something of what John thinks it *is*.

There are seven things for which John uses the formula οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι or οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι in Rev 21-22.[2] This article examines the first, and perhaps the most obscure of the list. At the beginning of the book's final vision, John sees "a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth have passed away—and the sea (θάλασσα) is no more" (21:1).

There are several possible parallels that have been adduced for the enigmatic last phrase, but before examining these it is worth considering how the text of Revelation itself prepares readers for the sea's disappearance. By examining the associated images and contexts that define the function of the sea within the book's symbolic universe in the material leading up to chapter 21, it may be possible to glean clues for interpreting its absence from the new creation.[3] This task is made difficult by the sheer volume of sea imagery in the book,[4] but for the sake of convenience the material can be classified into several discrete categories that can be analysed separately. In the discussion that follows, the intention in each case will be to determine the precise referent of θάλασσα and to consider the potential significance of the usage for understanding Rev 21:1c.

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[2] These are: ἡ θάλασσα, ὁ θάνατος, πένθος, κραυγή, πόνος, πᾶν κατάθεμα, and νύξ. The present tense is used only at 21:1 because here John is describing what he sees—or rather does not see—whereas elsewhere he is reporting more indirectly what the future New Jerusalem *will be* like.

[3] My methodological approach to determining the meaning of 21:1c is similar to that employed by J.W. Mealy, *After the Thousand Years: Resurrection and Judgment in Revelation 20* (JSNTSup 70; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992) 193-212, who notes that "context in Revelation consists of a system of references that progressively build up hermeneutical precedents in the text, precedents that precondition the meaning of each new passage in highly significant ways" (p. 13). Such an approach is indebted ultimately to E.S. Fiorenza, "The Composition and Structure of the Book of Revelation", *CBQ* 39 (1977) 344-366, esp. 358-366; idem, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgement* (2d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998) 183-188. It will be evident that my conclusions regarding the absence of the sea nonetheless differ significantly from Mealy's.

[4] T.E. Schmidt, "'And the Sea was No More': Water as People, Not Place", in *To Tell the Mystery: Essays on New Testament Eschatology in Honor of Robert H. Gundry* (eds. T.E. Schmidt and M. Silva; JSNTSup 100; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994) 245, observes that Revelation contains a greater concentration of water imagery than is found anywhere else in biblical or apocalyptic literature.

I. The Use of Sea Imagery in Rev 4-20

1. The Sea That is the Sea

Quite often in Revelation the sea is simply one integral element of the created order—along with the earth (7:1-3), heaven (5:13; 10:2-8) and the springs of water (14:7)—and it contains creatures (8:9; 10:6) that are capable of praising God and the lamb (5:13). As a part of creation, the sea suffers with the earth at the hands of the devil (12:12) and from the judgements carried out by God's angels (8:8-9; 16:3). The sea is no different in this regard from any other part of Revelation's cosmos, and its passing away might be expected to parallel that of the first heaven and earth, which flee from before the throne in 20:11 to make way for the new creation.

This aspect of John's portrayal of the sea has led some commentators to deny that the sea entails any special significance in Rev 21:1 beyond its literal reference to the ocean.[5] At most, they might note that the sea could have been particularly frightening for land-dwellers or might have been regarded as a barrier between the churches and John, exiled on Patmos.[6] Such an explanation ultimately fails, however, to account adequately for Rev 21:1c. It ignores, for example, the fact that the missing sea is mentioned separately from the passing away of the first heaven and earth; if John were merely emphasising that the entire tripartite cosmos of the first creation is gone, it is more likely that he would have included the mention of the sea along with the heaven and earth in 21:1 and that his description of the new heaven and the new earth would also have included a new sea.

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[5] Thus D.J. MacLeod, "The Seventh 'Last Thing': The New Heaven and the New Earth (Rev. 21:1-8)", *BibSac* 157 (2000) 442-443; G.W. Buchanan, *The Book of Revelation: Its Introduction and Prophecy* (MBC 22; Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1993) 560; L. Morris, *The Book of Revelation* (TNTC 20; rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 237; G.R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1974) 307; H.B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of Saint John* (London: Macmillian, 1906) 272; R. Govett, *Govett on Revelation* (2 vols.; Miami Springs: Conley & Schoettle, 1981; repr. of *The Apocalypse: Expounded by Scripture* [London: 1861]) 2:327-329. G.R. Osborne, *Revelation* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002) 731, suggests the possibility but also recognises a symbolic significance of the sea.

[6] Lucretius complains of this problem with the sea, "which keeps the coastlines of the lands far apart", in his attack on those who see the cosmos as a divine gift (see *De rerum natura* 5.156-234; trans. A.A. Long and D.N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers: Volume 1: Translations of the Principal Sources with Philosophical Commentary* [Cambridge: CUP, 1987] 60).

Instead, this is the last mention of the sea in the book; whatever is referenced by θάλασσα in 21:1c, it apparently has no place in the renewed cosmos.

The association of the sea with six other more clearly negative images (the death, mourning, sorrow, pain, everything cursed, and night that also are no more) suggests in any case that θάλασσα in 21:1 bears significance beyond the merely literal. As we will see, John provides readers with ample evidence elsewhere in Revelation that the sea of his symbolic world can indeed encompass a wide range of negative associations.

2. *The Sea in Heaven*

The first mention of an ocean in Revelation comes at Rev 4:6, where John sees before the throne something like a sea, a "sea of glass like crystal".[7] The image is similar to that described in Ezek 1:22, where Ezekiel sees stretched out over the heads of the living creatures something like "a firmament, like the appearance of ice" (רקיע כעין הקרח; LXX στερέωμα ὡς ὅρασις κρυστάλλου).[8] In John's vision, Ezekiel's dome has become equivalent to the heavenly sea itself, separating heaven from earth, and God's enthronement over this sea echoes the biblical picture of the Lord enthroned over the flood and his sovereignty over the waters.

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[7] The use of ὡς serves in such a context to convey the transcendent nature of the visionary material being communicated (thus D.E. Aune, *Revelation* [3 vols.; WBC 52; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1997-1998] 271; cf. T. Muraoka, "The Use of 'ΩΣ in the Greek Bible", *NovT* 7 [1964-1965] 54-55). Contra H. Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1997) 452, it does not therefore lessen the importance of Rev 4:6 for understanding John's use of θάλασσα. A similar use of ὡς can be observed in Ezek 1, where the phrase "like the appearance of" (LXX ὡς ὅρασις; cf. MT כעין) occurs four times.

[8] It is necessary that the firmament be *firm* (στερέωμα means "firmness") if the waters of the heavenly sea are to remain separated from the earth, and this firmness may have led to the notion that the firmament is an expanse of ice, an idea helped along perhaps by the observation that things get colder the higher one ascends. *Tg. Ezek.* 1:22 describes the firmament as an expanse of ice, and a similar idea is found in the presocratic Empedocles, who held that the outer heaven is ice-like and that the planets are attached to this spinning, icy mass (cf. *The First Philosophers: The Presocratics and the Sophists* [trans. R. Waterfield; Oxford: OUP, 2000] 139, 160-161). At Ezek 1:22, קרח should probably be translated with its usual meaning of "ice" or "frost" (*pace HALOT*, 1140; cf. Gen 31:40; Ps 147:17). In the LXX κρύσταλλος can also often mean "ice" (e.g., Ps 147:6; 148:8; Job 6:16; 38:29; Wis 16:22; 19:21; Sir 43:20), and BDAG, 571, suggest that it may have this meaning in Revelation. Against the possibility that John intends κρύσταλλος to mean "ice", however, is the mention of other precious stones in Rev 4:3 and the use of κρύσταλλος to describe the clearness or brightness (λαμπρόν) of the water of the river of life that flows from the throne (Rev 22:1). Whatever its precise meaning, κρύσταλλος is regularly used to describe the firmament (e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 1.30) and/or elements of the Lord's throne (e.g., *T. Ab.* (Rec. A) 12:4-6; *1 En.* 14:10).

This picture assumes that the sea of glass before the throne in Rev 4:6 is meant to be seen as a vast, glassy expanse forming at once the floor of heaven and—by extension—the ceiling above the earth.[9] Such a conception is well-supported by ancient descriptions of the firmament and the heavenly throne-room.[10] Some have argued, however, that the reference both here and in 15:2 (and possibly in 21:1c) is actually to a basin, akin to the laver in the temple.

For a number of commentators, temple cosmology is in fact of central importance for understanding the setting of Revelation generally and 21:1 in particular. One of the more thorough treatments from this perspective is found in B.W. Snyder's unpublished PhD dissertation, where the setting for all of John's visions is construed as a heavenly tabernacle or temple. Snyder specifically equates the throne-room of Rev 4-5 with the holy of holies of the tabernacle,[11] in which the sea of glass of Rev 4:6 is analogous to the laver that according to tradition was located in the outer court of the tabernacle or temple (Exod 30:18; 1 Kgs 7:39; 2 Chr 4:10). In part because the sea can represent a reservoir of evil and especially because its representative basin is located in the court outside of the holy of holies, Snyder argues that it is necessarily absent from the new heaven and new earth when all creation has become equivalent to the holy of holies. That the new creation is meant to be conceived as the holy of holies is suggested by the claim that in the New Jerusalem, God will "tabernacle" (σκηνώσει) with his people (21:3) and that located in the city's cubic space shall be the throne of God and the Lamb (22:3). On this reading, Rev 11:1-2 is seen to prepare readers for the removal of everything but the holy of holies by emphasising that the measuring of the temple excludes its outer court. Thus the court and everything in it—including the symbolic "sea"—will not be protected from the trampling of the nations and will be forever outside the New Jerusalem.

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[9] In Revelation, this sea separates earth and the one heaven, rather than being one layer among three or seven heavens. Thus, rightly, Aune, *Revelation*, 279; C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982) 81; P.S. Minear, *I Saw a New Earth: An Introduction to the Visions of the Apocalypse* (Washington, D.C.: Corpus Books, 1968) 273.

[10] Cf. Gen 1:6-8; 7:11; Exod 24:10; Ps 19:2; 150:1; Dan 12:3; *1 En.* 54:8; *T. Levi* 2:7; 3:2; *2 En. [J]* 3:3. The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* describe a "splendidly shining vault" supported variously by columns or the cherubim themselves and above which is the throne-chariot (4Q403, Shirshabb^d I, 42; 4Q405, Shirshabb^f 6, 2-4; 20-22, 5-14); *b. Hag.* 14*b* describes the pavement before the throne of God as being like water. Beale, *Revelation*, 328, cites additional rabbinic parallels.

[11] Snyder, "Combat Myth in the Apocalypse: The Liturgy of the Day of the Lord and the Dedication of the Heavenly Temple" (Unpublished Ph.D. diss.; University of California at Berkeley, 1991) 162-168; cf. R. Stefanović, *The Background and Meaning of the Sealed Book of Revelation 5* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University, 1996) 202-206; J.M. Ford, *Revelation: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (AB 38; New York: Doubleday, 1975) 70-74.

Snyder's creative thesis has much to commend it, and she recognises that even if the "sea of glass" is akin to the tabernacle or temple laver, it need not lose its cosmic significance since temples themselves could be considered microcosms of the universe. Her explanation of Rev 21:1c nevertheless remains unconvincing. In Rev 4:6, for example, John describes the sea as ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. If the throne-room is the holy of holies that will one day encompass all of creation, why should the sea no longer be present if it is "before the throne" just as the seven burning torches are ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου (4:5)? Snyder attempts to evade this difficulty by noting that even the Jerusalem temple laver can in one instance, at 2 Kings 25:13, be described as "in the temple"; she suggests that John's readers are meant to recognise that even though it may sound as though the glassy sea is in the throne-room, it is actually "out in the court where it belongs".[12] But if John intends readers to catch the point that this sea is actually outside the throne room and therefore cannot be expected to make it in to the new heaven and earth, he surely would make this point more clear. It thus is unlikely that Rev 4:6 should be interpreted in this way or that temple cosmology can provide a sufficient explanation for Rev 21:1c.

The reference to a sea in Rev 4:6 serves primarily to locate readers in the throne room, and it may well hint at the Lord's sovereignty over its stilled waters. Revelation 15:2, however, provides further associations for this θάλασσα ὑαλίνη. Here the "sea of glass" is "mixed with fire"[13] and is that upon which those who have overcome the beast and his image are said to be standing.[14] Just before this description, John has introduced the seven angels with the seven last plagues which will complete God's wrath. The vision of the "overcomers" standing on the sea of glass mixed with fire forms an interlude between this introduction and the carrying out of the judgements of the bowl angels. As in *T. Levi* 3:2, where the heavenly sea is described as full of fire and ice prepared to carry out God's judgement,[15] the sea of glass mixed with fire in Rev 15:2 likely portends the plagues about to be *poured out* on the world in chapter 16. John's use of fire imagery elsewhere in Revelation is telling, as it is nearly always associated with judgement (cf. 8:5, 7, 8; 9:17-18; 11:5; 14:10; 16:8; 18:8; 19:20; 20:9, 10, 14-15; 21:8).[16] Thus, although it is possible to take the fire in the heavenly sea as representative of the trials through which the saints have safely passed, this must be secondary to the significance of fire as representative of the judgements about to be poured out.[17]

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[12] Snyder, "Combat Myth", 165.

[13] Beale, *Revelation*, 790, notes that the dative πυρί may be instrumental ("by") or associative-instrumental ("with").

[14] While Aune, *Revelation*, 872, claims that ἐπί + acc. means "beside" here (cf. A. Farrer, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1964] 171; NRSV; NJB; NIV),

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it is better translated "on" or "upon", consistent with John's use of ἐπί + acc elsewhere. Related uses of ἐπί with θάλασσα (in either the accusative or the genitive; Aune, *Revelation*, clxxxi-clxxxii, demonstrates that John uses ἐπί + acc. and ἐπί + gen. interchangeably; cf. G. Mussies, The *Morphology of Koine Greek as Used in the Apocalypse of John* [Leiden: Brill, 1971] 100-101) occur seven times elsewhere in Revelation (5:13; 7:1; 10:2; 10:5, 8; 18:17, 19), and in each instance the sense is of something being *on* the sea, with 10:2-8, for example, referring to an angel *standing on* the sea. In the one instance where John intends to describe someone standing *beside* the sea, he uses a different construction: thus in 12:18 the dragon takes his stand ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης ("on the sand of the sea[shore]"). Other interpreters who maintain the meaning "on" or "upon" include Beale, *Revelation*, 791; R.H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 285; Osborne, *Revelation*, 562; Swete, *Apocalypse*, 192.

[15] In the exodus plagues, both hail and fire rain down on the earth (Exod 9:22-23; cf. Wis 16:21-22), and the motif also shows up in other judgement scenes (e.g., Job 38:22-23; Ps 18:3-4; 148:8). In *Sib. Or.* 5.377-378, the final war that takes place at the return of Nero includes a judgement in which "fire will rain on men from the floors of heaven, fire and blood, water, lightning bolt, darkness, heavenly night" (trans. J.J. Collins in *OTP*). In the throne-room vision of *1 En.* 14, the mingling of fire and ice is used to emphasise the barrier that exists between the transcendent God and the rest of the world (G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001] 259-263), and this may also be part of its significance in Rev 15:2, where the saints now stand beyond this barrier and in God's presence.

[16] Beale, *Revelation*, 789-790.

[17] The fire in the sea of glass before the throne also may be combining traditional descriptions of the pavement of the throne room with the river of fire that was sometimes held to issue forth from the throne (see, e.g., Dan 7:10 where the river of fire from the throne ends up being the place where the beast's slain body is deposited [v. 11]; cf. Aune, *Revelation*, 870-871).

That these judgements are called *plagues* reveals that this is an instance of the exodus typology that is prevalent in Revelation; most of the bowl judgements in fact find direct parallels in the exodus plagues.[18] John's vision of the "overcomers" standing on a sea singing "the song of Moses" at Rev 15 seems deliberately drawn so as to echo the experience of the Israelites at the ים־סוף in Exod 14-15. This allusion to the exodus supports the idea that the sea of glass mixed with fire signifies the punishments about to be poured out on God's enemies, and it adds the nuance that it is beyond this sea that God's people will find themselves established on Mount Zion (14:1) in the presence of God and the Lamb (7:15) with their sorrows wiped away (7:17).

To the extent that the sea of Rev 21:1c borrows from the significance of the heavenly sea of Rev 4 and 15, its absence from the new creation could imply the accomplishment of a second exodus for the exiled people of God, and therefore the removal of the sea as a barrier between God's people and their promised homeland—as well as the end of the judgement it threatens.[19] But to what extent can the images of the heavenly sea serve to inform the interpretation of Rev 21:1 in any case? It will be argued below that the exodus imagery that appears in Rev 4 and 15 (but also elsewhere in the book) may indeed be important for the interpretation of

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[18] This relationship is noted by nearly all commentators on Revelation. The parallels include the following: bowl 1 (16:2)=plague of sores (Exod 9:8-13); bowls 2-3 (16:3-7)=plague of blood (Exod 7:17-24); bowl 4 (16:8-9), describing the scorching of the sun, has no direct parallel in Exodus; bowl 5 (16:1-11)=plague of darkness (Exod 10:21-23); bowl 6 (16:12-16)=plague of frogs (Exod 8:1-15); bowl 7 (16:21)=plague of hail (Exod 9:18-35), and cf. the Sinai theophany (Exod 19:16-19).

[19] The image of the firmament and the heavenly sea by definition suggests a barrier between heaven and earth. Mealy, *After the Thousand Years*, 193-200, builds on this observation to suggest that the primary significance of Rev 21:1c is parallel to the tearing of the temple veil and the opening of a new means of access to God's presence (cf. A. Vögtle, *Das Buch mit sieben Siegeln: Die Offenbarung des Johannes in Auswahl gedeutet* [2nd ed.; Freiburg: Herder, 1985] 172; M. Rissi, *The Future of the World: An Exegetical Study of Revelation 19.11-22.15* [SBT 2/23; Naperville, Ill.: Allenson] 56). This claim can not be substantiated, however, since this aspect of the heavenly sea is actually not emphasised anywhere in Revelation. Even in Exodus, where the sea is indeed that which separates God's people from their land and the establishment of the Lord's sanctuary (cf. Exod 15:17), the song of Moses describes only God's use of the sea to judge his enemies (15:1, 4-5). Given that it is this theme that John takes up in his description of the fire in the sea prior to the pouring out of plagues on the earth, the removal of the (heavenly) sea could say as much about the end of judgement as about the removal of a barrier between God and his people.

Rev 21:1c. But unless it were only or primarily the heavenly sea that featured in the book, or there were clear markers that it is specifically the heavenly sea that is meant by θάλασσα in Rev 21:1, it seems unlikely that readers could be expected to understand the "sea that is no more" as equivalent to the sea of glass in heaven. The significance of the other uses of sea imagery in Revelation must therefore be taken into account before reaching any firm conclusions.

3. The Sea as Abyss and Origin of the Beast

One of the most memorable images in Revelation is that of the dragon standing on the shore of the sea as a great and terrible beast emerges from its waters (13:1). As well as serving as the origin of this monster, the sea gathers a number of other negative connotations in chapters 12-13. In Rev 12:9, for example, John apparently equates the devil Satan with both the serpent of Gen 3 (ὄφις) and the sea monster Leviathan (ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας).[20] By turning Leviathan into a picture of Satan himself, John links the ancient sea monster closely to the source of cosmic evil and imbues the sea itself with connotations of evil and opposition to God. As is made clear at 11:7 and 17:8, where the same beast that comes up from the sea at 13:1 is described as having come up from the ἄβυσσος,[21] this sea is not merely the Mediterranean or earthly sea, but it is the primeval sea to which all other seas are linked, the deep abyss which can yield springs of water but which also conceals dark spirits and imprisons the giants of old.[22]

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[20] Cf. the description of this "dragon" at 12:3. The LXX uses δράκων to translate לויתן (*Leviathan*) everywhere it occurs (Isa 27:1; Job 41:1 [LXX 40:25]; Ps 74:14; 104:26 [LXX 103:26]); elsewhere δράκων often translates תנין *(dragon/serpent*; e.g., Exod 7:9-12; Deut 32:33; Ps 74:13; 91:13 [LXX 90:13]), which sometimes also refers to a sea creature (e.g., Ps 148:7; Job 7:12) and to which Pharaoh (Ezek 29:3; 32:2) or Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 28:34) can be compared. δράκων is also used for the נחש (*serpent*) that lives at the bottom of the sea (Amos 9:3) and which can be described, like Leviathan, as "fleeing" or "twisting" (Job 26:13). R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies in the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993) 193-194, has observed that John is the first author of whom we have evidence to equate Satan, the serpent, and Leviathan, although Isa 27:1 provides a plausible basis for this move (cf. J.M. Court, *Myth and History in the Book of Revelation* [Atlanta: John Knox, 1979] 111).

[21] The description of the beast in 17:8, with its seven heads and ten horns, makes it clear that it is the same beast that came up from the sea in 13:1 (cf. Bauckham, *Climax*, 171-172).

[22] The sea and abyss could be linked in retellings of the exodus story, as already in the "Song of the Sea", where the waters that engulfed the Egyptians are called the תהמת

Thus, although Rev 21:1 does not say the ἄβυσσος is no more, the link between this region and the sea suggests that the connotations associated with the abyss may be included in the removal of the sea. This adds to the sense of the sea in Revelation as a realm of potential evil and an instrument of judgement, and it contributes the further idea that this region can be linked with death.

But if it is the images of chapters 12-13 that are to inform our understanding of Rev 21:1, it is possible that the mythology of these chapters, drawn from Scripture and the wider world of the Ancient Near East, plays a role in 21:1 as well.[23] There is at least a possibility that in Rev 21:1 John is alluding to the common narrative of a divine warrior's defeat of the sea and the forces of disorder and chaos prior to restoring fertility and order. Baal and Anat's defeat of the sea monster was possibly linked in some way with creation, and there is a suggestion of this theme in Old Testament passages that apparently link God's defeat of the sea monster with creation.[24] Such a restoration or act of creation is accompanied in some

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(Exod 15:5, 8). Psalm 106:9 (105:9 LXX) describes the Lord's rebuking the ים־סוף so that it dried up and his leading of the people through the תהום (ἀβύσσῳ LXX). Isaiah describes the exodus in similar terms (Isa 51:10; 63:13), and Pseudo-Philo later equates the Red Sea with the abyss (*L.A.B.* 15:5). By the Hellenistic era, ἄβυσσος could refer to the place of the dead, to the place where evil and disobedient spirits were imprisoned, and/or to the primordial sea (cf. J. Jeremias, "ἄβυσσος", *TDNT* 1:9-10; BDAG, 2). In Revelation, ἄβυσσος refers to the prison house of evil spirits, which only by God's permission can be released to bring destruction to the earth (9:1-11; 20:1-3), as well to the place from which the beast arises (11:7; 17:8).

[23] Most commentators cite the association of the sea with evil in their explanation of 21:1 and often point to chapters 12-13 as evidence for John's view. Thus, in different ways, J.R. Yeats, *Revelation*, (BCBC; Scottdale, Penn.: Herald, 2003) 399-400; Osborne, *Revelation*, 731; Beale, *Revelation*, 1042-1043, 1050-1051; Aune, *Revelation*, 1119-1120; Mounce, *Revelation*, 381; Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993) 53; J. Roloff, *Revelation* (CC; trans. J.E. Alsop; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 235; J. Sweet, *Revelation* (London: SCM, 1979) 297; W. Barclay, *The Revelation of John* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976) 2:198; Ford, *Revelation*, 361; G.B. Caird, *The Revelation of Saint John* (BNTC 19; London: A & C Black, 1966) 262; H. Wallace, "Leviathan and the Beast in Revelation", *BA* 11.3 (1948) 68; R.H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (2 vols.; ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920) 2:205.

[24] See Ps 74:12-17; 104:5-9; Job 26:12-13. Cf. J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985); M.K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster* (Leiden: Brill, 1973); O. Kaiser, *Die Mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (BZAW 78; Berlin: Alfred Topelmann, 1959) esp. 44-77, 140-152; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895).

instances by a banquet, the assumption of kingship and the building of a temple—all themes that can be argued to lie behind Rev 21-22.[25] The mention of the doing away with the sea in Rev 21:1 may thus be intended to echo this common motif of combat myth.

One possible piece of evidence for linking the sea of 21:1 with an ancient combat myth is the parallel statement in 21:4 that ὁ θάνατος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι. Given that Baal and his consort Anat's two great battles were against Yam, or sometimes the associated Lītān, and Mot, it could be that John is reflecting a similar scenario in which the primary opponents of the deity, sea and death, are finally defeated. A.Y. Collins has in fact argued that the use of the *sea* as adversary in Rev 21:1 demonstrates that "the author of Revelation was in touch with some contemporary form of the Semitic mythic pattern". "It is unlikely", she claims, "that a statement like Rev 21:1 could have been simply derived from the OT".[26]

It would perhaps be more precise to say that the weight of the evidence from Rev 12-13 does suggest that John had more combat-myth material to work with than what is hinted at in Scripture; but his basic reliance on the Old Testament throughout Revelation means that his use of extra-biblical mythic material is likely to have been reworked in its light and even to derive much of its *significance* from scriptural categories. The primary adversary of God's people in Revelation is in any case not the sea, but the devil and the beasts which have already been destroyed by the time we reach Rev 21:1. That the sea gives rise to one of these beasts suggests its association with cosmic evil (something John may well have considered consistent with its biblical image), but it cannot be said that the sea emerges as a key adversary of God in the book prior to 21:1. This cautions us against too quickly personifying the sea as an independent agent opposed to God even in Rev 21:1c.

4. *The Sea as People*

In a quite different use of Rev 12-13 to interpret 21:1, some commentators have suggested that because the sea and the earth represent the origin of the beasts and kings in Dan 7 and because John similarly describes beasts coming up from both the sea and the earth (Rev 13:1, 11), the significance of the sea and earth is primarily to represent the mass of peoples who are opposed to God—the "earth dwellers" and the "peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues" who are equated in one instance with the "waters" (ὕδατα) upon which the "prostitute of Babylon" sits (Rev 17:1, 15).[27] Schmidt has argued that this equation of the waters with peoples and nations reveals the primary significance of the sea's removal in 21:1. "Human chaos must go", he says, "in order to make possible a perfect community into which nothing unclean can ever enter".[28] For Schmidt, the New Jerusalem itself is equivalent to "redeemed humanity"; indeed, he claims that the vision of Rev 21-22 bears no spatial significance; the new creation is a people, not a place.

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[25] For these motifs, see A.Y. Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (HDR 9; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1976) 207-234.

[26] Collins, *Combat Myth*, 227.

Schmidt sheds some light on an important theme associated with the sea and possibly linked to its disappearance from the new creation. His explanation nevertheless overemphasises what is only a subsidiary use of sea imagery in Revelation and makes it the controlling theme. The comparison of the sea or waters with enemies is in fact a simile drawn from the cosmological and mythological significance of the sea that is prevalent elsewhere in the book. Schmidt's assertion that the New Jerusalem is envisioned solely as a people is also misleading; Bauckham more accurately describes John's portrait as encompassing people, place and divine presence.[29] Thus, although the image of the many waters as people opposed to God adds to the negative connotations John assigns to water imagery in Revelation, this image is not determinative or particularly illuminating for understanding Rev 21:1.

5. *The Sea as Medium of Babylon's Trade*

One negative function of the physical sea in Revelation is to facilitate Babylon's idolatrous trade. The way in which Babylon is destroyed—thrown like a millstone into the sea (18:21)—hints at John's view of the poetic justice inherent in the created order and in God's judgements (cf. Rev 11:18), and it once again closely associates the sea with judgement. The image also links the sea with death, especially when read alongside Ezek 26:19-21, a passage that has influenced John's imagery at this point.[30] In Ezekiel's oracle against Tyre, the city is covered by the abyss—by many waters—and is forced to descend with all "those who go down into the pit" (v. 20).

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[27] This seems to be the view of Swete, *Apocalypse*, 158. Beale, *Revelation*, 684, cites the possibility while also suggesting that the flood spewed from the mouth of the dragon in 12:15 may be intended to parallel the waters (=peoples) upon which sits the harlot in Revelation, since both images involve a desert location and water imagery (pp. 674-675). For similar uses of sea or waters to represent evil peoples, see 2 Sam 22:17-18; Ps 65:7; 69:14-15; Isa 17:12-13. Additional references are provided by Schmidt, "And the Sea was No More", 237-244, who has done the most to develop this thesis, although it was advanced long ago by E.W. Hengstenberg, *The Revelation of St. John* (2 vols; trans. P. Fairbairn; New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1852-1853), 1:419-420; 2:13, 193, 385.

[28] Schmidt, "And the Sea was No More", 248.

[29] Bauckham, *Theology*, 132-143.

It is possible that the link between the sea and Babylon's economic exploitation is part of the reason the sea is no more in Rev 21:1; support could be adduced from the deliberate contrast made in chapters 21-22 between the bride, the New Jerusalem, with the prostitute Babylon that sat on many waters. John's use of Ezek 26-27 in Rev 18 suggests in any case that this depiction is not divorced from the symbolical and mythological resonances of the sea. The images of chapters 17-18 contribute to the overall sense that the sea can be linked to activities opposed to the creator's will, hint that its waters can bring death and emphasise once again its potential to be used for judgement.

6. The Sea, Death, and Hades

We have seen that Babylon's destruction in the sea and the link between the sea, the beast and the abyss suggest a close relationship between the sea and death. This association emerges most clearly at Rev 20:13, where the sea, death and Hades give up the dead prior to the last judgement. In a survey of this relatively common theme—the region of the dead giving up the dead at the resurrection—Bauckham has demonstrated that though the use of Death and Hades in this formula is not unusual, the inclusion of the sea is unique to Revelation.[31]

Bauckham's conclusion regarding Rev 20:13 is that John associates the sea with Hades due to an already-established link between this region and the abyss.[32] Revelation 20:13 thus provides further evidence for John's negative conception of the sea and its association with the abyss as region of the dead.[33] The lack of prior precedent for including the sea in this scheme suggests, however, that while the destruction of death and Hades in the lake of fire at 20:14 may well leave readers waiting for the end of the sea in 21:1,[34] it is still necessary to use the clues from elsewhere in Revelation to determine why John has linked the sea with death and Hades in the first place.

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[30] The description of Babylon's sea trade and its judgement finds its closest biblical parallels in the oracles against Tyre in Ezek 26-27 and Isa 23 and against Babylon in Jer 51. The phrase "not be found again" is nearest Ezek 26:21, and John's choice of verb (εὑρεθῇ) suggests he may be relying at this point on the Hebrew (ולא־תמעאי עוד לעולם) rather than the Greek (καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρξεις ἔτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα).

[31] Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (NovTSup 43; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 280.

[32] Bauckham, *Fate*, 280-281, citing 2 Sam 22:5-6; Job 26:5; Ps 69:15; Jonah 2.

7. *Summary of Revelation's Use of Sea Imagery*

What conclusions can be drawn from this survey of Revelation's use of sea imagery? It is not clear that any single use of sea imagery earlier in the book is determinative for the interpretation of Rev 21:1c, but the recurrent themes and images that emerge are indispensable for shaping readers' perceptions and expectations. θάλασσα can be used in Revelation to denote the realm of cosmic evil, sometimes linked with the abyss and death, and it is regularly associated with God's judgements. The sea can also be one integral part of creation which glorifies God along with heaven and earth, but neither heaven nor earth are so closely linked elsewhere within John's symbolic universe to evil and judgement. The significance of this portrait for understanding 21:1 will be explored further below, but it first remains to consider more precisely the possible background for the notion that the sea might be excluded from the new creation.

II. Old Testament Development and Potential Parallels

In biblical literature, reflection on the stories of creation, flood, and exodus, mingled perhaps at times with the general ancient Near Eastern conception of the sea as adversary of the deity, gives rise to several passages in which the sea is rebuked or dried up. Such descriptions can be related to theophanies (e.g., Nah 1:4; Hab 3:8-15; cf. *4 Ezra* 8:23), be simply hyperbolic depictions of drought (e.g., Joel 1:20) or represent God's judgement of Israel or the nations.[35]

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[33] A number of commentators thus see 20:13 as important for explaining 21:1, including Beale, *Revelation*, 1034; Giesen, *Offenbarung*, 452; Sweet, *Revelation*, 297.

[34] Giesen, *Offenbarung*, 452.

[35] The drying up of the sea can also be a metaphor for the Lord's judgement of specific nations, as in Jeremiah's oracle against Babylon (Jer 51:36).

Amos, to take one example, describes a fire from the Lord that "consumed the great deep and was consuming the portion [of land]" (7:4). Interpreters as far back as Augustine have suggested that an analogous scenario could be at work in Rev 21:1, such that the sea disappears simply because it has been burned up in the fire of judgement.[36] But despite the preponderance of fire imagery in Revelation, fire does not appear in chapters 19-22 except in descriptions of the "lake of fire". Such a fire without a corresponding new creation could also be expected to leave the earth burned up as well, and yet here we have a new earth with no sea.

There are similar potential parallels in *Sib. Or.* 5.155-160, 447-448; *As. Mos.* 10:6; *T. Levi* 4:1; and *Apoc. El. (C)* 5:7, 14, of which *As. Mos.* 10 come closest perhaps to the context of Rev 21. Here the author describes the appearing of God's kingdom throughout all creation, such that "Satan shall be no more, and sorrow shall depart with him" (10:1); later in the passage it is said that "the sea all the way to the abyss will retire" and "the rivers will vanish away" (10:6). This description of sea and rivers, however, is set in a context *not* of describing the nature of God's kingdom but in the theophany that precedes its establishment, when on the day of the Lord his wrath and judgement results not only in the retiring of the sea but in such things as the shaking of the earth and the turning of the moon to blood (10:4-5).

This is the fundamental difference between Rev 21 and all such regularly-cited parallels. While these texts reveal a common stream of tradition that John may indeed be drawing on, the removal of the sea in Revelation is made parallel not to other judgements but to other blessings. The end of the sea cannot be construed as a further punishment of humankind or even of evil nations, but rather its absence is an integral part of what makes the new creation a place of joy, without evil, death, pain or sorrow.[37]

III. The New Exodus

Possibly nearer the context of Rev 21 are several passages in Isaiah that link the rebuke or removal of the sea to a future exodus that is foreseen for

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[36] Augustine (*City of God* XX, 16) also suggests the possibility that the sea might be "changed into something better" (trans. R.W. Dyson in *The City of God against the Pagans* [Cambridge: CUP, 1998] 1002).

[37] Nearer to Revelation in this regard may actually be Plutarch's notion that the sea could be construed as an "alien" element not of this world, a "corrupt and pestilential residuum of a foreign nature" (*Mor.* 353E).

God's people. Thus Isa 10:26 describes the return of a remnant of Israel when the Lord lifts up the sea in the same way he did in Egypt, and Isa 11:15-16 claims the Lord will destroy the "tongue of the Sea of Egypt" and split "the river" to make a way for the people to cross over, "just as there was for Israel in the day that they came up from the land of Egypt". Zechariah 10:11 similarly describes a time when the Lord "will pass through the sea of distress and strike the waves of the sea and all the deeps of the Nile will dry up".

The greatest development of this theme is found in Isa 43:16-21 and Isa 51:9-11, passages that may be particularly relevant for Revelation. John's description of a new heaven and earth in Rev 21:1-4 is modeled largely on Isa 65:17-19, but Isa 43:16-21 seems to have influenced his language as well, perhaps via the parallel reference to the "former things" (ראשׁנות; LXX τὰ πρῶτα) at both 43:18 and 65:17. The Lord's declaration in 43:19, "behold I am making a new thing" (הנני עשׂה חדשׁה; LXX ἰδοὺ ποιῶ καινα), is in any case echoed at Rev 21:5, where the one sitting on the throne declares, ἰδοὺ καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα. The reference in Isa 43:20 to the Lord's giving his people water to drink may also lie behind the reference in Rev 21:6 to the one on the throne saying that he will give to the one who is thirsty to drink from the spring of the water of life.

Such parallels suggest that John may intend to echo Isaiah's new exodus in his depiction of the new creation. Readers will have been prepared for such an interpretation by the regular use of exodus imagery earlier in the book, at one point (as we have seen), explicitly in reference to the sea (15:2).[38] This returns us to Isa 51:9-11, where the future deliverance is described in terms very similar to Isa 43:16-21 and where sea imagery also becomes predominant. The events of the exodus are linked here to events usually associated with creation,[39] and both paradigmatic actions of God are taken up and applied to the future restoration. This restoration is described in ways echoed elsewhere in Isaiah; verse 11 in fact replicates exactly Isa 35:10, and the claim in both passages that "sorrow and sighing shall flee away" is taken up again in John's primary source text, Isa 65:19, where it said that in the New Jerusalem there shall no longer be heard "the sound of weeping or the sound of crying".

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[38] Revelation's use of the second-exodus motif is now recognised by most commentators, and is emphasised especially by D. Mathewson, *A New Heaven and a New Earth: The Meaning and Function of the Old Testament in Revelation 21.1-22.5* (JSNTSup 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003) 62-69; Bauckham, *Theology*, 70-72; and F.D. Mazzaferri, *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-critical Perspective* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989) 365-374. Regularly cited in this regard is also J.S. Casey, "Exodus Typology in the Book of Revelation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, 1982).

[39] The exodus is often portrayed as a creation event, especially as the creation of a people but in some cases including wider cosmic significance. K. Baltzer notes that the fact that it was at the break of morning light when the Lord looked at the Egyptian army and caused

If, as seems likely for Isa 43:16-21 and possible for Isa 51:9-11, these passages have influenced Rev 21:1-5,[40] it may be that the removal of the sea in Rev 21:1 should be interpreted in their light. If so, John is drawing on the connection between creation, exodus and new creation already present in Isaiah and is suggesting in Rev 21:1 that a new and final return from exile has been completed for the people of God. Mathewson has argued at length for this interpretation of Rev 21:1,[41] and the presence of this motif is highlighted already in the commentaries of Ford and Beale.[42]

The use of an exodus framework would cohere well with the emphases in Rev 21 on the establishment of the Lord's sanctuary and the redemption of his people, and the role that the sea plays within this scenario is consistent with how sea imagery functions elsewhere in Revelation. The sea through which the Israelites passed and which God used to judge their enemies was already associated in biblical and early Jewish literature with the cosmic abyss, the realm of evil monsters and spirits and the chaotic powers that had been restrained at creation. Commentators on Rev 21:1 regularly mention these associations, though usually without reference to the exodus. Even those few who cite the importance of exodus motifs, however, neglect a central aspect of the image's significance: the sea is preeminently that part of the cosmos that God is seen to use in judging the world and its inhabitants. Although the nineteenth-century commentator Hengstenberg in other respects misread John's use of sea imagery, he was correct when he described the sea in Revelation as the "embodiment of

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its downfall to begin (Exod 14:24) could be taken as related to the first act of creation in Gen 1, when light shone forth at the word of God (*Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55* [trans. M. Kohl; ed. P. Machinist; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001] 358).

[40] For different assessments of the influence of Isaiah here, cf. J. Fekkes, *Isaiah and the Prophetic Tradition in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and their Development* (JSNTSup 93; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994] 256, and, nearer to my own conclusions, D. Mathewson, *New Heaven*, 59.

[41] Mathewson, "New Exodus as a Background for 'The Sea Was No More' in Revelation 21:1C" *TJ* 24 (2003) 243-258; cf. idem, *New Heaven*, 68-69.

[42] Beale, *Revelation*, 1050-1051; Ford, *Revelation*, 361.

God's judgements".[43] We have seen that this theme is emphasised in Revelation, and it has a long pedigree in biblical and apocalyptic literature, from the flood of Noah's day to the future judgement of Rome as the new Babylon. The exodus itself represented not only the Lord making a way through the sea for his people but his using its waters to drown their pursuers. In Rev 21:1, John's readers have reached the end of the long series of judgements that comprise the bulk of the book; the absence of the sea is not a further judgement but rather represents the end of judgement itself.

IV. The New Creation

Exodus typology goes some way towards explaining the cryptic reference in Rev 21:1c. The second-exodus motif itself, however, is situated within a larger, overarching framework that not only encompasses all the various threads we have been tracing so far but also better illuminates the full significance of 21:1c. The description of the new creation in Revelation may draw its biblical impetus primarily from Isaiah, Ezekiel, and, to a lesser extent, Zechariah, but it does not seem that John can describe the *creation* of a heaven and earth without also reflecting on Genesis. This becomes most evident in the description of the tree of life and its fruit in Rev 22:2, where not only Ezek 47:1-12 but Gen 2 is clearly in the background.[44] It may also be that the first and seventh items that are listed as absent from the new heaven and earth reveal the influence of scripture's first creation story on its last.

Of the seven items John lists, the middle five can in biblical tradition be related ultimately to the effects of the curse and the expulsion from Eden described in Gen 3: *death, mourning, crying, pain*, and—echoing Zech 14:11,[45] but with Gen 3:17 also looming in the background—πᾶν κατάθεμα (*everything cursed*).[46] The two that bookend the list, θάλασσα and νύξ, are the most enigmatic. But they share an association with judgement and, more fundamentally, they are representative of the pre-creation state of the world in Gen 1:2, when "darkness was upon the face of the abyss, and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters".

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[43] Hengstenberg, *Revelation*, 258.

[44] Cf. C. Deutsch, "Transformation of Symbols: The New Jerusalem in Rv 21:1-22:5", *ZNW* 78 (1987) 106-126, here 117; H. Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HNT 16a; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1974) 273-274.

[45] See M. Jauhiainen, *The Use of Zechariah in Revelation* (WUNT 199; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 125-126, 147.

[46] I am grateful to Ms. J. Kantrowitz for drawing my attention to this point.

As with the sea, the darkness of night can be either a natural part of the created order or be a sign of judgement.[47] The interruption of cosmic light sources is a common depiction of judgement in early Judaism, and this motif is in fact used at several instances in Revelation.[48] Jeremiah 4:23 is particularly illuminating, as the occurrence of darkness in the context of judgment is linked to the irruption of chaos in the created order and the world's retreat to pre-creation conditions: "I looked on the earth and, behold, it was תהו ובהו, and to the heavens and their light was not there". Jeremiah sees the mountains quake, the land devastated and uninhabited and the heavens darkened (4:24-28). The world is being de-created, returning to its state when, as *4 Ezra* 6:39 has it, "darkness and silence embraced everything".

The removal of the sea and night could serve together simply to represent the end of judgement. But in the context of an act of new creation, it seems likely that John is echoing not only the association of sea and darkness with judgement but with the two pre-creation elements of Gen 1:2. Waters and darkness show up as the two primordial elements in a number of ancient cosmogonies,[49] and, for those working within the biblical tradition, the waters and the darkness could represent the potential for disorder and chaos and even hint at the possibility that evil might spring up in an otherwise good creation.

The fact that there is no more sea or night in the new heaven and new earth suggests an allusion to the first creation since in both instances these elements are in some way subjugated, divided or restrained; but *Endzeit* is not simply *Urzeit* for John, for in his vision of the complete elimination of the sea and night, creation has been brought beyond any threat of future evil, chaos or judgement. It is as if the first creation, while good in itself, had had the potential to develop in two directions: if humankind fulfilled its role and lived in harmony with God and the rest of creation, the latent powers of chaos represented especially by the sea and darkness would be forever within the scope of human dominion and would become perhaps sources of creative energy and delight—just as they were for God, for whom even Leviathan could be a plaything. But if the covenant between God and his creatures was broken and human beings allied themselves with the serpent and its realm, the forces of chaos would be let loose and the sea become a thing of terror, an abode of evil and an instrument of judgement. Scripture may be largely a record of humankind opting for this latter path, but John's intent is to assure the churches that they have not therefore been abandoned to a world of sorrow, pain and mourning. Instead, the triumph of the "Lamb that was slain" means that the creator's fidelity to his creation—hinted at in the rainbow around the throne, sign of the Noahic covenant—is expressed finally through nothing less than the renewal of the cosmos, an event in which the world is brought beyond any threat of future rebellion or sin.

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[47] Thus darkness and the sun going down in the middle of the day is a sign of the judgement (Amos 8:9) that will accompany the Day of the Lord (Joel 2:2, 31; Zeph 1:15). Darkness covers the land at Jesus' crucifixion (Mk 16:33 and parr.), and deepest darkness is reserved for the evildoers of Jude 13 (cf. 6).

[48] Beale, *Revelation*, 483-485.

[49] This is especially true of Egyptian and Phoenician cosmogonies. Cf. R.J. Clifford, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible* (CBQMS 26; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1994) 101-102, 141-142; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11* (CC; trans. J.J. Scullion S.J.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994) 106. Clifford notes that for the Egyptians, water and darkness were pre-creation elements of nonexistence that nevertheless persisted both outside the boundaries of this world and within this world as alternately hostile and regenerative forces (pp. 102-104).

By describing the new creation in terms that echo the first, John highlights what is different about the new creation. He suggests that the cosmic sea, the waters of which could be set loose during this age to bring destruction and from which beasts and evil powers might arise, will no longer pose any threat in the renewed cosmos. Never again will creation be called upon to destroy the destroyers of the earth for all judgment will be past and salvation finally and definitively accomplished.[50]

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[50] Bauckham, *Theology of Revelation*, 53, comes the nearest to suggesting a scenario similar to the one proposed here; he links the removal of the sea to the "final removal of the threat of another Flood" and suggests that it means there is no more "possibility of the reversion of creation to chaos".

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Weighing the Parts

A Papyrological Perspective on the Parting of the Ways[1]

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Abstract

A comparison of the ideological composition of the Qumran library and Christian libraries from ancient Egypt, reconstructed from pre-Constantinian papyri, reveals a profound difference in the amount of group-specific material: ca. 28% Qumran "sectarian" at Qumran vs. ca. 60% "Christian" books in ancient Egyptian Christian libraries. Even for the second century, where we have much less data, the divide is quite great. If we take Qumran as example for a Jewish sectarian library, still focused largely on the Hebrew Bible and writings shared with other Jews, Christian libraries portray an independent group-specific identity, quite early on.

Keywords

Jewish-Christian relations; papyri; libraries; Qumran; Egypt; identity

In recent years, a considerable amount of thought in the study of early Judaism and early Christianity has been spent on the emergence of early

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Christianity, which by some has been called the "parting(s) of the ways", by others "the ways that never parted".[2] The work of scholars such as Daniel Boyarin, John Gager, Bob Kraft, Judith Lieu, Jacob Neusner, Seth Schwartz to name just a few of the leading figures, has opened new perspectives and carried the discussion into previously untrodden fields.[3] Long standing dichotomies often motivated by theologically preconceptions have given way to a new picture with new key words, among them: variety, diversity, blurred boundaries, and continued interaction. I fully subscribe to the general outline of this picture.

However, it does not seem too farfetched to my Hegelian eyes to interpret this new vision as antithesis to the previous thesis.[4] What kind of reality do Boyarin and others imply when they speak of a "Jewish-Christian continuum"?[5] Boyarin's sophisticated theorizing naturally admits the possibility to distinguish between the extremes of this spectrum, non-Jewish Christians and non-Christian Jews, even if we cannot draw a clear boundary between them.[6] Yet, speaking of a variety of Judaisms or Christianities and of blurred boundaries between them *can* leave the impression—even when it is not intended[7]—that all the groups were equally strong or important, or that we cannot know anything about this. Does this Jewish-Christian continuum look like a rainbow with all colors equally wide? Continuing the ideas of my teachers and inspirers, I would like to add a fresh quantitative angle to a largely qualitative discourse in order to nuance the old question when Christianity developed from being another Jewish sect to a more or less independent religion.[8] If we can state that "some [people in antiquity] vehemently asserted the separation of 'Judaism' and 'Christianity', others ignored their efforts, and still others resisted them",[9] the question this paper would like to address is the question of "how many"? Let us weigh the parts.[10]

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[2] J. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways Between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London: SCM / Trinity International, 1991); idem, ed., *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways, A.D. 70 to 135. The Second Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium on Earliest Christianity and Judaism (Durham, September 1989)* (WUNT 66; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999); A. Becker and A. Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (TSAJ 95; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2003; paperback edition: Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007).

[3] D. Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Judaism and Christianity* (Stanford, 1999); idem, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); J. Gager, "Jews, Christians and the Dangerous Ones in Between," in *Interpretation in Religion* (eds. S. Biderman and B. Scharfstein; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 249-257; R. Kraft, "The Multiform Jewish Heritage of Early Christianity," in *Christanity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (ed. J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 175-199; J. Lieu, "'The Parting of the Ways': Theological Construct or Historical Reality?" *JSNT* 17 (1995) 101-119; eadem, *Neither Jew nor Greek? Constructing Early Christianity* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002); eadem, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); S. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); S. Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society. 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). The term "Judaisms" has perhaps been used first by J. Neusner, *Studying Classical Judaism: A Primer* (Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox, 1991) 33.

[4] Cf. Robert Kraft's phrase: "We are driven partly by reaction to commonly accepted oversimplifications, although we are always in danger of making the same mistakes in our own reformulations." See: "The Weighing of the Parts: Pivots and Pitfalls in the Study of Early Judaisms and their Early Christian Offspring," in *The Ways That Never Parted*, 87-94, here 93.

[5] Boyarin, *Dying*, 8. Cf. also the votum by Susannah Heschel in the new paperback edition of *The Ways That Never Parted*: "only after 400 C.E. can we speak of two separate religions."

Addressing our traditional written sources will not be of much help. Clearly, modern scholarship has arrived at the conclusion that we cannot simply accept the picture painted by the brushes of the winners of history, those who decided what to transmit to subsequent generations and what not. The majority of early Christian and Jewish literature is forever lost and only fragments of it are known.[11] How can we know whether Ignatius represented a majority or a minority in his time? Did he merely survive because he fit into the ideology of his posteriors? Groups on the margins, "heretics", the dangerous ones in between and extinct groups have always a much smaller chance to be properly represented.[12]

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[6] D. Boyarin, "Semantic Differences; or, 'Judaism'/'Christianity'", in *The Ways That Never Parted*, 65-85, here 76-77.

[7] See e.g. the introduction of Becker and Reed in the paperback edition of *The Ways That Never Parted*, xi: "It is perhaps telling that some critics of this volume have focused more on its title than its contents. Much to our surprise, some readers misread or misrepresented the volume as denying the existence of any 'Jews' or 'Christians' in this period; others imagined that we sought to present the religious landscape of Late Antiquity as a hybrid hodgepodge or undifferentiated mélange. In no way did we mean to claim, then or now, that Jews and Christians were always and everywhere the same as one another."

[8] This is part of a broader project on early Christian and Jewish libraries. One paper on canonization according to the papyrological data will soon be published (in Hebrew) in the volume on Canonization by the Scholion study group (Zalman Shazar): קנוניזציה כתהליך בלתי-ליניארי? מבט מהפפירוסים הנוצריים (והיהודיים) ממצרים "Canonisation—a Linear Process? An Analysis of the Christian (and Jewish) Papyri from Egypt." An English version will be published in ZAC. Another part of this project is a paper analyzing the Qumran collection coming to the conclusion that the scrolls cannot come from one library: "Old Caves and Young Caves: A Statistical Reevaluation of a Qumran Consensus," *DSD* 14 (2007) 313-333.

[9] As rightly emphasized by Becker and Reed, preface to the paperback edition of *The Ways That Never Parted*, xii.

[10] The title of this article plays on Kraft's contribution, "The Weighing of the Parts: Pivots and Pitfalls in the Study of Early Judaisms and Their Early Christian Offspring," in *The Ways That Never Parted*.

It is the intention of the present analysis to circumvent the ramifications of the history of transmission and censorship by addressing archaeological sources. Many scholars have bemoaned the absence of archaeological and epigraphical data, especially from the second century but also from the third century, to approach our question.[13] This neglects the availability of papyri that can be regarded as a type of epigraphical data as well. In any case, papyri have been used to quantify sociological developments by other scholars.[14]

The keyhole through which I will peek is ancient book collections. Books seem a suitable vantage point to understand the parting of the ways of Christianity and Judaism since among the religions in the Roman Empire both Christianity and Judaism are the first examples of very much textual religions.[15] I shall compare the ideological composition of the scattered remains of Christian (and Jewish) libraries as portrayed in the ancient papyri and parchments found in Egypt with the only ancient Jewish book collection we have, i.e. Qumran. My central thesis is that it makes little or no sense to speak of Christianity as a *Jewish* group or as a form of *Judaism* from the late second century onward at the latest, at least in Egypt. At this point, the vast majority of Egyptian Christians belonged to communities that had developed an independent identity different from the various forms of Judaism.

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[11] According to Christoph Markschies, "we only possess 14% of the Christian literature of the 2nd century that, according to our sources, must have existed once." See his "The Canon of the New Testament in Antiquity: Some New Horizons for future Research," in *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond: Literacy and Religious Canons in the Ancient World* (eds. G. Stroumsa and M. Finkelberg; Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 2; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 175-194.

[12] Gager, "The Dangerous Ones in Between."

[13] E.g. J. Lieu, *Image and Reality: The Jews in the World of the Christians in the Second Century* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996) 8.

[14] E.g. R. Bagnall and B. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time 23; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); R. Bagnall, "Conversion and Onomastics: A Reply," *ZPE* 69 (1987) 243-250; W. Clarysse and D. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* (Cambridge Classical Studies 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). See also the present author's work mentioned in footnote 8 above.

[15] B. Lang, "Buchreligion," *HRWG* 2:143-165; G. Stroumsa, "Early Christianity—A Religion of the Book?" in *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond*, 153-174.

A) Method

In the construction of the collective identity of any textual community we can point to texts that are more central while others are more peripheral and others again that maybe off limit.[16] Late-antique Judaism was a religion with a great variety of subgroups whose ideas as to which books are central and which peripheral obviously varied.[17] Some groups probably regarded *Jubilees* or *1 Enoch* as central while others did not.[18] With regard to Qumran's *Rule of the Community*, however, we know of only one group that considered this text as central—most other Jews probably conceived it rather as peripheral. Accordingly I suggest distinguishing between three heuristic categories of texts. a) "Core" texts, foundational to *all or most* Jewish collective identities, such as what became the Hebrew Bible;[19] b) "shared" texts, used by *several* more or less distinct Jewish groups, such as *Jubilees, 1 Enoch*, Philo or the LXX texts not in the MT; and c) group-specific texts, foundational for the identity of *one specific* group, only, such as Qumran's *Serekh HaYahad* or Paul's Letter to the Romans.

Of course, the borders between these three categories are blurred, as the examples of *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* demonstrate, which belonged to the Bible for some but not for others. The decision as to whether to classify a non-biblical text as "shared" or as "group-specific" is based on the degree of group-specific terminology contained in it.[20] This decision, adopted from Devorah Dimant's groundbreaking research on Qumran,[21] is made on the assumption that texts with terminology to Christians or to the Qumran Yahad are much more likely to be texts used by this group only than texts without these specific forms of terminology. Consequently, the three categories are not absolute categories, but the result of a pragmatic approach to find a useful classification—similar to our yellow as opposed to green or orange for describing a rainbow's colors.[22]

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[16] As e.g. Athanasius' tripartite division of canonical, worthwhile and forbidden literature implies.

[17] A most instructive overview is still G. Porton, "Diversity in Postbiblical Judaism," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (eds. R. Kraft and G. Nickelsburg; SBL.BIMI 2; Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1986) 57-80.

[18] G. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1-36* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, 2001) 71-108, gives a detailed overview of the substantial impact of *1 Enoch* on Jewish and Christian literature.

[19] While the exact limits of the Canon may have differed from community to community, the number of 24 or 22 books found in many texts from the first century CE onwards seems to agree with the scope of the Hebrew Bible: J. Sanders, "Canon," *ABD* 1:837-852, here 839. Some communities had more books (e.g. LXX, Ethiopian Bible) but very few had less (Qumran: Esther?).

This threefold categorization between core, shared and group-specific texts seems heuristically useful to me to distinguish between more central and more peripheral Jewish identities in the following way:[23] The collective identity of any Jewish group can be characterized as more central when in addition to the core it is more focused on texts shared with other Jewish groups. Vice versa, an identity, focused largely on group-specific texts should rather be categorized as peripheral. Consequently, we can speak of more central Jewish groups and more peripheral.

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[20] For a group-specific Christian text I used very distinct expressions such as e.g. (positive references to) Jesus or quotations from the NT or known attribution to a patristic author. As Dimant's study of the Qumran texts (see next footnote) I do not distinguish between cases where this group-specific terminology appears in the papyrus fragment itself or, in the case of clearly identified books, in a portion of the known text that lies outside those parts preserved on this specific papyrus.

[21] D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness. Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1989-1990* (eds. eadem and L. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 23-58.

[22] Also the decision when two groups have to be regarded as sub-groups of one group, as for example Pauline vs. Matthean Christianity, is to some respect arbitrary. Becker and Reed correctly emphasize that "one can no longer assert that 'Judaism' and 'Christianity' were separated without also asking where and when, by whom and *for whom*" (my italics; p. xi of the paperback edition of the *Ways That Never Parted*). Eskimos have many words for white, old Irish can distinguish between several kinds of green. Still, white and green are categories *useful* for us in order to distinguish between various colors.

[23] A similar though not identical tripartite division has been used in an intriguing contribution to the history of canonization by F. Stuhlhofer, "Der Ertrag von Bibelstellenregistern für die Kanonsgeschichte," *ZAW* 100 (1988) 244-261; idem, *Der Gebrauch der Bibel von Jesus bis Euseb: Eine statistische Untersuchung zur Kanongeschichte* (TVGMS 335; Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1988); see also J. Barton, *Holy Writings Sacred Text: The Canon in Early Christianity* (Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox 1997).

This reveals a first assumption behind my analysis: there exists a relation between a group's identity and its library.[24] Yet, clearly they are not fully congruent. Most people own books the contents of which they do not subscribe to and others they never opened. Some they received as a present, others they inherited, some they bought and forgot to read, others they wrote a furious review against. By and large, however, the contents of one's private library reflect one's interests. On the collective level, where a collective policy has to be followed, this is all the more so. The library of a theological seminary manifests its religion or denomination. Catholic libraries will have more books written by Catholic theologians than Presbyterians. A Haredi Yeshiva will own little if any Christian material. A community library in Lyon will buy more French literature than its Muscovite counterpart. If we define a library as a more or less systematic collection of books organized at a certain place, for specific users and with a particular purpose it has to echo the dialogue between the identity and interests of its organizers and those of its users.

My analysis depends upon another fundamental assumption: A correlation between accidental survival and representativeness. The extant papyri are what the accident of history left to us. This is, in my eyes, exactly what makes them worthwhile to be analyzed side by side with the literary evidence that has come into our hands as the result of the ideological loaded history of transmission. If mice, ants, fire and humidity affect papyri irrespective of their ideological contents, they destroy an equal ratio of all texts alike that have been left, hidden or lost in the same conditions—and leave us a representative source to approach sociological issues of late antique societies. This is an assumption that is not self-evident as the contexts in which papyri are discovered or through which they reach the hands of papyrologists differ.[25] Most of the papyri on which this investigation is based are unprovenanced. The next largest groups come from the trash heaps of Oxyrhynchus and Antinoopolis.[26] At least one third century codex was found well hidden in a wall.[27] Those papyri that are particularly well preserved such as the Chester Beatty or the Bodmer papyri apparently survived so well due to some special protection, such as jars.[28] If future research shows that early Christians treated texts of *one* (!) of the three categories (core, shared, group-specific) differently from the other two categories, and this in a way seriously discriminating between their chances survival, the results of the present study would have to be revised.[29] Until firm conclusion is reached on this point, the results of this study should be regarded as preliminary.

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[24] Similar to e.g. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts."

[25] AnneMarie Luijendijk is currently investigating the relation between Christian manuscripts and ancient trash heaps in Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere. I am most grateful to her to have shared with me a still unpublished (2006) SBL contribution, "Are the New Testament Manuscripts Trash? On the Use and Disuse of Early Christian Texts."

[26] Many of the unprovenanced papyri have a good chance to come from the trash heaps of Oxyrhynchus, Hermopolis or Antinoopolis as well. For a report of the Antinoopolis excavations, see J. de M. Johnson, "Antinoë and Its Papyri: Excavation by the Graeco-Roman Branch, 1913-14," *JEA* 1 (1914) 168-181.

How do we know that the extant papyri do not simply portray the library situation at the latest point of time in each excavation, e.g. the fourth century in Oxyrhynchus? We have two valuable controls that warrant the representativeness. First, as I will show in a separate publication, the ratio of Christian literary papyri among the number of literary papyri in general in the period from the second to the fourth century comes very close to the ratio and growing rate of the Christian population in the

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[27] LDAB 3541 (Philo) with 2936 (Matt, Luke) in the binding. They were found in Coptos.

[28] LDAB 2777, 2778, 2895, 2980, 3011, 3090, 3091, 3098, 3108, 3109. Cf. also LDAB 1097 that might come from a jar, see: K. Aland and H.-U. Rosenbaum, eds., *Repertorium der griechischen Christlichen Papyri. II. Kirchenväter-Papyri. Teil 1. Beschreibungen* (Patristische Texte und Studien 42; Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1995) 289. On the general issue, cf. again the unpublished paper by Luijendijk and the comments below and footnotes 37 and 51. The finds of Nag Hammadi (jars), Tura (cave) and the books supposedly from the White Monastery are too late for our inquiry here that stops before the fourth century. Several papyri have been found in burials, yet not, as far as I know, second or third century Christian or Jewish manuscripts. Generally spoken, mummy cartonage is another possibility, yet, with only remote chances for Christian papyri as the custom of mummifying the dead died out in the third to fourth century (I owe this information to Sydney Aufrère, oral conversation, March 2008). Also, it seems that mainly documentary texts were used. Only a small number of Hellenistic literary texts has been preserved in mummy cartonage, e.g. in Tebtunis.

[29] E.g. if (some) Christians tended to prevent core or shared literature from being thrown on the trash heaps (and therefore in the hands of modern scholars) and instead burned or buried this type, but not group-specific Christian literature, the latter would be overrepresented in our database. If, however, group-specific Christian literature was less prone to land on the trash heaps than core or shared literature, the results of our study would have to be emphasized all the more so. If Christians were *equally* reluctant to throw away all three types, the representativeness of the trash heaps would again be valid. This still has to be studied.

Roman Empire in each century as postulated on different grounds by Roger Bagnall (and taken up by Rodney Stark).[30] Second, in a separate study, which is going to be published in the proceedings of the Scholion institute research group on Canonization, I have shown that the considerable diversity displayed by the second century manuscripts gradually weakened until the fifth century.[31] Orthodox views of what should and what should not be read eventually triumphed, but second century manuscripts portray a higher ratio of what later became apocryphal works, such as the Gospels of Peter and Thomas, than the third, fourth or fifth century. We can therefore deduce that the manuscripts do *not* reflect the latest state of libraries, after the Constantinian revolt, but the historical development.

Before embarking on the first leg of the comparison, however, let me put forward some more methodological caveats. First, my data is of numerical nature. Hence, importance is measured in quantitative not qualitative terms. Theological and sociological importance depends sometimes on the character more than on the numbers.[32] Second, the provenance of all my data is Egypt, and more specifically the arid zones of Egypt outside of humid Alexandria. Therefore my conclusions pertain primarily to this geographical area. I shall come back to this point at the end of this article. Third, my data are the remains of books and hence are closely linked to the alphabetized or literate strata of the Christian population, which most probably amount to a small number of people. Nevertheless, it seems at least as safe to me to extrapolate from this corpus about illiterate people as from the writings of theologians. Moreover, the papyri found in Egypt did not exclusively belong to sacred libraries but also to private individuals interested in Christianity.[33]

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[30] R. Bagnall, "Religious Conversion and Onomastic Change," *BASP* 19 (1982) 104-124; idem, "Conversion and Onomastics: A Reply"; R. Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1997) 3-27.

[31] Stökl Ben Ezra, "Canonization."

[32] As Gager, "The 'Dangerous Ones in Between'," rightly emphasizes.

[33] Judith Lieu rightly states that "Literature, especially ideological or doctrinal, tends to stress differentiation, whereas social and religious experience tends to be more untidy. This, as we have seen, is notably true of Asia Minor, where archaeological and epigraphic evidence implies a far wider range of common life and expression among pagans, Jews and Christians than the literary sources would at first suggest." (*Image and Reality*, 278). Most papyri are archaeological and all are epigraphic evidence.

B) Findings

1) Qumran: A Sect Still Jewish

Let us begin with Qumran, the only clear example of an ancient Jewish library we have. In a landmark study of the ideological structure of the scrolls in each of the Qumran caves, Devorah Dimant has convincingly shown that the policy that determined which genres and ideologies to include and which to exclude was the same for all scroll caves.[34] We can, therefore, speak of a library. Let me remind readers more focused on Christianity and Christian papyri that the scope of the Qumran fragments is enormous. The number of books from Qumran, perhaps somewhere between 900 and 1000, more than doubles the overall amount of Christian literary papyri and parchments from the second to the fourth century. Dimant divided the Qumran scrolls into four categories: A) Hebrew Bible, B) texts with *no* community terminology (NCT texts), C) texts *with* community terminology (CT texts), D) texts too fragmentary to be categorized in either group. These categories approximately match ours, i.e. core, shared and group specific texts. If we translate her results using our nomenclature, about one third of the Qumran manuscripts are core texts (biblical) (30%), one third are shared texts (33%),[35] and about one quarter is group specific (25%).[36] About one eighth are too fragmentary to be classified (12%). If we disregard the unidentifiable manuscripts, our three categories are represented by about one third of the total each (plus/minus 5%). Shared texts are the strongest (37.5%), group-specific texts the weakest (28.4%) and the biblical core is in between (34.1%). This is illustrated by the graph as shown in Figure 1 below.

If we take Qumran as an example of a Jewish "Sectarian" library, in fact, less than one third of its books portray this specific "sectarian" group identity. Core and shared literature form together more than seventy percent. This means that more than two thirds of Qumran's book collection covers works that the community shared with other forms of Judaism. With regard to its library, Qumran seems therefore quite closely connected to mainstream Jewish identity. Regardless of its exclusive character and despite its being a Jewish *sect*, Qumran is still clearly *Jewish*. What about early Christianity?

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[34] Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts."

[35] NCT, non-community-terminology in Dimant's terms.

[36] CT, with community terminology in Dimant's terms.

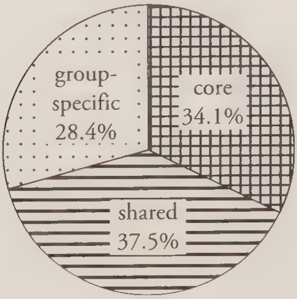

Figure 1. Ideological Composition of the Qumran 'Library'

2) *Christianity as a Jewish Group?*

Regretfully, we have not yet found an ancient Christian manuscript collection similar to Qumran. The most famous of all Christian libraries, Caesarea, founded by Origen, proves that collections of a considerable size existed quite early.[37] Yet, the earliest reliable information of the contents of a complete library is late: It is a sixth or seventh century Ostracon, a catalogue listing the books in the library of the Mar Elias monastery in Egypt.[38] An analysis of its contents gives the following results. Among 80 books, 21 come from LXX books found also in the MT, i.e. core, one or two are presumably "shared"[39] and 58 are certainly or almost certainly with Christian terminology, i.e. group specific.[40] The lower standing of the Old Testament might also be expressed in the fact that besides a copy of Isaiah, Jeremiah and two of Psalms all Old Testament books are on papyrus, while most New Testament books are on parchment. Compared to Qumran, a graphic representation looks as follows.

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[37] On the early history of Christian libraries, cf. B. van Elderen, "Early Christian Libraries," in *The Bible as a Book* (eds. J. Sharpe and K. van Kampen; London: British Library / New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll, 1998) 45-59; H. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 144-202; E. Plümacher, "Bibliothekswesen II", *TRE* 6:413-426, esp. 414-415; C. Wendel, "Bibliothek", *RAC* 2:231-274; H. Leclerq, "Bibliothèques", *DACL* 2:842-904. On the wider intellectual scale, cf. now also A. Grafton and M. Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University, 2006); M. Frenschkowski, "Studien zur Geschichte der Bibliothek von Cäsarea", in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World*, (eds. T. Kraus and T. Nicklas; Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 2; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 53-104.

[38] R.-G. Coquin, "Le catalogue de la bibliothèque du Couvent de Saint Élie 'du Rocher' (Ostracon IFAO 13315)", *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 207-239, see also Leclerq, "Bibliothèques."

[39] A book of medicines and perhaps "the books of Esdra" that could include non-MT material under this name.

[40] Mostly NT, liturgical, patristic and monastic writings.

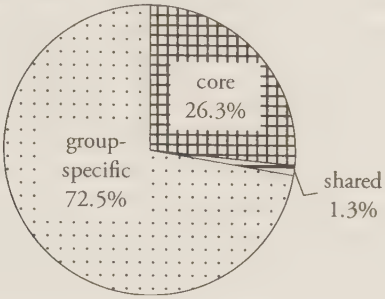

Figure 2. Ideological Composition of the Library of the Mar Elias Monastery

Almost 75% of the literature in the Christian monastic library is Christian. This is an example for a Christian library around the time of the rise of Islam. What can we say about previous centuries? Regretfully, we do not have an earlier clear cut example of a full library. Three ancient manuscript groups have been qualified by some as the earliest Christian libraries: the Chester Beatty Papyri, the Bodmer Papyri and the Nag Hammadi Codices.[41] Yet not only is their archaeological context unknown, but also they are only a partial selection of their former contents. The survival of these exceptionally well preserved codices seems to be dependent on a selective element. We are unable to know whether they are representative of the library they once belonged to.

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[41] According to van Elderen, "Early Christian Libraries," 46, the Chester Beatty and Bodmer are libraries of biblical literature; J. Robinson, "The First Christian Monastic Library", in *Coptic Studies. Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies. Warsaw, 20-25 August, 1984* (ed. W. Godlewski; Warsaw: PWN-Editions Scientifiques de Pologne, 1990) 371-378, here 371 (Chester Beatty and Bodmer papyri are the library of the monastery of Pachomius); idem, "The Pachomian Monastic Library at the Chester Beatty Library and the Bibliothèque Bodmer," in *Manuscripts of the Middle East 5: The Role of the Book in the Civilisations of the Near East. Proceedings of the Conference Held at the Royal Irish Academy and the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 29 June-1 July 1988* (eds. F. Déroche, A. Gacek and J. Witkam; Leiden: Ter Lugt, 1990-1991) 26-40 (*non vidi*); R. Kasser, "Bodmer Papyri", *The Coptic Encyclopedia. Appendix* 48-53 (part of Bodmer papyri are a private library); A.H.M. Kessels and P.W. van der Horst, "The Vision of Dorotheus (Pap. Bodmer 29): Edited with Introduction, Translation and Notes", *VigChr* 41 (1987) 313-359, esp. 314 (Bodmer papyri are part of a monastic library).

Instead of a real library, I suggest working with a virtual library. Willy Clarysse has provided the scholarly world with an instrument extremely valuable for our purpose, the Leuven Database of Ancient Books, an online database currently holding more than 10 000 entries for ancient Greek and Latin literary and subliterary texts.[42] These papyri are not, obviously, the remains of *one* library. They do, however, reflect the *total* of the ancient pagan, Jewish and Christian book possession in the arid zones of Egypt, private intellectual, congregational and monastic. Assuming that the vicissitudes of history hit these three text categories equally,[43] the surviving papyri are a representative sample through the total scope of Egypt's Christian libraries however large or small they might have been. Thus, despite the fact that we do not know anything about the original settings of the manuscripts in collections, we can prudently use the ensemble of the papyri as a "virtual" library to calculate the "Sectarianism" of the Egyptian Christians in relation to Judaism.[44]

If we focus further on manuscripts only from the second or third century and deduct subliterary manuscripts such as amulets, school exercises, ostraca and single sheets that were not part of books properly spoken, we can speak of about 120 fragments of Christian (and Jewish)[45] books from

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[42] W. Clarysse, *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*, http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.ac.be. This vast enterprise has now become part of a still greater collective effort at http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab. The superb but now outdated standard reference work, specialized on early Christian papyri, is J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Papyrologie 1; Paris, 1976). Updates to this list have been published by Kurt Treu and then by Cornelia Römer in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* and now also at http://www.ucl.ac.uk/GrandLat/research/christianpapyri.htm. A very helpful preliminary list of literary and documentary papyri and cognate material, updated to 2005, can be found at http://www.anchist.mq.edu.au/doccentre/Conspectus.pdf.

[43] See above.

[44] As is well known, the only Greco-Roman library found with its more than 1700 books (almost) *in situ* is the collection of philosophic books from the *Villa dei papiri* in Herculaneum: M. Gigante, *Filodemo in Italia* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1990) and D. Sider, *The Library of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum* (Los Angeles: Paul Getty Museum, 2005).

[45] R. Kraft, "From Jewish Scribes to Christian Scriptoria? Issues of Continuity and Discontinuity in Their Greek Literary Worlds", online at: http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlylxx/SBL2004.htm; and cf. the list on http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlypaplist.

Christian (and Jewish) libraries.[46] About 39 manuscripts include books that can be categorized as core literature.[47] The largest group, about 71, include writings that can almost certainly be classified as group-specific books.[48] Finally, about 11 papyri encompass books that arguably belong to

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html; K. Treu, "Die Bedeutung des Griechischen für die Juden im römischen Reich", *Kairos* 15 (1973) 123-144, English translation online at http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/publics/notrak/Treu.htm.

[46] I decided to exclude LDAB 4973 (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 21122, Christian Prose ?), 5278 (P. Hamb. 2 141, Christian prose?), 5421 (P. Ant. 149, Christian prose?) and also 5522 (P. Jen. Inv. 18+21V), as their state is too fragmentary to whether they are Christian (group-specific) or pagan or Jewish (shared literature). The last is a mythological text, perhaps on Isis and Osiris, from the third century, that was written before a text from Irenaeus was added to it in the third to fourth century, but cf. M. Funghi and E. Giannarelli, "P.Ien.Irenaeus Verso: Una polemica sulla mortalitei degli dei pagani?" *Eirene* 34 (1998) 9-30. I also excluded LDAB 5272 (P. Giss. Bibl. 30, allegorical interpretation of Gen 1:28) as the earliest date given in Aland and Rosenbaum, *Repertorium der griechischen Christlichen Papyri. II. Teil 1*, 398-399 is third *to fourth* century, and a much later date is favored.

[47] OT (MT books only): second century: LDAB 3082 (Ps), 3086 (Exod and Deut) and 3087 (Ps); second to third century: LDAB 3081 (Gen), 3088 (Ps), 3089 (2 Chr), 3090 (Ezek, Dan, [Bel, Sus] Esth), 3091 (Num and Deut), 3094 (Gen), 3095 (Exod), 8119 (Josh), 8120 (Lev); third century: LDAB 2786 (Exod [and Rev]), 3093 (2 Chr), 3096 (Exod), 3098 (Ps), 3100 (Jer), 3101 (Gen), 3102 (Ps), 3103 (Gen), 3104 (Exod), 3106 (Ps), 3107 (Job), 3108 (Isa), 3109 (Gen), 3112 (Lev), 3113 (Gen), 3114 (Gen), 3115 (Ps), 3117 (Isa), 3118 (Exod), 3119 (Prov), 3120 (Prov, [Wis and Sir]), 3121 (Exod), 3122 (Isa), 3123 (Dan), 3125 (Ps), 3126 (Isa), 9893 (Ps).

[48] NT: second century: LDAB 2774 (John), 2775 (John), 2935 (Matt); second to third century: LDAB 2848 (Acts), 2777 (John), 2936 (Matt and Luke), 2937 (Matt), 2938 (Matt), 3011 (Rom, Heb, 1 Cor, 2 Cor, Eph, Gal, Phil, Col, 1 Thess), 3009 (Titus), 2776 (Rev); third century: LDAB 2768 (Jas), 2770 (Jas), 2778 (Rev), 2779 (John), 2780 (John), 2781 (John), 2782 (John), 2783 (John), 2784 (John), 2788 (John), 2851 (Acts), 2852 (Luke), 2853 (Acts), 2895 (Luke, John), 2939 (Matt), 2940 (Matt), 2980 (Matt, Luke, Mark, John, Acts), 2981 (Matt, Acts), 2995 (Rom), 3010 (Rom), 3012 (1 Thess), 3013 (Phlm), 3014 (Eph), 7157 (Luke), 7159 (Rom), 7160 (Heb), 2786 (Exod and Rev).

Apostolic Fathers: second to third century: LDAB 1094 (*Herm*), 1095 (*Herm*); third century: LDAB 1096 (*Herm*), 1097 (*Herm*), 1098 (*Herm*), 1099 (*Herm*).

NT Apocrypha: second century: LDAB 4872 (*Gos. Pet.*); second to third century: LDAB 5111 (*Gos. Pet.*), 4028 (*Gos. Thom.*), 4736 (P. Egerton 2); third century: LDAB 5234 (*Acts Paul*), 5462 (*Fayyum* fragment), 5329 (*Gos. Mary*), 5406 (*Gos. Mary*), 4029 (*Gos. Thom.*), 4030 (*Gos. Thom.*).

Other literature: second to third century: LDAB 562 (P. Mich. 764, Clement of Alexandria? with quote from Matt 3:12), 2459 (P. Oxy. 405, Irenaeus with quote from Matt 3:16-17 and *nomina sacra* IN and XΣ), 5071 (P. Mich. 763, text quoting 1 Cor and Matt); 5033 (Geneva, P. Gr. 253, text quoting Jesus logion similar to Matt 10:11-13 or Luke 10:5-6);

the category of shared literature.[49] Where there was a doubt whether to categorize a text as shared or group-specific I categorized it as shared in order to give it the benefit of the doubt, thus keeping Christianity as "Jewish" as possible.[50]

Table 1. Ideological composition of Christian Libraries (acc. to time) (absolute numbers)

	Second Century	**Second to Third Century**	**Third Century**	**Total**
Core	3	9	27	39
Shared	1	2	8	11
Group-specific	4	17	50	71
Total	8	28	85	121

Applying an analogous classification as for the Qumran scrolls to define the central or peripheral Jewish identity of this virtual collection, around

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third century: LDAB 2550 (P. Oxy. 412, Julius Africanus), 3499 (Bologna BU P. 12 + Copenhague, P. Carlsberg Coll. P. 319, Origen quoting Matt), 3500 (P. Oxy 406, homily, *nomina sacra* ΧΣ and ΕΣΤ[ΑΥ]Ρ[ΩΜΕ]ΝΟΣ), 3501 (PSI 2101, Origen?, text quoting 1 Cor 13:9-10; perhaps same book as LDAB 3502), 3502 (P. Egerton 3, Origen?, with *nomen sacrum* ΙΝ; perhaps same book as LDAB 3501), 5404 (P. Oxy 2070, Anti-Jewish Dialogue), 5405 (P. Oxy 2072, [van Haelst 1156] Apology with *nomen sacrum* ΧΡΝ), 5422 (Oxford, Ashmolean, inv. 2, text on Eucharist); 5222 (P. Oxy 210, allusion to Matt 7:17-19 and Luke 6:43-44), 5306 (P. Lond. Lit. 228, [van Haelst 1145], homily? on the treatment of slaves quoting Gen 14:17 including the *nomen sacrum* ΙΣ in col. i, line 24), 5403 (P. Oxy 1786, hymn to the Trinity with musical notation), 5201 (P. Berol. 9794, [van Haelst 722], prayers, some with *nomen sacrum* ΙΥ ΧΥ).

[49] OT Apocrypha and LXX-books that are not in the MT, Philo and Josephus: second to third century: LDAB 3090 (Bel, Sus and OT texts); LDAB 3540 (Philo); third century: LDAB 2457 (Josephus), 3110 (Tob), 3120 (Prov, Wis and Sir), 3541 (Philo), 5467 (*Jan. Jam.* and Hermetic text).

[50] This concerns the four texts LDAB 4669, 5420, 5255 and 5425: With regard to LDAB 4669 (PSI 1200bis, II cent., 'patristic text') and 5420 (P. Ant. 112, III cent., unidentified theological text), the former includes the *nomina sacra* ΘΣ and ΘΩ, the latter ΘΝ (there is nothing else to decide whether they are Jewish or Christian). These *nomina sacra* could possibly as well be Jewish. Θ(ΟΥ)Υ is attested e.g. in a synagogue inscription from Sardis: J. Kroll, "The Greek Inscriptions of the Sardis Synagogue", *HTR* 94 (2001) 5-55, no. 29. I am most grateful to Lutz Doering who is working on this issue and kindly drew my attention to this point in this Sardis inscription. For the benefit of the doubt I classified as shared even LDAB 5255 (P. Laur. inv. 3, 298b, III cent., termed "Christian fragment", *nomen sacrum* ΚΣ with missing stroke on top) and 5425 (P. Ant. 54, III cent., miniature Paternoster) as the Paternoster itself without its NT context has nothing "un-Jewish" group-specific Christian.

32% are core texts (biblical manuscripts of LXX books from the MT canon), about 9% are "shared" texts (Jewish writings without clear Christian terminology), and about 59% belong to "group-specific" literature, the remains of books with specifically Christian terminology speaking from a Jewish standpoint.[51]

Table 2. Ideological composition of Christian Libraries (acc. to time) (in %)

	Second Century	**Second to Third Century**	**Third Century**	**Total**
Core	37.5	32.1	31.8	32.2
Shared	12.5	7.1	9.4	9.1
Group-specific	50.0	60.7	58.8	58.7
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0

According to these calculations, pre-Constantinian Christian private and public libraries in Egypt encompassed by and large books specific to their community. The ratios for the third century are almost the same for the second-to-third century. The slightly lower ratio for group-specific texts for the second century is not very significant as the number of papyri investigated (n=8) is rather low. A graph corresponding to the table above (column: *total*) differs only slightly from that for the library of Mar Elias:

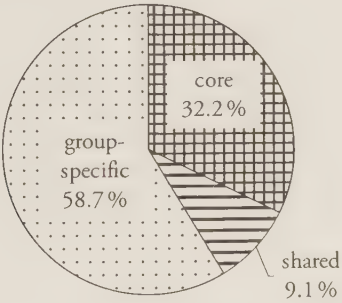

Figure 3. Ideological Composition of Christian Libraries (II-III cent.)

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[51] It should be noted that if we leave out those 13 books mentioned above in footnotes 27 and 28, with a (probably) particular transmission history (hidden in walls or jars), the overall results do *not* change (core: 31.8%, shared: 8.4%, group specific: 59.8%).

If we compare the libraries of the two supposedly Jewish groups, the owners of the Qumran scrolls on the one hand, and second and third century Egyptian Christianity on the other hand, we can easily observe quite wide a difference. While in Qumran two thirds of its books could arguably be found in other Jewish libraries and only one third was specific to the community, in second to third century Christianity this picture is inversed: more than half of the books are community specific and only about 40% is shared with other forms of Judaism, most of it biblical.[52] The lion-share of these libraries is therefore clearly specifically Christian. The core of this library has changed. It does not any more consist of the OT/LXX or other compositions shared with other "Jewish" groups but of the group-specific writings of the New Testament, Hermas, some books of the NT-Apocrypha and patristic texts. While the absence of "shared" literature significantly points to segmentation and fragmentation of mainstream Christianity from other forms of Judaism, it may be partially caused by the greater technical difficulty to identify this type of texts among the papyri.[53] However, in order to significantly change the ideological composition in the third century, we would have to have missed an identification of at about 40 papyri as core or shared Jewish, quite a high number. Most Christians share with Jews by and large only the first part of the Scriptures, not much different than in the Middle Ages or at the monastery of Mar Elias. "The Christians for the Christians!" to use a famous phrase from a Phrygian inscription from a later time.

In fact, the difference of the ideological composition of Christian libraries in comparison to Qumran might be even greater as I classified four manuscripts as "shared" literature that others categorized as group-specific Christian. In addition, the manuscripts from Egypt supposedly stem from all kinds of Christian and also from Jewish communities and individuals. Many of the LXX and NCT manuscripts often quickly categorized as Christian may have come from non-Christian Jewish scriptoria and libraries as Bob Kraft has time and again emphasized.[54] If Kraft is right, and much supports his case, the ratio of Biblical and of NCT manuscripts would drop significantly and "de-judaize" the ideological composition Christian libraries even further.[55]

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[52] There does not seem to be a difference between late second and early third century libraries. Taken alone, the second century manuscripts, too, average a quarter core (LXX), and no "shared", but the absolute number of Christian/Jewish papyri for this period too low to provide secure ground.

[53] Very small snippets of known texts such as LXX, NT and patristic texts can be identified with considerable ease even when the *extant* words do not portray unambiguously Christian *nomina sacra* or clearly Christian terminology. It is more difficult to distinguish unknown non-Christian Jewish texts from unknown pagan texts.

Let us now go back to the caveats raised in the opening of the lecture. The "Christian" data on which this investigation is based comes exclusively from ancient Egypt and not from Alexandria but only from smaller cities and the countryside. What arguments exist endorsing or undermining an extrapolation from these conclusions on other areas of ancient Christianity? It is commonly believed that the Jewish uprising that in the time of Trajan swept from the Cyrenaica over to Egypt seriously decimated the Jewish population. Eldon Epp recently reaffirmed a gap from the second to the late third century for the evidence of Jewish settlement in Oxyrhynchus, the most important finding place for papyri.[56] If second and third century Egyptian Christianity developed largely without connection to Jewish communities (in particular outside of Alexandria) and this might explain the seemingly low level of Jewish books without Christianity-specific terminology in Christian libraries. In the rest of the Empire the picture might have looked different, "more Jewish."[57] Yet, this has to be proven (not simply assumed) and our only papyrological evidence, speaks so far rather in favor of a developed independent Christian identity quite early on. That form of Christianity, whose textual identity largely relied on its own, group-specific texts, was most probably numerically more important than that form of Christianity, whose textual identity was similar to a Jewish sect such as Qumran or presumably Jewish Christianity. Let us go back to the metaphor of the rainbow and associate the color red with Judaism, the color orange with Christian groups with a textual identity thoroughly Jewish and with the color yellow Christian groups with a largely group-specific Christian textual identity. In this case we might indeed have a continuum from red to yellow (and so on) as postulated by Boyarin, yet orange would occupy a much smaller room than yellow, and this already in the late second century, long before the alliance of Empire and Christianity was forged. Finally, while my analysis is built on many assumptions and uncertainties and will surely not be the last word, I hope to have added a helpful new perspective to understand the historical situation evoked by the data we have.

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[54] This concerns notably LDAB 3081 (P. Yale 1, Gen, II-III cent.), 3094 (P. Oxy. 656, Gen, II-III), 8119 (P. Schoyen 2648, Joshua, II-III), 8120 (P. Schoyen 2659, Lev, II-III), 3090 (P. Chester Beatty IX, Ezek-Dan-Esth, II-III), 3540 (PSI 11 1207+P.Oxy 1173+1356+2158 + P. Haun. 1 8, Philo, II-III), but also LDAB 5420 (P. Ant. 112, theological fragment, III), 3113 (P. Oxy. 1007, Gen, III), 3114 (P. Oxy. 1166, Gen, III), 3101 (P. Berol. 17213, Gen, III), 3477 (P. Oxy. 1075, Exod [before the addition of Rev on the verso], III), 3087 (P. Ant. 7, Ps, II), 3119 (P. Ant. 9, Prov, III), 3120 (P. Ant. 8, Wis, Prov, Sir, III). In addition, the first to second century papyri LDAB 3080 (P.Oxy 4443, Esth), 4502 (P. Oxy 2944, "Solomon's judgment"), 3083 (P. Bodleian 5, Ps) and all other papyri before the second century that have not been included in my calculations from the start. Note the tension between the great number of potentially Jewish papyri from second/third century Oxyrhynchus to the results of Epp in footnote 56 below.

[55] The same is true were we to suggest that some "Jewish" manuscripts could stem from Jewish-Christian libraries. If these Jewish-Christian libraries portrayed the same composition as Qumran, we can hypothesize the proportion of Jewish-Christian communities inside the Christian prism. If therefore, their libraries included about one third each of biblical, shared and group-specific manuscripts, similar to Qumran, it would be reasonable to imagine that they formed a group amounting to between 6 to 18 percent of the Christian population of Egypt depending on how many of the NCT manuscripts we assume to have belonged to them. Yet again, such an attribution would result in an almost complete 'dejudaization' of the rest of second century Christianity. We would end up with two blocks, a Jewish one (including Jewish-Christians), and a Christian one.

[56] E. Epp "The Jews and the Jewish Community in Oxyrhynchus: Socio-Religious Context for the New Testament Papyri", in *New Testament Manuscripts*, 13-52, gives P. Oxy 1205 from 291 AD [=CPJ 473] as first *definite* evidence for the existence of Jews in Oxyrhynchus after the Trajan revolt. However, among the manuscripts suggested as *possibly* Jewish by Kraft and Treu, several come from second to third century Oxyrhynchus (see footnote 54 above). Epp is of course aware of this problem; cf. 15 n. 8.

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[57] The possibility that Judaism was stronger and more attractive outside Egypt could be indicated e.g. by the absence of Godfearer inscriptions in Egypt in comparison to their abundance e.g. in Asia Minor.

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Book Reviews

S.E. Porter (ed.), *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament* (McMaster New Testament Studies; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), xiii + 316 pp., ISBN 0-8028-2846-9, $29.00.

The essays collected in this book were—with one exception—originally presented for a broad audience at the 2003 H.H. Bingham Colloquium in New Testament at McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

After an informative introduction to the book as a whole by the editor (pp. 1-9), the first two chapters deal with basic problems in the field of the use of the OT in the NT. D.L. Stamps ("The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament as a Rhetorical Device: A Methodological Proposal", pp. 9-37) starts with what he calls "a survey of methodological issues" (p. 10) but which is, in fact, a discussion of vocabulary, of hermeneutics, and of theological issues. He then argues that within the Hellenistic world, the use of the OT in the NT should also be considered in the context of rhetoric as "the art of persuasion": authors make use of authoritative writings to persuade their readers of certain points of view. Stamps's plea for an adequate and precise terminology and for taking into account the rhetorical effect of citations and the like is certainly laudable and useful, although his argument remains quite general and hardly goes beyond the level of stating the obvious.

In "Biblical Texts and the Scriptures for the New Testament Church" (pp. 38-58), R.T. McLay argues that in the period in which the NT writings were composed, Judaism had authoritative scriptures, first of all the Torah, and next a still open collection of prophetic books. However, one cannot yet speak of a "canon" here, and the textual form of the books of Scripture was still fluid, not only because of unintentional and intentional errors in the process of copying, but also because of multiple literary editions of books and of textual revision. McLay illustrates the pluriformity of textual form with a discussion of the quotation from Deut. 32:43 in Heb. 1:6, in which he has effectively recycled part of his earlier book *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (2003).

The next four chapters concern the OT in the four Gospels and Acts. According to M.P. Knowles ("Scripture, History, Messiah: Scriptural Fulfillment and the Fullness of Time in Matthew's Gospel", pp. 59-82), a discussion of the function of Scripture in Matthew's Gospel should begin with the interpretation of Scripture by the Matthean Jesus. In a passage such as Matt. 21:42 (= Ps. 118:22-23), Jesus interprets at the same time both Scripture and his own fate. Matthew's editorial use of Scripture, mainly in the fulfilment quotations, is based on the practice and authority of Jesus himself. To

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Matthew, Scripture and Messiah correlate. Knowles's statement that all references to Scripture in Matthew (fulfilment quotations, other quotations, allusions, etc.) are "juxtaposed without apparent preference" (p. 80) raises the question why then the evangelist distinguishes them.

In an interesting and challenging contribution ("The Beginning of the Good News and the Fulfillment of Scripture in the Gospel of Mark", pp. 83-103), C.A. Evans argues that "the Markan evangelist has explicitly declared that the good news begins with Jesus—not Vespasian—and that Jesus is the fulfillment of Jewish Scripture. Mark's Gospel thus begins with a bold challenge to the Roman cult of the emperor, including the widespread opinion that the newly enthroned Vespasian fulfilled Jewish Scripture" (p. 103). To my mind, several traits of Mark's image of Jesus can indeed be explained by—among other things—an anti-Roman tendency, but a specific anti-Vespasian tendency seems more doubtful. Exactly how widespread was the view that Vespasian fulfilled Jewish Scripture, remains to be seen. Besides, many traditional materials used by Mark, including quotations from and allusions to the OT, are certainly pre-Vespasian.

In his contribution ("Scripture Justifies Mission: The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts", pp. 104-126), S.E. Porter identifies the motif of "prophecy and fulfilment" as the major characteristic of the use of Scripture in Luke-Acts. He concentrates on the use of Scripture, by Jesus and Peter respectively, in programmatic passages at the beginning of Luke's two books: Isa. 61:1-2 in Luke 4:18-19, and Joel 2:28-32, Ps. 16:8-11 and Ps. 110:1 in Acts 2:14-36. Porter shows how these quotations, read in their context, introduce essential theological themes of Luke-Acts, such as Jesus' messianic and even divine identity, and the universal scope of God's salvation. He tends to consider the quotations as going back to Jesus and Peter themselves. Much depends here on the question whether or not Luke made use of other sources in addition to Mark 6:1-6 in composing his Nazareth scene.

P. Miller discusses the significance of the OT in John's Gospel ("'They Saw His Glory and Spoke of Him': The Gospel of John and the Old Testament", pp. 127-151). After some considerations about the influence of John's Christology on his use of the OT (in matters of textual form, exegetical practices, etc.), Miller turns to John's hermeneutic, which he formulates as follows: "Scripture is the enduring record of those who saw the activity of the divine Logos prior to its appearance in Jesus and then testified to what they had seen" (p. 134; italicized in the original). Abraham, Isaiah and Moses are prominent examples of OT figures who saw and testified. Miller has certainly grasped an aspect, or perhaps rather a presupposition, of John's evaluation of the OT. I would, however, prefer to speak of "those who saw the pre-existent Jesus", and I doubt whether John extends this type of vision beyond Abraham (8:56) and Isaiah (12:41), and perhaps Moses, as figures to whom the OT as interpreted in Jewish tradition ascribed a vision of God in heaven.

Two chapters concern Paul's use of the OT. J.W. Aageson ("Written Also for Our Sake: Paul's Use of Scripture in the Four Major Epistles, with a Study of 1 Corinthians 10", pp. 152-181) focusses on Paul's biblical intertextuality and the often presumed distinction between a christological and an ecclesiological use of Scripture in his epistles. The Apostle's hermeneutic is christological, his direct use of Scripture, driven by the actual problems of his churches, is ecclesiological. Aageson develops these issues in a sustained exegesis of 1 Cor. 10:1-22. Paul here presupposes the early Jewish identification of rock, well, Torah and wisdom; he substitutes Christ for Torah (v. 4), and through this identification he is able to parallel Israel in the wilderness with the Corinthian community. As the body of Christ, the Corinthian church should abstain from idolatry, just as Israel, drinking from the rock that was Christ, should have done.

Next, S.C. Keesmaat discusses the use of the OT in Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and Philemon (all of them considered by her as written by Paul), in a chapter with the telling title "In the Face of the Empire: Paul's Use of Scripture in the Shorter Epistles" (pp. 182-212). In Keesmaat's view, all these epistles firmly belong in the context of the Roman Empire and its ideology. Against the empire, Paul invokes the story of Jesus, which is, in turn, embedded in the story of Israel. In 1 Thess. 4:13-5:11, for instance, Paul shows with the help of Daniel 7 and Isa. 59:17 (cf. 1 Thess. 5:8) that it is not Caesar's but Jesus' *parousia* that brings "peace and security" and salvation, and that the Thessalonian Christians have to arm themselves with faith, love and hope of salvation, not with vengeance and fury. One sometimes wonders whether Keesmaat's appeal to "imperial ideology" does not too easily serve to explain almost anything in the Pauline Epistles.

In "Job as Exemplar in the Epistle of James" (pp. 213-229), K.A. Richardson studies the reference to "the endurance of Job" in Jas. 5:11, a reference that is conspicuous in that it is the only mention of Job in the NT. Richardson characterizes the lesson of the book of Job as "the prophetic faithfulness of one subjected to non-judgmental suffering" (p. 217): God tests the faith of his own by undeserved sufferings. It is precisely as "an exemplar of endurance in the face of non-judgmental testing" (p. 228) that Job is presented in James. Job's exemplary function is reinforced because he knew how to control his tongue (Job 1:22; 2:10; 27:4), something highly valued in James (3:1-12), and because he was rich and can therefore serve as an example for the righteous rich in the Christian community (cf. Job 29:1-17; James 1:10).

The remaining NT documents are dealt with in the one chapter that was not delivered as a paper at the 2003 colloquium but was especially written by A.J. Köstenberger so that the published volume would cover the entire NT ("The Use of Scripture in the Pastoral and General Epistles and the Book of Revelation", pp. 230-254). Köstenberger successively discusses the use of the OT in 1 and 2 Timothy (considered by him to have been written by Paul; Titus is omitted, as containing no OT references), James, Hebrews, Jude, 1 and 2 Peter, 1-3 John (in eight lines, highlighting only the reference to Cain in 1 John 3:12), and Revelation. For James, Jude, and 1 and 2 Peter, he heavily relies on R. Bauckham, for Revelation on G. Beale. It is of course impossible to develop original thoughts on such a variety of writings and topics in such a small space, but it looks a bit odd that Hebrews and Revelation each get two to three pages, whereas the Pastoral Epistles, with much less material, get six pages. At the end of the chapter, Köstenberger rightly emphasizes the variety of use and application of Scripture in the writings under consideration, and he points to possible explanations for this variety.

The concluding chapter ("Hearing the Old Testament in the New: A Response", pp. 255-294) comes from A.J. Köstenberger as well. It goes back to his oral response to the various papers at the conference, but has been revised in the light of the final versions of these papers. Köstenberger gives lengthy summaries of the contributions, and formulates points of critique. It seems to me that his criticisms sometimes stem from an exegetically and theologically conservative stance. In any case, he expresses some important questions concerning the use of the OT in the NT: Should we approach this topic from an author-centred or an audience-centred perspective? How do the Jewish and the Hellenistic components of the NT relate to each other when it comes to the use of the OT? In what sense can the concept of an "OT canon" be used for NT times? To what extent did NT authors adapt the use of the OT to their audience, especially if this was a Gentile one?

The collection as a whole (which includes indices of modern authors and of ancient sources) testifies to the present interest in the topic "the OT in the NT". In its variety of materials and approaches it gives a fairly good idea of what is going on in this field, and it does so in a readable form. The familiarity of most contributors with secondary literature leaves something to be desired as far as European and especially non-English-language literature is concerned. For my part, I would have liked to see some more attention to questions of textual form. After all, we can only establish *how* an early Christian author interprets an OT passsage if we have first established *what* he interprets. The topic is not entirely absent from the book (see especially the chapters by McLay and Porter), and there are some general remarks on it, but to my mind, more sustained attention to detailed study of textual form would not have been out of place in a book of this scope.

Much of what is offered here is not new to specialists in the field, but even they will find new ideas and new perspectives in the volume. To me, the book seems to be especially useful to those who have some initial knowledge of the topic and want to gain more in-depth knowledge, for example M.A. students. For them, the book will certainly be useful, not least because it often indicates areas where further research is necessary.

Maarten J.J. Menken

Michael Bachmann, Johannes Woyke (eds.), *Lutherische und Neue Paulusperspektive: Beiträge zu einem Schlüsselproblem der gegenwärtigen exegetischen Diskussion* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), XIII + 460 pp., ISBN 3-16-148712-5, 99 € (WUNT 182).

Nach der Aufsatzsammlung von J.D.G. Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul: Collected Essays* (WUNT 185; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) und den beiden Bänden von D.A. Carson, P.T. O'Brien und M.A. Seifrid (Hrsg.), *Justification and Variegated Nomism, Volume I: The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism* (WUNT 2. 140; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001) und *Justification and Variegated Nomism II: The Paradoxes of Paul* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004; WUNT II, 181; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004) gibt es jetzt einen weiteren Sammelband zur neuen Paulusperspektive (nPp), der von zwei Neutestamentlern der Universität Siegen herausgegeben wurde.

Im Vorwort beschreibt Bachmann die Genese und Merkmale dieses "Diskussionsbandes zur nPp im deutschsprachigen Raum" (VII). Nach Bachmann handelt es sich bei der nPp "um ein Schlüsselproblem der gegenwärtigen exegetischen und theologischen Diskussion" (VII). Daher sollte die Diskussion nicht zu früh abgebrochen und der empfundenen Tendenz, in Deutschland zu schnell eine Negativbilanz zu ziehen, widerstanden werden. "Die inzwischen gar nicht mehr so neue Perspektive hat im deutschen Sprachraum noch viel zu wenig Wirkung entfaltet" (IX). Bei den Autoren handelt es sich "keineswegs ausschließlich um Befürworter der 'nPp' und auch nicht nur um protestantische Exegeten" (XI).

Einführend beschreibt K. Haacker "Verdienste und Grenzen der 'nPp' der Paulus-Auslegung" (1-15; Merkmale der nPp, Überblick über die Resonanzen, Würdigung). Zu den Verdiensten zählen nach Haacker die unbestrittenen Fortschritte in der Wahrnehmung des (antiken) Judentums, die Klärungen in der Bestimmung der Frontstellung des Paulus sowie die Auseinandersetzung mit Luthers Paulus-Rezeption. Haacker schließt mit "Hermeneutischen Reflexionen" (11-15, "hermeneutische Einsichten, die geeignet sind, gewisse Verhärtungen aufzulockern und ein Nebeneinander von Betrachtungsweisen zu ermöglichen, die oft gegeneinander ausgespielt werden", 11), in denen Haacker abschließend fragt, welche Aspekte pln. Theologie heute betont werden sollten, um die Probleme unserer Zeit anzusprechen.

Nach diesem Überblick geht es in den folgenden Aufsätzen um Teilaspekte. F.W. Horn schreibt über "Juden und Heiden: Aspekte der Verhältnisbestimmung in den pln. Briefen—Ein Gespräch mit Krister Stendahl" (17-39; nach Horn hat Stendahl die klassische lutherische Paulusinterpretation hinterfragt, ohne selbst eine Alternative vorzulegen). V. Stolle untersucht "Nomos zwischen Tora und Lex: Der pln. Gesetzesbegriff und seine Interpretation durch Luther in der zweiten Disputation gegen die Antinomer vom 12. Januar 1538" (41-67).

Im ausführlichen Beitrag "Keil oder Mikroskop? Zur jüngeren Diskussion um den Ausdruck 'Werke' des Gesetzes" (69-134) gibt M. Bachmann zunächst einen Forschungsüberblick, diskutiert, wie weit oder eng der Begriff "Werke des Gesetzes" zu fassen ist und fragt, ob es sich dabei um Handlungen oder Regelungen handelt (B. plädiert für Regelungen). B. schließt: "Es geht im Galater-und Römerbrief gerade auch um Dinge, die sich als 'boundary markers' kategorisieren lassen, zumal um die

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Beschneidung(sregel). Aber es handelt sich dabei um etwas wie 'test cases'—so dass z. B. torabezogene Kalenderfragen (vgl. nur Gal 4.10) an die Stelle des Beschneidungsproblems treten könn(t)en" (132). Missverständnisse des von Paulus verwandten Begriffs ergaben sich durch das "rasche Zurücktreten des palästinisch-jüdischen Hintergrunds, der noch Paulus bestimmte" (133).

R.L. Brawley reflektiert über "Meta-Ethics and the Role of Works of Law in Galatians" (135-159, mit einer detaillierten Analyse und Kritik von Bachmanns Verständnis der Werke des Gesetzes und dem Versuch, eine Mittelposition zwischen Bachmann und Dunn einzunehmen). R. Bergmeier schreibt über "Vom Tun der Tora" (161-181). P.J. Tomson widmet sich der Aussage "'Die Täter des Gesetzes werden gerechtfertigt werden' (Röm 2, 13): Zu einer adäquaten Perspektive für den Römerbrief" (183-221), u. a. mit bemerkenswerten Überlegungen, dass die Situation in Rom die wachsende Krise in Judäa der Jahre 44-66 widerspiegelt. Die ungeheuer komplizierte Aufgabe des Paulus im Römerbrief bestand im Folgenden: "Wie konnte er einerseits diese beunruhigende heidenchristliche Verselbständigung zügeln, ohne andererseits dem judenchristlichen 'Zelotismus' in die Hände zu arbeiten?" (220).

C. Strecker untersucht "Fides—Pistis—Glaube: Kontexte und Konturen einer Theologie der 'Annahme' bei Paulus" (223-249; bisherige Kontextualisierungen des pln. Glaubensbegriffs, der römische *fides*—Begriff sowie Konturen einer Theologie der "Annahme" der Nicht-Juden, der Predigt und einer neuen Lebensform sowie des Kommenden, "... it becomes clear that Paul's gospel of the inclusion of Gentiles, that is the acceptance of the Gentiles by God on the basis of πίστις, implicitly counteracts the imperialistic Roman ideal of inclusiveness and the Roman claim to be the people of *fides*. Paul also thwarts the hierarchical structure of Roman *fides*-relations by claiming that πίστις is working through love and respect for the weak", 249). Zu Streckers richtiger Beobachtung ("Paul's relationship to Roman culture has been a somewhat neglected dimension in the recent discussion on the so-called new perspective on Paul", 249) vgl. den Sammelband von J.P. Sampley (Hrsg.), *Paul and the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook* (Harrisburg: Trinity, 2003), dessen Beiträge teilweise die nPp aufgreifen; zu interessanten römische Perspektiven auf den Römerbrief vgl. K. Haacker, *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Romans* (NT Theology; Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 113-134.

R. Penna beleuchtet "The Meaning of πάρεσις in Romans 3:25c and the Pauline Thought on the Divine Acquittal" (251-274; Einleitung, Einsichten aus einer griechischen Inschrift zu Ehren des Polemeus Knemades—Erstveröffentlichung in 1989—, in der Nomen und Verb vorkommen, pln. Sprache und der Text von Röm 3:25; Vergebung zwischen Rechtfertigung und Teilhabe). Dabei handelt es sich nicht um eine Alternative, sondern um eine wechselseitige Ergänzung: "Nach Paulus gibt es keine 'mystische' Teilhabe an Christus ohne den Transfer der Rechtfertigung durch Glauben" (274). Πάρεσις bedeutet Vergebung, Erlass, nicht Toleranz oder Geduld. H. Frankemölle schreibt zur "Völker-Verheißung (Gen 12-18) und Sinai-Tora im Römerbrief: Das 'Dazwischen' (Röm 5,20) als hermeneutischer Parameter für eine lutherische oder nichtlutherische Paulus-Auslegung" (275-307).

S.J. Gathercole widmet sich "The Petrine and Pauline *Sola Fide* in Galatians 2" (309-327) und argumentiert "that there existed a united theological front between Paul, Peter and James over against those who advocated strict law-observance. We are not, then, privy to a decisive development in Christian doctrine in Gal 2:16, nor was there a new theological controversy as such in Antioch. In fact, it can be affirmed that table-fellowship between Jews and gentiles had been agreed as permissible even before the events of Gal 2.11-14" (309) und präsentiert folgende Thesen:

> Paul assumes that the Gospel preached by those in Jerusalem is the true Gospel; the Jerusalem pillars did not attempt to have Titus circumcised; the issue of mixed table-fellowship did not first arise at Antioch, but appears to have been uncontroversial in the Jerusalem meeting; Paul's comments about the Jerusalem pillars are not critical of them *per se*; Peter, James and John made no demands on Paul except of alms-collection; the Jerusalem church recognizes Paul's God-given ministry; the division between the pillars and Paul was a division of labour, not of theology; even remembrance of the poor was not something which was 'added' by the Jerusalem pillars to Paul; Peter was in the habit of eating with gentiles in Antioch, and lived ἐθνικῶς there, as—by implication—did Barnabas and other Jewish-Christians; we simply do not know why "some came from James", and this group is not to be identified with "those of the circumcision"; Peter's withdrawal from table-fellowship at Antioch was out of "fear" and ὑπόκρισις, and not on the basis of his interpretation of the Jerusalem agreement; Peter does not subscribe to the view that "works of the Law" and "faith" function in a complementary way prior to Gal 2:15f (312-326).

W. Kraus steuert "Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Volk: Ökumenisch-ekklesiologische Aspekte der New Perspective on Paul" (329-347) bei (der Ansatzpunkt der Rechtfertigungslehre in der reformatorischen Theologie und im historischen Kontext des Paulus, das Verhältnis von Rechtfertigung und pln. Kirchenverständnis sowie von Rechtfertigung und Verheißung). Kraus schließt:

> Die Rechtfertigungslehre des Apostels, wie sie uns im Römerbrief begegnet, ist nach dem eben Ausgeführten kein Nebenkrater pln. Denkens; sie ist auch keine auf eine konkrete Auseinandersetzung—etwa die antiochenische oder galatische Krise—zu beschränkende Kampfparole. Sie ist vielmehr des Paulus konsequente Durchdringung und begriffliche Fassung des Evangeliums von Jesus Christus. Sie ist Ergebnis seines Nachdenkens und Konsequenz seiner Christuserkenntnis. Dies zu erkennen, hat die "New Perspective on Paul" einen entscheidenden Beitrag geleistet (346).

M. Theobald vergleicht die Briefe des "Paulus und Polykarp an die Philipper: Schlaglichter auf die frühe Rezeption des Basissatzes von der Rechtfertigung" (349-388; ausführlich zum pln. Philipperbrief, 351-369; dazu vgl. auch Dunn, *New Perspective*, 463-484). Abschließend beschreibt T. verschiedene Faktoren in der Transformation und Deutung bei der Weitergabe des pln. Basissatzes von Phil 3:9: neue Situationen, andere Fragen, Veränderungen der Sprachspiele, das Wissen, an das ganze Zeugnis der Apostel gebunden zu sein. "Kontextuell geprägt ist aber nicht nur Polykarp, auch die Rechtfertigungstheologien eines *Thomas von Aquin* oder eines *Martin Luther* sind perspektivisch begrenzte Versuche, die Botschaft der Schrift neu für ihre Zeit zur Sprache zu bringen, damit sie in *deren* Konfliktlagen *greifen* konnte" (387).

Im abschließenden Beitrag "The Dialogue Progresses" (389-430) wurde J.D.G. Dunn die Möglichkeit gegeben, die einzelnen Beiträge dieses Bandes zu kommentieren. Mit Ausnahme der kurzen Stellungnahme Bachmanns zu seinem eigenen Beitrag im Vorwort (XIf) hatten die Autoren keine Möglichkeit auf Dunn einzugehen, so dass ein Dialog nicht zustande kommt. In den abschließenden Reflektionen Dunns über den Band (429f, "...it has avoided polarizing or confrontational attitudes to the issues raised by the new perspective. There has been no attempt to defend the old portrayal of Second Temple Judaism as a characteristically or essentially legalistic religion; the essays generally all breathe a different atmosphere from that of earlier polemic", 429) beschreibt Dunn weitere Aufgaben und Kontroversen, die im Geist der vorliegenden Aufsätze weiterverforgt werden sollten:

> ...whether Paul's doctrine can be abstracted and disentangled from his "missionary strategy"; whether the assertion of justification by faith alone can be expressed adequately without reference to both human presumption before God and to human disdain for other humans; whether the integration of Jew and Gentile in the church of God is a fundamentally defining characteristic of Christianity (429).

Die einzelnen Beiträge des Bandes sind von unterschiedlicher Qualität und bieten interessante Beiträge zur Diskussion um die nPp. Die deutschen Beiträge schließen mit einer englischen Zusammenfassung und umgekehrt.

Angesichts der im Vorwort skizzierten Absichten des Herausgebers wäre die systematischere Aufarbeitung und Würdigung des neuen Ansatzes wünschenswert gewesen. Wo sieht das deutschsprachige Paulusverständnis zu begrüßende und aufzunehmende Einsichten in der nPp? Wo und warum bleibt man auf Distanz? Neben dem einführenden Beitrag von K. Haacker wäre ein Beitrag wichtig, der die bisherige Reaktion der deutschsprachigen Paulusforschung auf die nPp forschungsgeschichtlich aufarbeitet und die Einsichten der "new perspective" mit der bisherigen (deutschsprachigen) Paulusforschung korreliert (Ansätze bei P. Stuhlmacher, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments I: Grundlegung, Von Jesus zu Paulus*, 3. Aufl.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005, 233-251).

Mit Ausnahme des Beitrags von Stolle gibt es—neben Diskussionen unterschiedlicher Länge und Tiefe in einzelnen Beiträgen—keine Studien direkt zur "lutherischen Paulusperspektive", zumal man kaum alle (deutschsprachige) Forschung vor bzw. neben der nPp nach zweihundert Jahren historisch-kritischer Forschung unter dem Stichwort "lutherisch" subsumieren kann. Auch Stolles Beitrag beschränkt sich auf einen, wenn auch wichtigen Aspekt. Gerade weil es sich beim Paulusverständnis Luthers um ein international gerne und teils beherzt geschlagenes Kind handelt, wären einige differenzierte Beiträge zu Luther und der deutschsprachigen Paulusinterpretation willkommen gewesen (vgl. z. B. einige Beiträge in M. Husbands, D.J. Treier, Hrsg., *Justification: What's at Stake in the Current Debates*; Downers Grove: IVP; Leicester: Apollos, 2004).

Angesichts der Studie von J. Woyke, *Götter, "Götzen", Götterbilder; Aspekte einer pln. "Theologie der Religionen"* (BZNW 132; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2005) und z. B. der gewagten pln. Gleichsetzung von der jüdischen Existenz unter dem Gesetz und der vorchristlichen heidnischen Existenz in Götzendienst und unter den Mächten der Welt in Galater 4:1-10 wäre ein entsprechender Beitrag des Mitherausgebers zur nPp willkommen (vgl. in seiner Studie S. 322-369).

Insgesamt ist der Band ein gelungener Brückenschlag zwischen einer von den Einsichten der Reformation geprägten Paulusinterpretation und einem Teil der neueren anglo-amerikanischen Paulusforschung (vgl. dazu S. Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics*; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004). Mit Ausnahme der hier teils intensiv geführten Diskussion um die "Werke des Gesetzes" könnten weitere, ähnlich ausgerichtete Bände stärker die mit der nPp verbundene Neubewertung des Frühjudentums angesichts der neueren deutschsprachigen Forschung kritisch würdigen. Neben einzelnen deutschen Beiträgen hat auf diesem Gebiet in der anglo-amerikanischen Forschung eine erfreuliche, breite Diskussion der lange vernachlässigten frühjüdischen Theologie eingesetzt (vgl. z.B. M.A. Elliott, *The Survivors of Israel: A Reconsideration of the Theology of Pre-Christian Judaism*; Grand Rapids/Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 2000; vgl. meine Rez. in *NT* 46, 2004, 89-93), der neben der kritischen Aufnahme der nPp ebenfalls eine deutschsprachige Rezeption zu wünschen ist.

Christoph Stenschke

J.K. Elliott, *A Synopsis of the Apocryphal Nativity and Infancy Narratives* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), xxvii +170 pp., ISBN 9004150676, € 119 (= *NTTS* 34).

J. Keith Elliott, Professor of New Testament Textual Criticism at the University of Leeds, is well known for the significant work he has done in the area of Textual Criticism as well as with the Apocryphal Writings of the New Testament. In 1993 he published a revision and new translation of the collection of apocryphal texts that was published by M.R. James in 1924: *The Apocryphal New Testament. A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation based on M.R. James* (Oxford: Clarendon Press). In this current publication he uses his scholarly expertise and insight to explore the Nativity and Infancy Narratives among Apocryphal Christian Literature with the intent of producing a synopsis of these narratives.

In recent decades there has been a growing interest in Apocryphal Christian Writings. Research into these texts has also proliferated. A publication of this nature is indeed most welcome as it provides a very accessible way of seeing one dimension of these Apocryphal writings, namely a focus on the Nativity and Infancy Narratives

This work began as a project initiated by the present reviewer and Dr. J.H. Petzer in South Africa, but was shelved when we left South Africa. J.K. Elliott revived this project at the request of Koninklijke Brill (p. vii).

Elliott begins his study with a brief, but very important *Introduction* (p. ix-xix) in which he sets out clearly how he will proceed, what texts he will use and why. He follows the "parameters set by the texts included in Geerard's chapter 'Apocrypha de Nativitate et de Infantia'" (p. x). (See M. Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* [Turnhout, 1992], 25-42.) In addition to these texts, Elliott also included one text from Papyrus Cairensis 10735 and three Irish texts that have recently been published in a critical edition (see M. McNamara et al. [eds.], *Apocrypha Hiberniae I: Evangelia Infantiae. Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum 13* [Turnhout, 2001]).

One of the main challenges facing anyone working on these Apocryphal Nativity and Infancy Narratives is the very confusing state of these ancient texts. Elliott succeeds extremely well in forging a path through the intricacies of the different texts and manuscripts that are available. In this introduction, he gives a comprehensive survey of the different texts that he has followed, examined and consulted. It is a remarkable survey of all this literature—well worth the price of this book for this overview alone.

Elliott demonstrates a good use of critical editions of the texts wherever possible. His aim in this publication is to produce an English Language Synopsis of Christian Apocrypha dealing with the Nativity Narratives and the Childhood of Jesus. He sets forth his purpose very succinctly: "The aim in giving an English language synopsis is to enable the broader differences and developments to emerge from a comparative study of the parallels" (p. xi). No doubt there are scholars on the one hand who would want an examination of all the variations within the one tradition while other scholars on the other hand would want an examination of the relationships among the different traditions themselves, as Elliott himself notes (p. xi). However, Elliott's aim dictated where he placed his focus. As noted above, his purpose was to draw the wider picture by producing an overall presentation of the all encompassing "differences and develop-

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ments" (p. xi) when all the traditions were viewed alongside each other. He would not have been able to accomplish this aim had he attempted to include in this study the detailed examination of all the minutiae required of a critical edition that examined the divergences and the dependence both within and among the different traditions. In other words, the broader picture would have been lost in the attention given to the minutiae of the critical apparatus. One would not see the forest for the trees! The choices and decisions that Elliott made in setting the parameters for his study were both necessary and consistently applied.

A word needs to be said about the use of the term *Synopsis* in this publication. Usually the term is associated with the production of a work that places similar texts beside each other in parallel columns so that similarities and differences among the various texts could be seen immediately on the one page. Elliott, however, organized this synopsis around a common topic or category where whole narrative passages from different traditions and texts follow each other sequentially. While this is perhaps not the best visual way for viewing the similarities and differences, it is practical since Elliott is operating with thirteen different texts. Such a number of texts are difficult to set in parallel columns.

The main part of this work consists in the synopsis itself (pp. 1-170). The texts on which Elliott bases his synopsis are the following: (1) the Biblical account of *Matthew 1-2;* (2) the Biblical account of *Luke 1-2*; (3) the *Protevangelium of James*; (4) the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*; (5) the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (or *Liber de ortu beatae Mariae et infantia Saluatoris*); (6) *Arundel 404* (or *Liber de infantia Salvatoris)*; (7) the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary* (or the *Libellus de nativitate sanctae Mariae*); (8) the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*; (9) *Papyrus Cairensis 10735*; (10) the *Arabic Infancy Narrative*; (11) the *Irish Versified Narrative of Infancy Thomas*; (12) *Leabhar Breac*; (13) *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum.*

Elliott notes that some other texts could have been considered (p. xix) but observes that he had to be selective out of concern for the size of the publication. It is a pity, however, that he was unable to incorporate the *Armenian Infancy Gospel.* This work probably derived from a Syriac original and would have thrown more light upon traditions developing within the Syrian church and would demonstrate similarities and differences with the *Protevangelium of James* and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas,* two texts that had been translated into Syriac and became very popular in the Syrian Church.

Elliott divides his material into ten sections which he identifies as the main episodes in the narratives. Each of these sections is further divided into subsections that draw attention to specific elements in the narration of the episode. The ten sections that he finds as the fundamental structure of the Apocryphal Nativity and Infancy Narratives are the following: (1) Mary's Birth and Upbringing; (2) the Annunciation; (3) Mary Visits Elizabeth; (4) Mary's Pregnancy and its Explanation; (5) the Birth of Jesus; (6) the Adoration of Jesus after his Birth; (7) the Presentation in the Temple; (8) the Magi; (9) the Slaying of the Infants and the Flight to Egypt; (10) Jesus as a Child.

At the beginning of each section, Elliott provides a summary of the contents of the texts where he points out the elements occurring in each narrative. This is a very useful summary of the extent of the narrative appearing in each one of the texts. A helpful reference system is also provided by which one can also follow through the narrative contained in each text.

There were a couple of aspects that could have been included that would have enhanced an otherwise excellent and helpful synopsis. As a conclusion to the introduction, it would have been helpful to include a brief summary (or a chart) which situated the locations or churches where these writings originated and were disseminated. From this a visual picture would evolve regarding the date, the provenance and diffusion of these texts.

This work also lacks an index, which would have provided another means of identifying the connections, similarities and differences among the texts, especially some of the smaller similarities.

Finally, a concluding chapter providing a brief commentary on the synopsis itself would have been most helpful. While no doubt Elliott saw as his task the setting forth of the material, it would have been helpful to articulate these significant "differences and developments." As noted above, in the introduction to this work Elliott stated that his aim was to set forth the texts for "the broader differences and developments *to emerge*..." (italics my own). It is true that the synopsis does speak for itself, but a final chapter would have been helpful in drawing together those insights that Elliott himself had made from the construction of this synopsis. Perhaps another publication would be in order to draw attention to the relevance and significance of these developing traditions related to the Nativity and Infancy Narratives.

The contribution that Elliott has made in this study of the Nativity and Infancy Narratives in Christian Literature is significant. This synopsis will provide a valuable resource for anyone seeking to view the wealth of traditions available relating to the Nativity and Infancy Narratives as well as the relationships among the respective traditions.

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Book Notes

1. New Testament Texts

a) The Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft has issued the Latin half of its Greek-Latin New Testament in a slightly larger format (but still in its familiar green binding): Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Latine* (Stuttgart, 2007) xv + 678 pp. ISBN 3438053004 £21.99. The card-insert remains that distributed with the bi-lingual edition. This Latin only part is the 5th printing of 2005. The Latin text is the Nova Vulgata, in effect a translation of the Nestle Greek (26th-27th edition). Footnotes show variants against the (Sixto)-Clementine, Wordsworth-White and Stuttgart editions of the Vulgate. The appendixes are not reproduced, which means that the useful listing *Loci citati vel allegati* is absent. The edition is distributed in the UK by Alban Books and in the USA by Hendrickson.

b) Hendrickson has reproduced the text (but not the paragraphing) of the 1885 edition of Westcott and Hort's *The New Testament in the Original Greek* and the *Appendix*: "A Brief Explanation of the Principles of Textual Criticism" together with an apparatus that shows the differences between that text and the current, 27th, edition of the Nestle text and the text in Robinson and Pierpont's 2005 edition of the Byzantine text type. The title now is B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, *The Greek New Testament* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2007) xxviii + 893 pp. ISBN 1565636743 £19.99. Eldon J. Epp contributes an introduction to the development and significance of Westcott and Hort's edition. There is also an introduction to the features of this current edition. An expanded and revised version of Souter's *Pocket Lexicon* published in 1916 has been appended. I have not checked to see if all the words found in the apparatus are included in the lexicon, but I note for example that βιβλιδαριον used by Robinson-Pierpont at Rev 10:9 is not included in the *Dictionary*. Thus two landmark publications in the field of the Greek New Testament have been given new leases on life here. (Hendrickson published a photographic reprint of Westcott and Hort's *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek with Notes on Selected Readings* in 1988.)

2. The Gospel of Judas

Amid the flurry of scholarly (and journalistic) publications relating to the National Geographic Society's release of the Tchacos Codex's text of the Gospel of Judas are the following:

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a) Johanna Brankaer and Hans-Gebhard Bethge, *Codex Tchacos: Texte und Analyse* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2007) vii + 485 pp. ISBN 3110195705 €128 (= *Texte und Untersuchungen* 161)
b) April D. DeConick, *The Thirteenth Apostle: What the Gospel of Judas Really Says* (London and New York: Continuum, 2007) xxi + 202 pp. ISBN 0826499643 £16.99
c) Simon Gathercole, *The Gospel of Judas: Rewriting Early Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) viii + 199 pp. ISBN 0199225842 £16.99

In reaction to some of the immediate reports following swiftly upon the original publication that encouraged a re-reading and revising of the traditional Christian interpretations of Judas by painting him as the most favoured of Jesus' disciples—a view not discouraged by National Geographic, if for no other reason than the accompanying hyped-up and sensationalist journalism raised public awareness of its existence—the present crop of books is less revolutionary. April DeConink in particular has shown in her careful attention to the wording of the Coptic text (and that despite her own often conversational style) that some of the earlier translations are not necessarily correct: some of those concern key ideas used to promote the earlier interpretation of this Gospel, e.g. Codex Tchacos 56 ll. 17-21 with Judas now being deemed here *worse* (not *better*) than the other disciples; p. 44 l. 21 with the meaning of *daimon* given as 'demon' not 'spirit' (or even 'god'). DeConink acknowledges her great indebtedess to John Turner's article "The Place of the Gospel of Judas in Sethian Tradition" in Madeleine Scopello (ed.), *L'Évangile de Judas: le contexte historique et littéraire d'un nouvel apocryphe*, forthcoming from Brill, especially in her accepting his reconstruction of the names of the five angels in p. 52 ll. 4-8; she avoids 'Seth' and 'Christ' there—though that translation is accepted by neither Brankaer and Bethge not Gathercole.

Brankaer and Bethge's volume contains introductions, Coptic text with a cautious translation plus full notes and registers of vocabulary for all four texts in the codex i.e. the Letter of Peter to Philip, the First Apocalypse of James, the Gospel of Judas and "Allogenes". The first two texts are known from the Nag Hammadi library. Those parallels are duly given and translated alongside the new texts. Brankaer and Bethge make a good case for seeing that links between the texts mean that this codex contains no mere arbitrary collection of writings. It is certainly helpful to have all the texts available. DeConink, for instance, makes several cross-references to 1 Apoc. James (see e.g. her p. 114) without noting that that text is also to be found in the Codex Tchacos!

OUP is issuing careful, scholarly analyses of apocryphal Gospels in a series edited by Christopher Tuckett. We await a volume on the Gospel of Judas in that series in due course; that should balance the more popular style adopted in the current book on the text by Gathercole.

All three books give a sober assessment of the Gospel of Judas as a polemical (Sethian) Gnostic text that opposed the approval and practice of sacrificing by the mainstream church and as a text that reveals something of this unorthodox group's teaching; it tells us nothing new or more 'historic' about the first-century Jesus and Judas.

There are inevitably differences in the three translations given in each of these three books (two into English, one into German (alongside the Coptic printed on a facing page)), e.g. whether Codex Tchacos p. 34 ll. 11-13 is taken as a question or not; and of course there are differences yet again with the translation offered by Elaine Pagels and Karen King in their Penguin *Reading Judas* which closely followed the lead of the National Geographic Society.

Each book provides helpful background materials such as the relation of the New Testament's and this new gospel's portrayal of Judas; the nature of the Gnostic world view revealed here; and also the finding and publication of the Codex Tchacos. With these to hand we now have a proper and balanced assessment of the significance of this find. The theological debate whether Judas is a good or evil character will continue and new voices may even be heard, nuancing the teaching in the Gospel of Judas to show that its main concern is quite different from any of the current views, namely that its purpose is predominantly to show how the idealised perfect human is flawed by anger.

3. Simonides *Redivivus?*

Constantine Simonides attracted notoriety in the late nineteenth century as a forger of manuscripts and with his even more preposterous claim to have transcribed the then newly-found Codex Sinaiticus. Literary and theological journals of the day debated the *affaire* Simonides with some passion. His ghost may well have been revived. The so-called Artemidorus papyrus (allegedly containing the long-lost *Geographoumena* of Artemidorus of Ephesus d.100 BC) reconstructed from two hundred fragments recovered from cartonnage, has been on public display at exhibitions in Turin in 2006 and in Berlin in 2008. A scholarly edition is in the press (to be edited by C. Gallazzi and others). The authenticity of the papyrus has been questioned not just concerning its contents and style of writing but the drawings it contains and the inclusion of the earliest known Greek map of an unidentifiable country (perhaps Spain?). Luciano Canfora, Professor of Classical Philology at Bari University is on record claiming that the papyrus is another of Simonides' forgeries. He and his colleagues have set out the arguments fully in his edited monograph *Il papiro di Artemidoro* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2008) x + 523 pp. plus sixteen pages of photographic plates in the series *Storia e Società* ISBN 8842085218 €28. A short digest in English has also appeared: Luciano Canfora, *The True History of the So-Called Artemidorus Papyrus with an Interim Text* (Bari: Edizioni de pagina, 2007) 199 pp. plus six 'Images' ISBN 8874700448 (= *Ekdosis* 5) €16. Whether Simonides, a notoriously careless writer, could have produced this carefully written text or been capable of drawing the careful designs resulted in a debate in the British weekly *The Times Literary Supplement* in 2008. In that sense the jury is still out. Forgery it may well be, but the identity of the forger could be unknown.

4. A-Z from SCM

a) SCM-Canterbury Press (London) is to be congratulated for bringing out two helpful guides to Patristics in their series *A-Z of Christian Theology*: John A. McGuckin (ed.), *A-Z of Origen* xix + 228 pp. ISBN 0334041030 £22.99. For this McGuckin has assembled thirty-four contributors to join him in writing entries. The dictionary proper follows two essays (by the editor) "The Life of Origen" and "The Scholarly Works of Origen". Entries include School of Caesarea, Resurrection, Worship, Law, Grace. There are some eighty entries in all, which collectively help illuminate Origen's theology.

b) This follows quickly upon *A-Z of Patristic Theology*, also edited by John Anthony McGuckin 2nd edition 2005 xxiii + 367 pp. ISBN 0334040108 £22.99. Although, as a book set in double columns per page, it could be a typical alphabetical reference tool for occasional consultation, McGuckin has helpfully provided a "Thematic Guide to Reading the Handbook" (pp. xiii-xv) thereby encouraging readers to abstract from the separate articles a coherent entrée to, for example, Christology, eschatology or asceticism. The handbook provides reliable entries on key terms, figures and controversies of the period up to the 9th century. A bibliographic guide essay and a general bibliography, both promised in the jacket blurb, seem not to have been included! (These volumes were originally published in 2004 in the USA by Westminster/ John Knox Press of Louisville.)

5. Scribal Habits

It is with great pleasure that this reviewer welcomes the publication of James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) xxix + 1052 pp. ISBN 9004161818 €265 (= *New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents* 36, actually the first volume with this expanded title of the series known hitherto as *NTTS*). The thesis (of the same title, submitted to the Graduate Theological Union) has been regularly referred to since 1981 (!) in numerous articles and monographs. I have been privileged to have had a typed copy of that thesis to hand for twenty-five years. The promised publication was (over-)long postponed, but now we have it, meticulously updated and with copious footnoting and appendixes, although some sections from the original dissertation are recognisable. (His earlier essays in *NTS* in 1983, and in *Studies and Documents* 45 in 1993 merely whetted the appetite for the fully reworked thesis.) The bulk of this huge book deals chapter by chapter with the scribal habits of the six earliest extensive NT papyri: 45, 46, 47, 66, 72 and 75; it is a goldmine of well-observed and carefully presented phenomena, corrections, omissions, additions and substitutions; there are subsections on nonsense and orthographic singular readings. This formidable analysis sets a high standing for any subsequent investigation into the distinctiveness of any other Greek New Testament manuscript. This book will ensure that Royse's scholarship can be read directly by scholars who, up to now, have had to rely on second-hand reports of his findings.

6. Q

Steven R. Johnson, *Q 12:33-34 Storing up Treasures in Heaven* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007) xxiii + 213 pp. ISBN 9042919495 €68. After a five-year gap in these publications this now is the eighth in the intermittent series *Documenta Q* with evaluations based on two centuries of scholarly research, here abstracted and analysed by five scholars. This follows the normal pattern of the series and thus exhibits an exhaustive analysis of this logion. The series was originally advertised as issuing four volumes per annum: it certainly started briskly but the early enthusiasm seems to have evaporated; we still await the volumes on Q17:20-21, 23, 24, 37 (ed. Bauer); Q14:26-27; 17:33; 14:34-35 (Derrenbacker *et al.*); Q11:9-13 (Kirk *et al.*) promised for 2000(!), not to mention Q3, announced for 1996, Q11:39-52; Q6:27-35 in two parts; Q6: 36-49 in two parts—all advertised in the schedule for 1997. When will those ever appear?

7. *Hermeneia* Mark

Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007) xlvi + 894 pp. ISBN 0800660789 $80. The high standards of the *Hermeneia* series need no introduction here. Adela Collins' *Mark* maintains and even enhances that reputation. She has read extensively; she reacts generously to others' opinions and clearly expresses her own position on matters major and minor throughout. As a consequence, this commentary has finally succeeded in removing Vincent Taylor's commentary on Mark (published in 1952!) from its pedestal as the best commentary on the Greek text. Sensible and wise judgements are the hallmark of Collins' exegesis. I was also pleased to note that she includes full discussions of linguistic and text-critical matters. Eight *excursus* (some lengthy) occur: these are on the Passion narrative; Galilee and Jerusalem in Mark; scholarship on Mark 14: 51-52; Secret Mark; resurrection in ancient cultural contexts; the historicity of Judas; the Son of Man tradition; the Messianic Secret. This commentary is a monumental achievement.

8. Geza Vermes on the Resurrection

Having written on the Passion and on the Nativity Professor Geza Vermes has now published *The Resurrection* (New York: Doubleday, 2008) xix + 171 pp. ISBN 0385522427 $18.95. The dust jacket bears the subtitle *History and Myth*. Early publicity had as a subtitle *History and Legend*. In the event the title page has no subtitle. This deceptively simple book amounts to a well-written account of the background to the New Testament belief in the Resurrection of Jesus in ancient Judaism, in late second-century Judaism and in the time of Jesus before examining carefully what the New Testament itself says not only about the Easter event but its subsequent teachings. Vermes' own conclusions of the New Testament evidence appear in the modestly titled chapter "Initial Evaluation of the Accounts of the Resurrection of Jesus" and later at the end of the book when he favours a definition of resurrection as the continuing spiritual awareness of Jesus influencing the hearts of men. The presentation and argumentation in this little book will assist even Biblical scholars to rethink the way in which the evidence is re-presented and represented. Only when discussing the end of Mark (pp. 97f.) may he be confusing; the longer ending is 16:9-20, not as stated on p. 97; and the version of Mark ending at Mark 16:8 should not be called the Shorter Ending (p. 98). The book is published by Penguin in the UK, thus adding another valuable title by Geza Vermes to their lists.

9. An Introduction to Biblical Art

Martin O'Kane (ed.), *Imaging the Bible* (London: SPCK, 2008) ISBN 0281058976. Increasingly Biblical art is being recognised as another valuable exegetical tool. There are ten essays in this collection based on the work of the research centre The Bible and the Visual Imagination in Lampeter, Ceredigion. An opening paper shows how in books like Genesis the Bible encourages a reader's visual imagination. The following chapters show how artistic imagination is manifest in three key periods of Christian development (early, medieval and renaissance), before turning (in three further chapters) to art in orthodox, non-conformist and pentecostal traditions. There are also chapters on modern art and the Bible, nineteenth- and twentieth-century images of Mary and a more philosophical paper "Hermeneutics, aesthetics and transcendence". Where appropriate, examples in several chapters come from the research centre's base in Wales; several of those will be new to readers. Contributors include Heidi Hornik, Sarah Boss and Andreas Andreopoulos. In many ways this book may serve as an introduction to more detailed books, such as John Drury's *Painting the Word* or Neil MacGregor's *Seeing Salvation: Images of Christian Art*, not to mention Heidi J. Hornik and Mikeal C. Parsons' series illuminating the separate gospels (the two on the Infancy in Luke and the Public Ministry in Luke) have already been noticed in *NovT.*

J.K. Elliott

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The Initial Location of the *Pericope Adulterae* in Fourfold Tradition[1]

Chris Keith
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Abstract

This article responds to the recent claim of Josep Rius-Camps that the *Pericope Adulterae* was originally composed by Mark. Rius-Camps, in making his creative proposal, has overlooked significant textual and patristic evidence regarding where early Christians confronted the story of Jesus and the adulteress. This evidence suggests that, while the *Pericope Adulterae* is not original to the Gospel of John, its first location in fourfold gospel tradition was its traditional location, John 7:53-8:11.

Keywords

Pericope Adulterae; textual criticism; patristics; fourfold canon; Gospel of John

> *Now, here is a mystery, or rather, here are several mysteries!*
> *A good story, characteristic of Jesus,*
> *but with a very uncertain origin,*
> *and a varied history.*[2]

Josep Rius-Camps has recently put forward the argument that the *Pericope Adulterae* (hereafter PA) was originally composed by Mark and placed in his gospel after Mark 12:12.[3] This modifies an earlier publication of Rius-Camps, where he claimed PA was originally penned by Luke for his gospel.[4] In the more recent article, he states his revised hypothesis as such:

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[1] This article is a modified version of a chapter from Chris Keith, *The* Pericope Adulterae, *the Gospel of John, and the Literacy of Jesus* (NTTSD 38; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2009).

[2] Frederick A. Schilling, "The Story of Jesus and the Adulteress," *AThR* 37 (1955) 92.

[3] Josep Rius-Camps, "The Pericope of the Adulteress Reconsidered: The Nomadic Misfortunes of a Bold Pericope," *NTS* 53.3 (2007) 379-405.

[4] Josep Rius-Camps, "Origen Lucano de la Pericopa de la Mujer Adultera," *Filología Neotestamentaria* 6 (1993) 149-176.

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> The PA originally would have been part of the Gospel of Mark and would have been situated after the first attack by the High Priests, the scribes and the elders, questioning the authority of Jesus (Mark 11.27-12.12). Luke would have adopted it in his own work and would likewise have placed it after the first conflict of Jesus with the same Jewish leaders mentioned in Mark (Luke 20.1-19). Because of the moral strictness that prevailed at the end of the first century, the PA would have been eradicated together with the end of the preceding pericope both from the Gospel of Mark and the work of Luke. For 20 or 30 years, the PA would have been freely transmitted, with the two primitive archetypes mutually influencing each other and giving rise to more textual variants than any other document in the NT. Gradually, as the churches collected together the four canonical gospels, the PA would have been inserted in different places of the Gospel of John or the Gospel of Luke. Most of the communities that decided to reinsert it, would have done so in the Gospel of John.[5]

Rius-Camps' proposal is creative, as it must be; for the difficulty in assessing PA's transmission history is in explaining how PA's language contains so many non-Johannine elements and yet the manuscript tradition shows an overwhelming affinity for a Johannine location. In addition, one must explain PA's famous various locations in the manuscript tradition outside the traditional and majority location of John 7:53-8:11. I have proposed an alternative socio-historical context for PA's insertion into gospel tradition elsewhere,[6] but in what follows I would like to focus solely upon the foundational "building block" of Rius-Camps' proposal—the initial textual location of PA in the fourfold gospel tradition. When a scribe first decided to place PA in a gospel that would become part of the fourfold collection, where did he do so? I will demonstrate that the available evidence suggests that a scribe first inserted PA into canonical tradition via a manuscript of the Gospel of John (hereafter GJohn), and at its traditional location, John 7:53-8:11.[7] More succinctly, there is no evidence to support the idea that early Christians read PA in canonical tradition in any place other than John 7:53-8:11 until the late ninth/tenth century CE.

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[5] Rius-Camps, "Pericope," 395. Between initial submission of the present article and its going to press, Rius-Camps published a full argument for a three-stage composition history for Mark's gospel. In this work, as in the quoted article above, he relocates PA to follow Mark 12.12. See Josep Rius-Camps, *El Evangelio de Marcos: Etapas de su redacción* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 2008) 92-94, 233. In this study, PA joins three "sequences" from *Sec. Gos. Mark* that Rius-Camps includes in his restructured version of Mark's gospel (10-16). Since, at the time of writing, there are only two libraries in the United States with a copy of this book, I must express my gratitude to Leslie Starasta of the Jessie C. Eury Library at Lincoln Christian University in helping me acquire one of those copies.

[6] Keith, *Pericope Adulterae*, n.p.

[7] In addition to Rius-Camps, then, I will thus be arguing directly against, e.g., Walter Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (THKNT 2; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsan-

Before proceeding, however, I should note here that my analysis will be based upon (overlooked) manuscript and patristic evidence of PA's location in gospel tradition, which will be a methodological difference between Rius-Camps' approach and mine. Rius-Camps relies heavily upon linguistic stylistic similarities between PA and the gospel authors (and stylistic differences with GJohn).[8] *Pace* Rius-Camps, and others (some of whom enlist the linguistic style argument in order to assert Johannine authorship),[9] I am not confident that an analysis of linguistic style is able to demonstrate a previous textual or authorial source for PA. In an oft-neglected article, Cadbury had already argued along these lines in 1917. While observing the many linguistic similarities between PA's author and Luke, he refuses to resolve whether those points of contact suggest that Luke himself wrote PA or someone whose style matched Luke's.[10] He even notes that if it was someone copying Luke's style, then "style proves to be a most unreliable criterion."[11] The assumption behind arguments from style is that a later scribe would not have been able to mimic an earlier author's style, and therefore that strong similarity suggests the same author. There is, however, no reason why an astute later scribe could not have copied an earlier style. The most that an argument built upon linguistic style can assert in a case like PA's is a stronger or weaker affinity between one author's style and another's.[12] Furthermore, the question of PA's textual composition (i.e., who *wrote down* the story) is technically a separate issue

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stalt, 1959) 245: "Kirchenväter und alte Textzeugen erweisen, daß weder diese Stelle ihr ursprünglicher Platz ist noch sie überhaupt zum Johannes-Evangelium gehört hat."

[8] Also, more recently, see Rius-Camps, *Evangelio*, 16.

[9] E.g., Alan F. Johnson, "A Re-examination of the *Pericope Adulterae*, John 7:53-8:11" (ThD diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1964); Alan F. Johnson, "A Stylistic Trait of the Fourth Gospel in the Pericope Adulterae?," *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society* 9 (1966) 91-96.

[10] Henry J. Cadbury, "A Possible Case of Lukan Authorship (John 7_{53}-8_{11})," *HTR* 10.3 (1917) 243-244.

[11] Cadbury, "Possible," 244. Nonetheless, Cadbury seems to favour Lukan authorship of PA. See also Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1927) 258.

[12] And note here, that even this does not ultimately help with PA. For, within one verse PA's author/interpolator seems to mimic both Johannine and Lukan style. John 8:6 parallels both John 6:6 ("but this they were saying to test him") and Luke 6:7 ("in order to have [something] to accuse of him").

from who inserted PA into gospel tradition and where, as one cannot assume from the outset that the same scribe committed both acts. Thus, my focus in the following study is not upon PA's original author(s), but upon the textual location of its insertion and the manuscript locations that are known for PA.[13] That is, instead of asking "Where could PA have been located based upon who might have written it?" I will be asking "Where could PA have been located based upon where early Christians read it?" I begin with the known manuscript locations for PA.

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[13] I will thus not dwell on possible alternative locations that lack concrete evidence, but mention them here. The eleventh-century MS 1006 claims that PA is from the *Gos. Thom.* (See Bart D. Ehrman, "Jesus and the Adulteress," in his *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [NTTS 33; Leiden: Brill, 2006] 204 n. 26; repr. from *NTS* 34 [1988] 24-44). A famous statement in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.17, suggests that PA (or a similar story) is from the *Gos. Heb.* No known manuscripts or fragments of either work, however, (or other works that may have gone by the same names, e.g., *Inf. Gos. Thom.* in the case of the former and *Gos. Eb.* or *Gos. Naz.* in the case of the latter) include or reference PA. Herman C. Waetjen, *The Gospel of the Beloved Disciple: A Work in Two Editions* (New York: T & T Clark, 2005) 233 n. 36, claims PA "appears in manuscripts of Mark (after 12:17)" and cites as evidence Grundmann, *Evangelium*, 245-247. Neither on these pages nor in his defence of treating PA after Mark 12:17 (223-224), however, does Grundmann cite *manuscripts* that place PA after Mark 12:17. Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911-1913) 1.2.719, relates some MSS that omit PA. In a correction to this sentence on 1.3.2150, he adds (his) MS 1288 [Gregory MS 560; see 1.1.167] to this list with the following note: "1288 (nach Mk. 1-6)." Kurt Aland, "Glosse, Interpolation, Redaktion und Komposition in der Sicht der neutestamentlichen Textkritik," in his *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (ANTF 2; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967) 44 n. 1; repr. from *Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen* (eds. W. Eltester and F.H. Kettler; BZNW 30; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1964) 7-31, took this to mean that von Soden claimed PA occurred after Mark 6 in MS 560, considered this statement "höchst fragwürdig," and states that an initial examination of 560 could not confirm von Soden. Later on, Ian A. Moir, "Fam. 272: A New Family of Manuscripts in the 'Pericope Adulterae' (John 7,53-8,11)?" in *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.F.J. Klijn* (ed. T. Baarda et al.; Kampen: Kok, 1988) 172 n. 11, examined MS 560 and found nothing to support this idea either, and reported that PA occurs at 7:53-8:11 in this MS. Von Soden's reference therefore remains a mystery. For other proposed connections between PA and various gospel traditions, see Chris Keith, "Recent and Previous Research on the *Pericope Adulterae* (John 7.53-8.11)," *CBR* 6.3 (2008) 384-386.

Table 1. Known Manuscript Locations for PA[14]

Manuscript(s)	**Location of PA**	**Date of (Earliest) Manuscript**
Majority of MSS, earliest of which are: Vulgate; Codex D; Old Latin *e ff*^{2} *j aur r*^{1}	John 7:53-8:11	384 CE[15]
f^1; Armenian manuscripts[16]	End of GJohn	9th/10th century; late 9th century
Georgian MSS: Tbilisi Institute H 1741; St. Catherine's 16; Vatican Library 1	After John 7:44	10th-11th century
115 476 1349 et al.	After John 8:12	10th century
1333 corrector	Between End of Gospel of Luke and Beginning of GJohn	11th century (MS date)
f^{13}	After Luke 21:38	11th century
196 240 244 et al.	After John 8:12a	12th century
225 1128	After John 7:36	12th century
284 second corrector	After John 10:36	13th century (MS date)
981	After John 8:20	13th century
286	After John 8:13	1432 CE
2691	After John 8:14a	15th century

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[14] This table is based on the evidence presented in Kurt Aland et al., eds., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments V. Das Johannesevangelium: 1. Teststellenkollation der Kapitel 1-10* (ANTF 35, 36; 2 vols.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005) 2.211-215. See also Maurice A. Robinson, "Preliminary Observations Regarding the *Pericope Adulterae* Based upon Fresh Collations of Nearly All Continuous-Text Manuscripts and All Lectionary Manuscripts Containing the Passage," *Filología Neotestamentaria* 13 (2000) 42.

[15] Note that the date of 384 CE is based on the assumption that, like the rest of the Vulgate tradition, the manuscripts Jerome presented to Pope Damasus (J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* [London: Duckworth, 1975] 88) would have included PA at John 7:53-8:11.

[16] See Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 188 n. 1, where he provides Erroll F. Rhodes' translation of a comment in Zohrab's edition of the Armenian text. Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Textual Criticism* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981) 205, and Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 158-161, show that the

1. John 7:53-8:11 is the Majority Location for PA

My counting of the manuscripts listed in *Text und Textwert* that include PA in one form or another (including eighteen that include 7:52-8:2 but omit the rest of the story), yields a total of 1427 manuscripts of inclusion.[17] For some reason, MS 115 is not included in the witnesses that place PA after John 8:12, and with this added it gives a total of 1428 manuscripts.[18] One must take this number as tentative, subject to revision as more evidence becomes known, and only indicative of the Greek manuscripts. It is, however, heuristically crucial. Fifty-eight manuscripts (again, including 115) contain PA at an alternative location.[19] This means 95.9% (1370/1428) of Greek manuscripts that contain PA place it at John 7:53-8:11, an overwhelming majority even when one allows for unknown manuscripts that may attest other alternative locations. That John 7:53-8:11 is the dominant location within the manuscript tradition, however, only attests PA's affinity with that location and/or its popularity in the church, not necessarily that it is the original location. For stronger evidence that John 7:53-8:11 is the original location, one must look at both the manuscripts and the patristic authors who knew the story of the adulteress.

2. John 7:53-8:11 is the Earliest Demonstrable Location for PA

Comments by Ambrose and Jerome reveal that these writers read PA in GJohn, though they do not reveal exactly where in that narrative the story appeared. PA's precise location, however, is revealed by contemporaneous

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earliest Armenian manuscripts date from the ninth century, though this may be too early for PA's appearance in these manuscripts since the comment translated by Rhodes also claims that "six of the older manuscripts" omit PA entirely (i.e., contain it neither at John 7:53-8:11 nor at the end of the gospel).

[17] Aland et al., *Text und Textwert*, 2.211-214. Prior to this work's publication, Robinson, "Preliminary," estimated 1350 continuous-text manuscripts of inclusion.

[18] For MS 115, see Daniel B. Wallace, "Reconsidering 'The Story of Jesus and the Adulteress Reconsidered,'" *NTS* 39 (1993) 292 n. 5.

[19] Though they will not here be added to the totals for the Greek manuscripts, J. Neville Birdsall, "The Pericope Adulterae in Georgian," in StPatr 39 (eds. F. Young, M. Edwards, and P. Parvis; Leuven: Peeters, 2006) 188-189, cites three Georgian texts (Tbilisi Institute MS H 1741, St. Catherine's Monastery Georgian MS 16, Vatican Library Georgian MS 1) that contain PA at John 7:44. Information on the number of Georgian manuscripts that contain PA at John 7:53-8:11 is not immediately available, and thus one cannot generate what percentage of PA occurrences these three manuscripts represent.

Greek and Old Latin manuscripts, Jerome's placement of PA in the Vulgate, and the running commentaries by Augustine. The manuscript evidence will be discussed prior to the patristic authors, and a methodological note is necessary here. Significant weight is given in this discussion to the date of manuscripts that include PA. This may seem to ignore the textual reality that the reading contained in any given manuscript, insofar as it reflects the exemplar and/or archetype, may be much older than the manuscript itself.[20] In the case of PA's inclusion, however, one is dealing with an example where a scribe purposefully did not follow his exemplar. Thus, in this instance, one must focus primarily on the date of the manuscript that provides sure evidence of PA's inclusion. The exception here is the acceptance of the date of 384 CE for PA's presence in the Vulgate (on which see below and cf. Jerome, *Pelag.* 2.17).

2.1 The Manuscript Evidence

Jerome completed work on the Gospels for his Vulgate by 384 CE when he presented them to Pope Damasus.[21] There is widespread agreement based on the Vulgate manuscript tradition that PA was at John 7:53-8:11 in these manuscripts, but none from this period have survived. Thus, Codex D (Bezae), which Parker dates to ca. 400 CE,[22] is the earliest certain manuscript to include PA, and does so at John 7:53-8:11. The remaining manuscripts that include the pericope can be dated from the seventh century to the fifteenth century, with the vast majority of these manuscripts dating closer to the twelfth century.[23] Other fifth-century witnesses of PA at John 7:53-8:11 are in the Old Latin textual tradition, *e* and *ff*^{2}.[24] The

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[20] See, e.g., Léon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* (trans. Jenny Heimerdinger; 2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 63-64.

[21] Kelly, *Jerome*, 88.

[22] D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 281.

[23] These include: 28 180 205 579 597 700 892 1006 1010 1071 1243 1292 1342 1505.

[24] Another fifth-century witness, *b*, is lacunose here, but may have included PA. See William L. Petersen, "ΟΥΔΕ ΕΓΩ ΣΕ [ΚΑΤΑ]ΚΡΙΝΩ. John 8:11, the *Protevangelium Iacobi*, and the History of the *Pericope Adulterae*," in *Sayings of Jesus: Canonical and Non-Canonical: Essays in Honour of Tjitze Baarda* (eds. William L. Petersen, Johan S. Vos, and Henk J. De Jonge; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 194 n. 16. Petersen speculates that *b* could have been included after John 7:44 (as some Georgian manuscripts from ca. tenth century do), but it equally could have followed 7:52. The leaves of the manuscript are missing at this point in GJohn.

Old Latin tradition also provides a witness in the sixth century with *j* and two from the seventh century with *aur* and r^{1}.[25] There is thus ample textual evidence that PA was known in the Latin-speaking world at John 7:53-8:11 from the 380's CE and continued to be associated with that position.

The earliest suggested alternative location for PA in the textual evidence is its placement at John 7:44 in the Georgian tradition.[26] Toensing claims,

> The manuscript evidence for placing the pericope in gospel texts other than after John 7:52 is found beginning in the seventh century. Earliest among this evidence are several Georgian version manuscripts (geo^{2}) of the seventh century [that] support the insertion of the pericope after John 7:44.[27]

Toensing cites the Alands as support for the seventh-century date of geo^{2}, who state that geo^{2}, a revision of geo^{1}, "was made after the separation from the Armenian church in the early seventh century."[28] However, *contra* Toensing, geo^{2} does not actually contain PA, either after John 7:44 or at 7:53-8:11. The designation "geo^{2}" refers to the Opiza, Tbet', Džruč, and Parhal Georgian manuscripts; "geo^{1}" refers to the Adysh manuscript.[29]

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[25] The remaining Old Latin text that includes the pericope is *c* and it dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century. Philip Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of their Texts and Language* (OECT; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 26, dates *aur* to the second half of the eighth century.

[26] See note 19 above. On the Georgian manuscript tradition generally, see J. Neville Birdsall, 'The Georgian Version of the New Testament,' in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Quaestionis (eds. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; SD 46; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 173-187.

[27] Holly Joan Toensing, "The Politics of Insertion: The Pericope of the Adulterous Woman and Its Textual History" (PhD diss., University of Vanderbilt, 1998) 2 n. 1. Curiously, Toensing goes on in this note on alternative locations to cite the speculation of Rodolphe Kassar, "Les dialectes coptes et les versions coptes bibliques," *Bib* 46 (1965) 304, that PA entered into Coptic manuscripts ca. seventh century CE. However, Kassar does not mention any alternative locations for PA, nor does he even offer manuscript evidence for his assertion on the date of PA's inclusion into Coptic tradition.

[28] Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) 205.

[29] Joseph Molitor, "Das Neue Testament in georgischer Sprache," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare: Der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihre Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte* (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972) 315-316. See also Maurice Brière, "Limitations of Georgian in Representing Greek," translated by Metzger in his *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) 199, and Metzger's discussion of the manuscripts on pp. 186-190.

Blake and Brière collated the Adysh, Opiza, and Tbet' manuscripts in their *The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of John*, and it is clear in their edition that PA is not included in these manuscripts of the Georgian GJohn.[30] Shanidze collated the Opiza manuscript along with the Džruč and Parhal manuscripts of geo^2 in his *Two Old Recensions of the Georgian Gospels*, and similarly PA is not included here either.[31] Thus, PA appears nowhere in geo^1 or geo^2. Presumably, Toensing has confused geo^2 with the later Athonite Georgian revisions of Saints George and Euthymius. In these documents text critics prior to and since Toensing have located PA's presence in the Georgian tradition. Streeter claimed that PA entered the Georgian tradition via "George the Athonite in his revision, *c.* 1045," and four years after Streeter, Blake et al. supported this also.[32] More recently, however, Birdsall has shown that the earlier revision of Euthymius the Athonite (d. 1028), George's predecessor, included PA at John 7:44, as evidenced in Tbilisi Institutes' MS H 1741.[33] The difficulty surrounding the problem of when PA was inserted in the Georgian text is clear when one considers that, according to Birdsall, Euthymius' text appears in parallel in the 1979 critical edition of I. Imnaishvilli,[34] but that it is "established on the basis of two manuscripts: Tbilisi Institute of MSS A 28 . . . [and] H 1741," the former of which does not contain PA and the latter of which contains it after John 7:44.[35] Euthymius and George were both late tenth-century figures, and thus one must date PA's John 7:44 location in their manuscripts to this period, *pace* Toensing.

PA's presence at John 7:44 in the Georgian manuscript tradition therefore joins the tenth-century MS 1582 from f^1, which places PA at the end of GJohn, as a representative for PA's earliest alternative location. One can push PA's location at the end of GJohn to the ninth-century with f^1 MS 565 if the "faded introduction" to PA stands as a witness to its inclusion.[36] Worth noting, here, however, is that the f^1 manuscripts most likely witness to a scribe's failure to include PA at John 7:53-8:11 (and default relocation of the story at the end of the gospel); i.e., not a scribe's placement of PA in another gospel context. The scribe of MS 565 claims he purposefully did not follow his exemplar in inclusion of PA.[37] Thus, it seems that the tenth-century Georgian manuscripts that include PA at John 7:44 witness the earliest true alternative location for PA in a gospel narrative.[38] The main point of the present discussion, however, is that PA was known at John 7:53-8:11 and maintained relative stability at that location until hundreds of years later, when its multiple alternative locations began to proliferate by and beyond the tenth century. Before moving forward to why a scribe might have moved PA from John 7:53-8:11, it is necessary to corroborate the manuscript evidence with fourth- and fifth-century evidence from Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine.

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[30] Robert P. Blake and Maurice Brière, eds., *The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of John: From the Adysh Gospels with the Variants of the Opiza and Tbet' Gospels* (PO 26; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1950) 515.

[31] A. Shanidze, *Two Old Recensions of the Georgian Gospels According to Three Shatberd Manuscripts (A.D. 897, 936 and 973)* (MOGL 2; Tbilisi: Academy of Sciences, 1945) 326-327.

[32] B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1924) 89; Kirsopp Lake, Robert P. Blake, and Silva New, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark," *HTR* 21.4 (1928) 293 n. 36, respectively.

[33] Birdsall, "Pericope Adulterae," 188-189. See also footnote 19 above. Birdsall made this information known before he published it—see Metzger, *Early Versions*, 198 n. 3; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 188 n. 4.

[34] Cited by Birdsall, "Pericope Adulterae," 186 n. 3.

[35] Birdsall, "Pericope Adulterae," 188.

2.2 *The Patristic Evidence*

When it comes to knowing precisely in *which* gospel the Fathers read PA and *where* in that gospel they read it, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine offer the most helpful statements. Ambrose confirms a Johannine location while Jerome and Augustine confirm the specific location of John 7:53-8:11.

In a letter dated between 385-387 CE, Ambrose claims that PA is located in GJohn, and also remarks that the story is, by his time, quite familiar in Christian communities. He writes, "Numerous times the question [regarding bishops' involvement in secular courts] has been raised, and well known, too, is the acquittal of the woman who in the Gospel according to John was brought to Christ, accused of adultery."[39] It is clear, then, that Ambrose knows PA in GJohn,[40] and further evidence makes it probable that Ambrose read PA at John 7:53-8:11. First, his discussion of PA in, for example, *Epistle* 68 (26) follows the order of the Johannine PA precisely. Second, he may allude to a 7:53-8:11 location when, while discussing PA, he references verses that follow PA immediately in John 8. In *Epistle* 68 (26), Ambrose likely cites John 8:15 when he claims that if Jesus had condemned the adulteress he would have contradicted his purpose of coming to forgive humanity's sins. He intensifies this point by continuing, "Indeed, furthermore he said, 'I judge no one.'"[41] Although this quotation could be a reference to John 3:17, 5:30, or 7:24, the precise wording (*ego non iudico quemquam*) suggests 8:15, and therefore that Ambrose supports his point further by citing a statement of Jesus from PA's immediate context. Similarly, in *Epistle* 64 (74), Ambrose refers to Jesus as the "Sun of Justice" who pours "forth the full light of His grace [and] says to you: 'Go thy way, and from now on sin no more.'"[42] If Ambrose read PA at John 7:53-8:11, it is no coincidence that he attributes the words of 8:11 to a "sunny" and "light"

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[36] Wieland Willker, "A Textual Commentary on the Greek Gospels Vol. 4b: The Pericope de Adultera: Jo 7:53-8:11 (Jesus and the Adulteress), 5th ed.," 5: "Maurice Robinson comments, 'The PA text of 565 is now completely lacking, with only the beginning of a faded introduction to the PA being present (this introduction appears similar to what appears in MS 1). The last page is missing (or never was completed; the microfilm only goes to the point described).'" Cited 12 December 2007. Online: http://www-user.uni-bremen.de/~wie/TCG/TC-John-PA.pdf.

[37] D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 96; Schilling, "Story," 92.

[38] Similar to the f^1 manuscripts that place PA at the end of GJohn, MS 115 (tenth century) is not a true alternative narrative location for PA. See discussion of MS 115 below on p. 228.

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[39] Ambrose, *Epistle* 68 (26) (Beyenka, FC). I have here and throughout employed the CSEL enumeration of Ambrose's letters with the PL enumeration placed in parantheses.

[40] Cf. R.W. Muncey, *The New Testament Text of Saint Ambrose* (TS 4, 2d series; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959) 46-47, who places PA at John 7:53-8:11 in his reconstruction of Ambrose's NT. Ambrose identifies PA's location as generally "in the gospel" in a number of locations. See his *Abr.* 1.4.23; *Apol. Dav. Altera* 1.1, 2.5. The latter locations are particularly interesting, since Ambrose identifies the source as the "gospel reading" (*euangelii lectio*, *euangelica lectio*, respectively), and states in *Apol. Dav. Altera* 1.1 that this gospel reading is one "which has been gone over" (*quae decursa est*). Presumably this means that Ambrose finds this passage in a lectionary reading, as suggested to me by Paul Parvis.

[41] The Latin here (68.11.104) reads *denique supra ait ego non iudico quemquam*. Note that I have translated *supra* as an adverb of amount or degree ("furthermore"), *contra* Beyenka (FC), who translates, "He said *earlier*...." and thus gives a spatial meaning to *supra*, creating the possibility that Ambrose claims to read John 8:15 "earlier in GJohn" than PA. This possibility is unlikely. First, the fact that Jesus claimed to judge no one punctuates Ambrose's point that Jesus came to forgive sins, and thus the translation of "furthermore/further/indeed" for *supra* is the most natural. Second, amongst extant manuscript evidence, there are only two locations of PA *after* John 8:15 and all attesting manuscripts are too late for Ambrose to have read (see chart at the beginning of this essay). The only manuscript with an early enough date for either possibility is Codex B, which, though not a member of f^1, may attest PA's location after John 21:25 with a marginal umlaut. Since a similar umlaut occurs at John 7:53, PA's early connection with GJohn generally and John 7:53-8:11 specifically is maintained even under this possibility.

[42] Ambrose, *Epistle* 64 (74) (Beyenka, FC).

Jesus, since Jesus claims to be "the Light of the World" in John 8:12.[43] One may need more straightforward evidence before drawing a certain conclusion, but in light of the additional factor that both Jerome and Augustine clearly read PA at John 7:53-8:11, it is a sound assumption that this was where Ambrose read it as well.

Jerome's inclusion of PA at John 7:53-8:11 in the Vulgate by 384 CE slightly antedates Ambrose's letters as the earliest piece of evidence for PA at this location. According to Jerome, already by his time one could find PA in numerous copies of GJohn. He says, "In the Gospel, according to John, there is found in many of both the Greek as well as the Latin copies, the story of the adulteress who was accused before the Lord."[44]

Augustine twice includes PA in running commentary on GJohn, unambiguously demonstrating that his manuscripts included the story of the adulteress at John 7:53-8:11. In *Tractate 33* of his *Tract. Ev. Jo.*, he proceeds from discussing Nicodemus' chastisement by the other Pharisees at the end of John 7 to Jesus' teaching on the Mount of Olives at the opening of PA, even including the transitional verse of John 7:53 ("And each one went to his own house").[45] After describing the hostile encounter between the scribes and the Pharisees and Jesus, Augustine ends this tractate with Jesus' non-condemnation of the adulteress and some pastoral comments. *Tractate 34* then returns to the gospel text with Augustine's comments upon John 8:12.[46]

Likewise, in Augustine's *Cons.*, he follows a discussion of John 7 with PA, which precedes his statements on John 8:12.[47] At *Cons.* 4.10.16, he describes John 7:3, and then begins *Cons.* 4.10.17 as such:

> Again, how weighty are the things which this evangelist reports Jesus to have spoken, when He came back to the temple from Mount Olivet, and after the forgiveness which He extended to the adulteress, who had been brought before Him by His tempters, as one deserving to be stoned....[48]

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[43] Following her translation of this passage, Beyenka footnotes "John 8.11-13," suggesting that this entire thought from Ambrose derives from a manuscript in which John 8:12 immediately follows PA.

[44] Jerome, *Pelag.* 2.17 (Hritzu, FC). Note that Jerome's statement implies his knowledge of manuscripts that do not include PA.

[45] Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 33.2-3.

[46] Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 34.2.

[47] Augustine, *Cons.* 4.10.16-17.

[48] Augustine, *Cons.* 4.10.17 (Salmond, *NPNF*^{1}).

Following a few statements regarding Jesus' acts of writing in PA, Augustine again demonstrates PA's location of John 7:53-8:11 when he says, "Accordingly, after these incidents, He affirmed Himself to be the light of the world...," a clear reference to John 8:12.[49] These two texts of Augustine leave little doubt as to where PA occurred in the copies of GJohn that he considered authoritative, even though, like Jerome, he was aware of copies that omitted the story.[50]

Worth noting in relation to Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome is the *Synopsis Scripturæ Sacræ*, a text that is difficult to date precisely but was attributed dubiously to the fourth-century Athanasius. Whether contemporary with these other church fathers or slightly later, Pseudo-Athanasius is another witness to PA at John 7:53-8:11. In his survey of GJohn, he mentions PA just after discussing Nicodemus' argument with the Jewish leadership at the end of John 7 and just before quoting John 8:21b.[51]

Other early Christian writers offer vague references to PA's location in their manuscripts. Didymus the Blind reads PA "in certain gospels" (ἔν τισιν εὐαγγελίοις) in fourth-century Alexandria.[52] In fourth-century Barcelona, Pacian locates the story in a "gospel" when he challenges the Novationists.[53] Fifth-century Peter Chrysologus claims the story of the accused adulteress is "in the Gospel."[54] Sixth-century Cassiodorus claims that Jesus' statement from John 8:11 is in "the gospel."[55] (Equally ambiguous is Cassiodorus' reference to PA's author as "the evangelist.")[56] Each of these authors clearly quotes PA as fully-authoritative Scripture, but without more explicit evidence their statements allow no further conjectures as to PA's home in the manuscripts they read.[57] Importantly, however, and though one may desire more specificity, their statements do not contradict the argument above that John 7:53-8:11 was PA's earliest manuscript location in the fourfold canon.

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[49] Augustine, *Cons.* 4.10.17 (Salmond, *NPNF*^{1}).

[50] See Augustine, *Incomp. nupt.* 2.7.

[51] PG 28.401-402.

[52] For text, see Ehrman, "Jesus and the Adulteress," 198-199; A.F.J. Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition* (VCSup 17; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 118.

[53] Pacian of Barcelona, *Epistle ad Sympronianum* 3.20.1 (Hanson, FC).

[54] Peter Chrysologus, *Sermon 115* (Ganss, FC).

[55] Cassiodorus, *Explanation of the Psalms* 31.2 (Walsh, ACW).

[56] Cassiodorus, *Explanation of the Psalms* 56.7 (Walsh, A0CW). Since Cassiodorus proceeds to quote verbatim John 8:5 it is more likely that he knows PA at John 7:53-8:11 than that he knows it elsewhere.

[57] Others of the relevant time period who cite PA but do not reveal its location include: Ambrosiaster, *Quæstiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* 102 (PL 35.2307//CSEL 50.199; fourth century); Hilary of Poitiers, *Commentaire sur le Psaume 118* 8.9, 15.10 (fourth century); Gelasius, *Lettre contre les Lupercales* 5 (fifth century); Leo the Great, *Sermon 62* 4 (fifth

Therefore, both the manuscript evidence and patristic evidence confirm that PA's earliest demonstrable location in GJohn is at John 7:53-8:11. The Vulgate, Codex D, and the Old Latin tradition offer textual evidence for this location from the 380's on. Comments from Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine corroborate this evidence. *At least* by the mid-fourth century, then, PA had been inserted into John 7:53-8:11 and began to be copied in that location. While manuscript 565 from f^1 suggests that scribes had placed PA at the end of GJohn in lieu of John 7:53-8:11 by the ninth century, the earliest attested alternative location in a gospel narrative is from the tenth century, and from this point PA's manuscript location in the canonical tradition begins to vary considerably. If John 7:53-8:11 is demonstrably the majority location, and demonstrably the earliest location (and *only* narrative location in the extant evidence until the tenth century), how is it that PA came to be lodged from that position?

3. The Impact of the Lectionary System

The question of how PA was displaced from John 7:53-8:11 is partly unanswerable in the current study. It is beyond the scope of the present study to consider how and why scribes placed PA in *each* of its varying locations in the gospel manuscripts. Given the late date of the manuscripts, the results of pursuing such questions would have no immediate impact upon this study, which is concerned only with PA's initial entrance into canonical tradition. It is possible, however, to give some account of how and why scribes placed PA in *some* of its alternative positions, and thus offer a fuller picture for the textual history of this passage. Though normally ignored in PA scholarship, the most likely explanation for many of the alternative locations is the influence of lectionary reading of the gospels.

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century); Gregory the Great, *Commentaire sur le Premier Livre des Rois* 98.2; and *Morals on the Book of Job* 1.16, 14.34 (late-sixth century). Worth noting also as a possible fourth-century witness that does not reveal PA's location is the Pachomian *Draguet Fragment 1*. This text quotes John 8:7 at paragraph 4, although the manuscript witness is from the eleventh century (see Armand Veilleux, trans., *Pachomian Koinonia: The Lives, Rules, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples* [2 vols.; Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1981] 2.3-4, 111).

3.1 Knowledge of GJohn With and Without PA in Early Christianity

In order to understand PA's multiple locations and the influence of the lectionary system, one may begin with recognizing that that PA is not authentic Johannine material. The story of Jesus and the adulteress initially confronted early Christians in some context other than GJohn. Papias likely knows of PA ca. 125 CE, and, depending on how one translates the Greek, either he or Eusebius attributes it to "the gospel according to the Hebrews" (τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον).[58] Eventually, however, an interpolator inserted PA into GJohn at John 7:53-8:11. This insertion created a situation where multiple early Christian authors acknowledge both PA's presence in GJohn *and* that some manuscripts contain it while others do not. Though, as shown above, Augustine knows PA at John 7:53-8:11, he also knows that it is not in every manuscript and resolves this problem by asserting that weak men have excised the passage.[59] Likewise, Jerome cites the story of the adulteress from GJohn, places it at John 7:53-8:11 in his Vulgate, but also notes that it is found in "many" of the Greek and Latin manuscripts; thus not all.[60]

PA's presence in the Philoxenian Syriac manuscript tradition also confirms that the Greek manuscripts from which Syriac translations derived included PA at John 7:53-8:11 when they included it, but manuscripts of omission were also known. The *Syriac Chronicle* attributed to Zacharias Rhetor (=Zachariah Mitylene), whose final redaction is dated to 569 CE, contains a statement regarding PA that acknowledges a Johannine location and possibly manuscripts of omission: "Now there was inserted in the Gospel of the holy Moro the bishop, in the eighty-ninth canon, a chapter which is related only by John in his Gospel, and is not found in other manuscripts...."[61] It is not exactly clear from this translation of the *Syriac*

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[58] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.17. Of the fragmentary remains of the *Gos. Heb.*, none includes PA. There is little about this statement that is not debated, including whether it actually refers to PA, exactly which work "Gospel of the Hebrews" refers to (i.e., *Gos. Heb.*, *Gos. Eb.*, or *Gos. Naz.*), and, as noted, whether Papias or Eusebius knows PA in this text.

[59] Augustine, *Incomp. nupt.* 2.7.

[60] Jerome, *Pelag.* 2.17.

[61] Zacharias Rhetor, *Chronicle* 8.7 (Hamilton and Brooks). This Syriac text, whose final composition is dated to the sixth century, is a translation of an earlier Greek text. Thus, the oft-quoted statement of Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 188, that "No Greek Church Father prior to Euthymius Zigabenus (twelfth century) comments on the passage, and Euthymius declares that the accurate copies of the Gospel do not contain it," is incorrect. (Robinson, "Preliminary," 47, has questioned the latter part of Metzger's statement, regarding Euthymius'

Chronicle whether the author means that PA is not found in other *gospel* manuscripts or other manuscripts *of GJohn*. However, the Syriac manuscripts that Gwynn presents resolve this question. Among these manuscripts are texts corresponding to and including the *Syriac Chronicle*, which likewise include a prefatory note before PA that attributes its discovery and translation again to Bishop Mara. Of these, for example, (Gwynn's) MS *f* refers to PA as "a chapter which peculiarly belongs to John, and is not found in all copies."[62] More importantly, however, is another collection of manuscripts whose introductory comments attribute PA's translation into Syriac from Greek to "Abbat Paul." In (Gwynn's) MS *a*, the introduction reads, "This *Syntaxis* is not found in all the copies; but the Abbat Mar Paul found it... and translated it from Greek into Syriac, as it is written here; from the Gospel of John."[63] (Gwynn's) MS *e* is even more specific as to the textual location in its further comment: "It is after the [words], 'Search and see that prophet out of Galilee ariseth not' (St. Joh. vii. 52), that it is thus written."[64] MS *f*'s introduction includes the statement that PA follows John 7:52, but also offers a geographical provenance for the pericope: "A section that was found in Alexandria (*or*, in an Alexandrian [copy]), after the verse 'Search and see...... [*sic*] prophet ariseth not.'"[65]

Therefore, some Syriac texts attribute PA's entrance into their manuscripts to Abbat Paul while others attribute it to Bishop Moro/Mara. All agree, however, that a reader could find the story in GJohn but that not all copies of GJohn include it. The only specific location ever given for the pericope is John 7:53-8:11. Combined with the comments from the Western Fathers, this evidence confirms further that the *single* explicit manu-

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estimation of PA's textual status.) It is also possible that Nicon's Greek *On the Impious Religion of the Vile Armenians* is earlier than Euthymius, if one should identify "S. Niconi" as the tenth-century Armenian Nicon. Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, "Notes on Select Readings," in *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1881) 82, are doubtful of this identification. For the text of "S. Niconi," see J.B. Cotelerius, ed., *Ss. Patrum, Qui Temporibus Apostolicis Floreuerunt, Barnabæ, Clementiis, Hermæ, Ignatii, Polycarpi Opera, Vera, et Suppositicia; Unà cum Clementis, Ignatii, Polycarpi Actis atque Martyriis* (2 vols.; 2d ed.; Amsterdam: R. & G. Wetstenii, 1724) 1.237-239.

[62] John Gwynn, ed., *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1909) 47.

[63] Gwynn, *Remnants*, 41.

[64] Gwynn, *Remnants*, 42. Here and below, any parenthetical or bracketed comments belong to Gwynn.

[65] Gwynn, *Remnants*, 42. See above footnote.

script location for PA in the narrative of GJohn until the tenth century is John 7:53-8:11. Beyond this, the evidence demonstrates that, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, it was common knowledge for many Christian authors and leaders that some copies of GJohn contained PA while others did not.

3.2 Scribal Confusion

In the process of copying texts, then, Christian scribes were left in a quagmire: Some exemplars contained PA and some did not. Scribes attest this conundrum by several methods, chiefly by using text-critical markers to note their suspicion. Numerous scholars suggest that the diacritical umlaut between John 7 and John 8 in Codex B implies that the scribe knows PA at this location, but does not copy it either because his exemplar does not contain it or he regards it as inauthentic.[66] Summarizing other manuscript evidence, Parker says,

> A few copies of the Byzantine text use symbols taken from Alexandrian scholarship to indicate that a passage is probably an interpolation. Some of these manuscripts place the first marker not at verse 53 but at 8.2 or 8.3, showing that they regarded the first couple of verses as genuine. Many of these also contain a note indicating that not all copies have the passage.[67]

In a similar vein, Metzger states, "Significantly enough, in many of the witnesses that contain the passage it is marked with asterisks or obeli, indicating that, though the scribes included the account, they were aware that it lacked satisfactory credentials."[68] As already mentioned, the scribe of MS

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66) Jennifer Wright Knust, "Early Christian Re-Writing and the History of the *Pericope Adulterae*," *JECS* 14.4 (2006) 489; Jennifer Wright Knust, "Jesus, an Adulteress, and the Development of Christian Scripture," in *A Tall Order: Writing the Social History of the Ancient World: Essays in Honor of William V. Harris* (eds. Jean-Jacques Aubert and Zsuzsanna Várhelyi; Münich: K.G. Saur, 2005) 61; Philip B. Payne, "Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus, and 1 Cor 14.34-5," *NTS* 41 (1995) 252; Philip B. Payne and Paul Canart, "The Originality of Text-Critical Symbols in Codex Vaticanus," *NovT* 42.2 (2000) 112; Robinson, "Preliminary," 40.

67) Parker, *Living Text*, 96. Aland, "Glosse," 43, lists 195 manuscripts (ninth-eighteenth centuries CE) that express doubt regarding PA's textual status.

68) Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 189. Likewise, Eldon Jay Epp, "Issues in the Interrelation of New Testament Textual Criticism and Canon," in *The Canon Debate* (eds. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002) 509-510. These manuscripts date variously from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth Century. Among the majuscule

565 noted that he purposefully did not include the pericope though his exemplar did,[69] and instead he likely placed the story at the end of GJohn by default.

Given that scribes were unsure or sceptical of PA's canonical status and its presence in John 7:53-8:11, it is easy to imagine that they would then take the further step of exercising some scribal freedom and placing it in a location deemed more suitable for the passage. Indeed, this is the argument of Ross, who acknowledges scribal confusion regarding PA and further claims that the passage was "later restored by copyists who knew it to be genuine but did not know what was its proper location."[70]

Ross gives only brief consideration to PA and its textual history (about half a page), as he discusses it alongside five other NT examples of "floating words," that is, "longer passages thought to be additions to the text [that] appear in different places in different manuscripts."[71] The connotation of "floating" is that PA is somehow wandering aimlessly through the textual tradition without a proper anchor or guide,[72] and some discussions of PA's many manuscript locations reflect this sentiment. Wallace says, "Early scribes, in sensing the richness and authenticity of the *pericope adulterae*, groped for an appropriate place to put it."[73] In this theory, Christian scribes were utterly convinced of PA's authenticity and searched confusedly—"groped"—for an appropriate location within the gospel manuscripts to place it, thus producing the array of locations. Likewise, Morris claims, "It seems clear enough that those scribes who felt it too important to be lost were not at all sure where to attach it."[74] While not mentioning scribal

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witnesses to the pericope in this category are E Λ and S. Miniscules marking PA's questionable status are 1 225 1424 1333 and f^{13}. The remaining witnesses in this category belong to the lectionaries and include *l* 184 *l* 211 *l* 387 *l* 514 *l* 751 *l* 773 *l* 890 and *l* 1780. *Contra* Metzger, Robinson, "Preliminary," 46, and T. van Lopik, "Once Again: Floating Words, Their Significance for Textual Criticism," *NTS* 41 (1995) 290, suggest that the asterisks and obeli are not text-critical markers but rather part of the "lectionary equipment" (van Lopik).

[69] Parker, *Living Text*, 96; Schilling, "Story," 92.

[70] J.M. Ross, "Floating Words: Their Significance for Textual Criticism," *NTS* 38 (1992) 155.

[71] Ross, "Floating Words," 154.

[72] Rainer Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer* (WUNT 2.7; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981) 231, refers to PA as a *Wanderperikope*.

[73] Wallace, "Reconsidering," 292.

[74] Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971) 883. Similarly, Aland, "Glosse," 45; Gary M. Burge, "A Specific Problem in the New Testa-

confusion, McLachlan still attributes PA's manuscript locations in Lukan and Johannine gospel tradition to "the state of the text in the second century and its *free handling by scribes*."[75]

Van Lopik criticizes Ross heavily for describing PA as a "floating" tradition based upon its variety of manuscript locations in a response to Ross' article:

> As far as floating single words or short phrases are concerned, textual critics will generally subscribe to this conclusion. But so far as it concerns longer passages, Ross's conclusion seems debatable.... In this note I do not intend to enter into the question of whether the six floating passages discussed by Ross are authentic or spurious. My only aim is to demonstrate that two of the passages discussed by Ross [Luke 22.43-44 and PA] are floating because they were used in the liturgy.[76]

According to van Lopik, the more plausible explanation for PA's occurrence in alternative locations is the influence of liturgical readings of the gospels on continuous-text manuscripts.[77] Van Lopik is not alone in noting this liturgical influence, however, and this crucial issue deserves more attention in studies of PA's textual history. The present study thus now turns to consider the impact of lectionary reading on PA's textual history.

3.3 Lectionary Influence

The general influence of the lectionary system on non-lectionary texts is and has been well recognized.[78] Sometimes when scribes produced new

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ment Text and Canon: The Woman Caught in Adultery (John 7:53-8:11)," *JETS* 27.2 (1984) 144; Frances Taylor Gench, *Back to the Well: Women's Encounters with Jesus in the Gospels* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2004) 142; Rius-Camps, "Pericope," 382.

75) Herbert McLachlan, *St. Luke: Evangelist and Historian* (London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1912) 112 (emphasis added).

76) Van Lopik, "Once Again," 286.

77) Likewise, Robinson, "Preliminary," 43-46.

78) See, e.g., Ernest Cadman Colwell, "Method in the Study of the Gospel Lectionary," in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels* (eds. Ernest Cadman Colwell and Donald W. Riddle; SLT 1; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933) 18, 19; Bruce M. Metzger, "Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament," in Aland, *Die alten Übersetzungen*, 495; Carroll D. Osburn, "The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament," in *Text of the New Testament*, 61, 70-71; Allen Wikgren, "Chicago Studies in the Greek Lectionary of the New Testament," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (eds. J. Neville Birdsall and Robert W. Thomson; Freiburg: Heider, 1963) 119.

continuous-text manuscripts from a continuous-text exemplar that had been marked in lections, the new manuscript reflected the lectionary practice (although not technically a lectionary text). Van Lopik specifically contends that this is the cause of PA's relocation in MSS 225, 115, and *f*^{13}. In the case of MS 225 (twelfth century),[79] which places PA after John 7:36, van Lopik claims the solution is much simpler than Ross' and Wallace's proposal that the scribe knew PA to be genuine but did not know where to put it. After observing that "minuscule 225 is a lectionary containing a full, continuous Gospel text, not a selection of lessons," van Lopik claims that PA was dislodged from its normal location of John 7:53-8:11 and placed after John 7:36 because "John 7.37-52, 8.12 is the lesson for Pentecost."[80] Thus, "Miniscule 225 excises the PA from the lesson of Pentecost. But it inserts the PA after 7.31-6, another passage passed over in the series of lessons in the movable liturgical calendar."[81]

Concerning MS 115 (tenth or twelfth century),[82] van Lopik states, "In the case of 115 there is no reason to speak of PA 'floating' at all."[83] MS 115's scribe proceeds from John 7:52 to 8:12, then writes PA, then 8:12 again.[84] Van Lopik surmises:

> I think that what happened can be described as follows. The scribe wrote out 8.12 twice: after 7.52 as the end of the lesson of Pentecost and before 8.13 as the beginning of the lesson of the Thursday of the fourth 'Johannine' week. A similar repetition of a passage for liturgical reason is found in the numerous manuscripts which, in the lesson from Luke 8... repeat Luke 8.8b after 8.15. Further examples are of course to be found in 225, which offers the whole pericope John 13.3-17 twice, and in the manuscripts which give Luke 22.43-4 in two different places.[85]

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[79] Robinson, "Preliminary," 42.

[80] van Lopik, "Once Again," 289, 290, respectively.

[81] van Lopik, "Once Again," 290. On p.289, van Lopik shows how the story of Jesus washing the disciples' feet in John 13:3-17 occurs in MS 225 in its normal location and after Matt 26:20, "because the Byzantine liturgy prescribes the reading of this pericope both for the ceremony of foot-washing on Maundy Thursday and as part of the ordinary lesson of that day." On reduplication of passages as a characteristic of the lectionary text, see also Colwell, "Method," 15; Bruce M. Metzger, "A Comparison of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary and the Greek Gospel Lectionary," in *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Matthew Black* (eds. E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969) 219; Metzger, "Greek Lectionaries," 491.

[82] Wallace, "Reconsidering," 292 n. 5.

[83] van Lopik, "Once Again," 290.

[84] Text presented by Wallace, "Reconsidering," 292 n. 5.

[85] van Lopik, "Once Again," 290.

(It is important for the present study to note that, though MS 115 is witness to an alternative location, it technically has not moved PA from John 7:53-8:11 but rather inserted 8:12 prior to PA. That is, PA's affinity with John 7:53-8:11 is manifest even in this liturgically-influenced text.) Thus, van Lopik accounts for the mysterious occurrences of PA after John 8:12 in MS 115 and after John 7:36 in MS 225 as manifestations of a larger liturgical influence on gospel texts that he observes in numerous locations. He similarly accounts for PA's presence after Luke 21:38 in *f*^{13}.

In *f*^{13} (none earlier than eleventh century), PA occurs after Luke 21:38, beginning with the connective John 7:53 stating that "each one went to his own home," which provides a much more awkward narrative disruption in this location than the supposed disruption when PA follows John 7:52.[86] The manuscripts in this family that contain PA after Luke 21:38 are perhaps the most obvious example of lectionary impact.[87] *Contra* Wallace, who attributes PA's relocation after Luke 21:38 to the parallel portrayals of Jesus' teaching in the temple, van Lopik aligns himself with Metzger and Wikgren,

> who have pointed out that the location of the PA in fam 13 is a blatant example of the influence of the Byzantine lectionary system on the text of the New Testament. Luke 21.12-19 is to be read on 7 October, the feast of Saints Sergios and Bakchos; the day after, on 8 October, the PA is to be read on the feast of Saint Pelagia.[88]

Van Lopik's rhetoric perhaps presents an unnecessary false choice, since it is thoroughly plausible that the lectionary system recognized the narrative resonances between Luke 21:37-38 and John 8:1-2. Indeed, it is hard to think that the parallels were completely unrelated—beyond the "teaching" and "temple" similarities, one must also notice the presence of the Mount of Olives and "all the people"(πᾶς ὁ λαός) in each text (Luke 21:37-38; John 8:1-2). Nevertheless, it is clear that PA, when it is to be found in the menologion, is normally read on October 8, St. Pelagia's day.[89] Beyond this, and though (surprisingly) van Lopik does not cite him, it was Colwell who first posited that PA's presence in f^{13} was due to liturgical reading. He says,

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[86] For *f*^{13}'s text of PA in Luke, see Jacob Geerlings, *Family 13—The Ferrar Group: The Text According to Luke* (SD 20; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1961) 128-129.

[87] Rius-Camps, "Pericope," 379-405, disregards this point in an unwarranted fashion. He claims that lectionary influence is an unpersuasive explanation for PA's multiple manuscript locations because "the development of the lectionary system occurred only after the seventh century" (385). Beyond the fact that PA may have already been being read as part of a lection by the time of Ambrose (see above footnote 40), this essay has demonstrated that there is no manuscript evidence prior to the tenth century for an alternative location. Furthermore, one would not be able to posit that, for example, the *f*^{13} manuscripts that contain PA in Luke's Gospel are based on an ancient exemplar traceable to a period prior to the rise of the lectionary system, since there is no way to speculate at which stage of transmission PA entered *f*^{13}. That is, even if those manuscripts are based on ancient exemplars, that does not mean that the exemplars contained PA.

[88] Wallace, "Reconsidering," 292; van Lopik, "Once Again," 291 (quotation); Metzger, "Greek Lectionaries," 495; Wikgren, "Chicago Studies," 119 n. 46, respectively.

> It is my opinion also that the location of the story of the adulteress at the end of Luke 21 in fam 13 is due to lectionary influence. For in the lectionaries this passage is omitted from John (as it is in fam 13) and appears most frequently on October 8th; while the gospel lection for October 7th is Luke 21:12-19. Is it mere coincidence that this pericope appears in fam 13 at the first suitable point after Luke 21:19? Is it not probable that its location at the end of Luke 21 in this family is due to its appearance in this position in the menologion of the gospel lectionary?[90]

The solution that van Lopik and Colwell offer is a much more plausible explanation for how PA was relocated to its alternative locations in MSS 225, 115, and f^{13} than is the solution of, for example, Ross, who sees the guiding force behind PA's alternative locations as scribes who were convinced of PA's authenticity but unsure of a proper location. PA's presence in these locations was therefore not due to confusion but to a deliberate scribal choice.

Therefore, though the manuscripts under consideration are continuous-text manuscripts, as Wikgren notes, "The lectionaries often and quite clearly influenced the text of non-lectionary MSS," and PA is one example of this phenomenon.[91] Beyond the manuscripts discussed immediately above, it is also possible that this is the cause of the relocation of PA to John 7:44 in the Georgian manuscripts. Birdsall claims that work in the Georgian lectionaries "has scarcely begun," but observes that the removal of Mark 14:33-37a and its relocation to the end of GJohn is due to lectionary influence.[92]

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[89] See the table provided by Wikgren, "Lectionary Text," 189.

[90] Colwell, "Method," 19. In the same volume, Donald W. Riddle, "The Character of the Lectionary Text of Mark in the Week-Days of Matthew and Luke," in *Prolegomena*, 22, affirms Colwell's position.

[91] Wikgren, "Chicago Studies," 119.

[92] Birdsall, "Georgian Version," 176, generally 176-177.

He does not mention PA in this regard, but Birdsall's observations do raise that possibility. However, it is not necessary here to account for every alternative location.[93] It is clear that several of the alternative manuscript locations for PA are due to lectionary influence. While this offers some text-critical perspective for how PA was removed from its original location, none of these manuscripts can be dated as early as PA's presence in GJohn at 7:53-8:11, as attested by Codex D, Old Latin manuscripts, Jerome, and Augustine, and indeed they are many centuries removed. Thus, one cannot maintain the notion that early Christian scribes had, on the one hand, a loose tradition about Jesus and the adulteress that they considered authentic and worthy of a gospel location, and, on the other hand, various possible locations to place this rogue tradition. A more probable explanation of the available evidence is that an early Christian scribe or scribal school inserted PA at John 7:53-8:11, where it was copied, re-copied, sometimes omitted, and sometimes omitted but still referenced, for centuries until liturgical readings began to influence non-liturgical texts, at which point PA was, at times, relocated to alternative locations. This liturgical act was made easier since many of the extant manuscripts of GJohn omitted PA entirely.

4. Summary and Conclusion

Taken together, then, the facts that John 7:53-8:11 is (1) the majority and (2) earliest known location for PA and (3) that all of the alternative locations are late and some are certainly due to liturgical influence, suggest that John 7:53-8:11 was intended, by its interpolator, as a proper narrative location for PA within the authoritative Jesus tradition in a manner that PA's numerous alternative locations were not.[94] There is no extant evidence that PA was read in a canonical gospel text in any location other than John 7:53-8:11 until the late ninth/tenth century CE. Thus, *contra* Rius-Camps and despite PA's linguistic similarities to other gospel texts, the evidence suggests that when PA first entered into canonical tradition, it did so in what has become its traditional location.

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[93] Though possible, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to support Robinson, "Preliminary," 45, who claims, "*All* the PA relocations among the continuous-text MSS reflect a desire and intent to preserve the continuity of the Pentecost lesson as a unit" (emphasis added).

[94] I pursue why the interpolator chose this textual location further in Keith, *Pericope Adulterae*, n.p.

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Early Christian Missionaries as Physicians

Healing and its Cultural Value in the Greco-Roman Context*

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Abstract

Q 10 shows some features that equate Jesus' missionaries to Greco-Roman medical practitioners. Moreover, some early Christian texts developed the same imagery, accompanying it with some hints of social critique. Conversely, under the early empire, the prestige and the privileges of doctors, who had good patronage connections, were significantly increased through imperial legislation. The Christian choice of representing missionaries as physicians may be understood by employing the anthropological category of "mimesis". This entailed a critique of the patronage system and, hence, it arguably won the Christian mission a part of its success in some sectors of the ancient society.

Keywords

Christian mission; ancient medicine; Q 10; postcolonial criticism; mimesis; apocrypha

Beginning with the depiction of missionaries in the two parallel commissions of Matt 10 and Luke 10, it is easy to find early Christian texts that depict the first preachers of Jesus' message as physicians: it is interesting to analyze this self representation against the background offered by the social practice and role of Greco-Roman doctors. Many features of this Christian self-portrait were influenced by the position the missionaries took in their ancient Mediterranean environment: in this perspective, Christian preachers and doctors carried a complex image that was both imitative of and

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oppositional to that of "official" Greco-Roman medical practitioners. The study of this theme indicates that Christian missionaries could have been represented as physicians because this provided them with a very useful and effective cover in spreading their teaching and, at the same time, disturbed the social and political structure of the Roman empire.

1. The Commission in Q 10

Arguably, the oldest and more detailed commission for Christian missionaries might be read in Q 10, a text that has survived in two independent revisions of Matt 10 and Luke 10. For the sake of the present argument there is no need to address the entangled issues concerning the reconstruction of the original Q text: some remarks on the version presented in the *Critical Edition of Q* will suffice.[1]

At first sight the two versions show no connection at all, but a closer examination demonstrates that they only rearranged a set of instructions received from the Q tradition. The order of the events in Matthew looks more akin to the likely course of a missionary activity, since the disciples enter first a town or a village (Matt 10:11) and then a house (Matt 10:12).[2] On the contrary, the Lukan version seems to have preserved more precisely the Q order and wording:[3] at the beginning there is an instruction on the items missionaries should or should not carry along on their way (Luke 10:4). Then Jesus indicates how the disciples should act upon entering a house and how they should behave during their lodging there: they are expected to eat whatever meal they are offered and not to go from house to house in the village (this would avoid the accusation of looking for the best accommodation in town).[4] Eventually, Luke comes to the actions Matthew had posited at the beginning of his treatment; the disciples have two tasks: to heal the sick people, whom they would find in the villages, and to preach the arrival of God's kingdom.

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[1] J.M. Robinson, P. Hoffmann and J.S. Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000) 160-181. In agreement, P. Hoffmann, *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 8; Münster: Aschendorff, 1972) 235-287, and H.T. Fleddermann, *Q. A Reconstruction and Commentary* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005) 403-416.

[2] U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (EKKNT 1/2; Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1990) 88-89.

[3] The Lukan redactor has not mixed the Markan and Q commissions as Matthew did: F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (EKKNT 3/2; Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1996) 45-46, and J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke X-XXIV* (AB 28A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1985) 842-843.

[4] A classic analysis of this social behavior in G. Theissen, *Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums* (WUNT 19; Tübingen: J.B.C. Mohr, 1983).

Matthew has inverted the order of the two actions by postponing the healing after the preaching: it is clear that he interpreted the cure as a sign of the incoming kingdom. Accordingly, he expanded the Q text by appending to the healing of sick people a list of actions (raising dead, cleansing lepers and casting out demons) whose messianic overtones are unmistakable (Matt 10:8). Moreover, many interpreters noted the compositional pattern that shapes Matthew's redaction in this as well as in other passages: he is probably echoing the structure of the preceding chapters, in which a discursive block (Matt 5-7) precedes a series of miracles (Matt 8-9). Eventually, this structure anticipates the question of John the Baptist on Jesus' identity (Matt 11:5).[5]

It is quite clear that the Q text addressed another issue as well: what reward are the missionaries entitled to receive in exchange for the services they perform? Many features in Q 10 are commanded by this concern: the order not to go from house to house and, even more notably, the request not to bring food or money in the journeys from village to village. The Q Jesus solves the problem by quoting a well-known proverb, according to which "the laborer deserves (literally: is worthy of) his wage".[6] One may safely suppose that Q intended to depict Christian missionaries as workmen, who should be paid as long as they perform their duties. The Greek word ἐργάτης is retained in both redactions of Q: indeed, its main meaning must doubtlessly refer to people who sell their handwork or their skills for a salary. The case is strengthened by a comparison with a preceding verse, Q 10:2: there, Jesus invokes the help of God, who should send laborers to work into the harvest. In that verse as well, Q links the term ἐργάτης and the harvesting metaphor leaving no doubts about the kind of workmen concerned: Jesus is speaking of day laborers who were hired for daily wages during the harvest season.

So far the metaphor, but the actual activity of the Q missionaries looks altogether different, since the disciples are not required to help the villagers in their agricultural tasks, even though many Galilean villages presumably would have benefited from their help free of charges. The missionaries are entitled to a wage as long as they perform two duties, healing and preaching: such an observation might lead us to think that the Q disciples are represented as itinerant doctors. Would such an interpretation be plausible in the immediate context of Q 10?

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[5] Hoffmann, *Studien*, 275-276.

[6] Matthew's variant ("food") is clearly a secondary intervention: Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 848, and A.E. Harvey, "'The Workman is Worthy of his Hire': Fortunes of a Proverb in the Early Church," *NovT* 24 (1982) 209-221.

2. Physicians in Q 10

The *modus operandi* of the Q missionaries might be easily compared to patterns of medical activity widespread throughout the ancient Greco-Roman world. First of all, one may consider the activity the disciples perform in the villages: the Greek phrase that most probably stood in Q (θεραπεύετε τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς/ἀσθενοῦντας θεραπεύετε) could not be misinterpreted by an ancient audience. In papyrological sources, for instance, the adjective ἀσθενής as well as the participle ἀσθενῶν appear frequently in reference to illnesses or physical impairments.[7] As for ἀσθενής, which probably stood in the Q version, it occurs with the meaning of "ill" already in one letter of Zenon's (PCairZen 1, 59042, 4 [Philadelphia, 257 BCE]), but scores also some later appearances in PEnteux 22, 9 (Magdola, 218 BCE, a petition containing the seemingly already classic phrase "old and ill"); PCorn 50, 13 (Arsinoite, I CE); SB 6, 9526, 38 (Tebtynis, 200 CE).[8] The same for the verb θεραπεύω: it is used in many different ways, but a prominent one is certainly related to the cure of the sick.[9] These lexical choices arguably reminded ancient audiences of the activities of Greco-Roman physicians. Thus, there is no apparent need to read into these phrases, as the Matthean redactor did, a reference to exorcisms:[10] of course, this has no bearing on the issue of the eschatological character that might be presupposed in the preaching concerning God's kingdom. In sum, it is clear that Q missionaries were entrusted with a medical activity, but are there any other hints that the disciples played the social role of physicians?

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7) It has been suggested that documentary papyri mirror what ancient audiences would have thought upon hearing readings from early Christian writings: P. Arzt-Grabner, *Philemon* (PKNT 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003) 45-56.

8) The papyri are cited according to J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, S.J. Clackson, A.A. O'Brien, J.D. Sosin, T.G. Wilfong, and K.A. Worp, *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html, Month, 200#.

9) An amusing occurrence in PFlor 2, 222, 14 (Theadelphia, 256 BCE), a private letter requesting a medicine to cure a sick bull.

10) Hoffmann, *Studien*, 299.

First of all, doctors received payments that are frequently called μισθός, exactly the same word Luke (and Q) employs to indicate the wage earned by the workers sent into the world by Jesus. A great number of inscriptions from every region of the empire witnesses to honors bestowed on doctors by cities that had recourse to their skills: usually such texts contain a reference to the wage (usually a monthly allowance) the city decreed to pay to these public physicians.[11] That cannot be surprising, since μισθός is commonly used to indicate the payment for hired work or the retribution for loaned commodities. In the text of a II century inscription from Lesbos, Bresos, son of Bresos, a chief physician,[12] is honored for having performed an impressive list of civic and religious duties, notwithstanding Vespasian's provision, which, a few decades earlier, had freed doctors and rhetoricians throughout the empire from liturgical burdens.[13]

> The council (βουλή) and the people / [have honored] Bresos, son of Bresos, archiatros, free from / liturgical burdens up to the sons and the / nephews; he discharged / public offices and, among them, he brought ivy crowns / and he was agoranomos; he himself / was also president of the council and guardian / of laws and others; he was paredros / of Ethereal Zeus and of Ammon liberator / and of Adrasteia and of / the Augustan mysteries, of Pnistia, / of Etephila, of Poseidon, / of Muchios and Muchia and of the / Unappeasable Goddesses and of the / sacred cave, and of Mainolios / Zeus; he was representative of Athena / Polias on behalf of the city, and / chief of dances of Artemis / and Apollo Maloeis, and / sacred herald of honors, / and *zakor* of the savior Asclepios, and first sacrificer of the most divine / emperor and of the city's / gods, and / a guide since already / forty years, and this / without allowances and wages (ἄνευ συντάξιος καὶ μισθοῦ) / not as his predecessors did.

As last item in the list, it is remarked that Bresos performed his work without receiving any wage: this seems a decisive element in shaping Bresos' social position and consciousness.[14] The use of μισθός with reference to a doctor's work is significant since it enables us to take a glimpse at the social position of physicians. Only in the western regions of the empire, they were openly despised as any other worker who had to resort to his or her hands to earn his or her food.[15] On the contrary, the bulk of ancient medical literature, produced by highly cultivated personages from the East, as Galen or Celsus, was intended to counteract this social prejudice, showing that the medical practice, highly esteemed since Hellenistic time, had to be equated to philosophical education and not to the τεχναί (in the above mentioned inscription, Bresos seems eager to underplay the relevance of the wages he received or even to show that he had not been paid at all).[16] Thus, some doctors might have ranked high in the imperial social ladder,[17] while the average physician was equated, in the eastern provinces of the empire, with other honorable professionals, such as architects or teachers.[18] Hence, ancient doctors and the Q missionaries might have roughly stood in the same pool: both appeared to be workmen hired for a salary, but they made a show of not receiving any actual payment in favor of the common interest.

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[11] A collection of relevant Greek inscriptions in E. Samama, *Les médecins dans le monde grec: Sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps medical* (Droz: Génève, 2003).

[12] Vivian Nutton concluded that in Roman times this particularly problematic title (ἀρχιατρός) was generally used for public doctors officially hired by cities ("*Archiatri* and the Medical Profession in Antiquity," in *From Democedes to Harvey: Studies in the History of Medicine* [London: Variorum, 1988] 191-226).

[13] The Greek text of the decree of 74 CE in Samama, *Les médecins*, n. 189, and J.H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1989) n. 38.

[14] The Greek text from Mytilenes, dated between 125 and 175 CE, can be read in Samama, *Les médecins*, n. 119.

But there existed another interesting similarity. Many ancient physicians were itinerant: since ancient Greek times (fifth and fourth century BCE) the most doctors seem to have been constantly on the move, wandering from city to city and trying to reach a place, in which they could earn the highest salary. To be actually hired by a city council they had to demonstrate their medical skills. This task was not easy, since they had to showcase their ability to people who presumably, in the majority of cases, did not know

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15) F. Kudlien, *Die Stellung des Arztes in der römischen Gesellschaft: Freigeborene Römer, Eingebürgerte, Peregrine, Sklaven, Freigelassene als Ärzte* (Stuttgart: Fritz Steiner, 1986), and J. Korpela, *Das Medizinalpersonal im antiken Rom: Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987).

16) N. Massar, *Soigner et servir: Histoire sociale et culturelle de la médecine grecque à l'époque hellénistique* (Culture et Cité 2; Paris: De Broccard, 2005) 97-101, refers to the classic Greek ideal of the physician as civic benefactor.

17) The most influential physicians (all of them from the Greek provinces) lived in the second century CE: consider, for instance, Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, Claudius' physician (probably involved in his murder) and high ranking imperial official, in K. Buraselis, *Kos between Hellenism and Rome* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2000).

18) The western evaluation of physicians was seriously undermined by the fact that many practitioners in Rome were slaves or freedmen, while in the East doctors could enjoy the advantages of a centuries-old positive tradition, which went back to the classic Greek times: F. Kudlien, *Der griechische Arzt im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Seine Stellung in Staat und Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979) 64.

anything about medicine. Again, epigraphical and legal sources inform us that, well into the Roman times, city councils chose on the basis of two main factors: some indirect knowledge of the candidates' reputation and upon hearing public lectures given by these same candidates.[19] Thus, conferences of physicians wandering form city to city were a common phenomenon in the ancient world and upon those occasions doctors were required to demonstrate at their best their culture and their mastery of the art: obviously, this practice was conducive to abuses and indeed these are noted in many ancient writings, for instance Plato's *Gorgias*, in which the sophist boasts that he would win the position of public physician more easily than any actual practitioner by taking full advantage of his rhetorical skills.[20] We know from Galen that, in his time, the very city of Rome was ravaged by a crowd of doctors staging public lectures and even anatomic displays in order to win the favor of their audiences.[21] This picture fits perfectly the intellectual climate of the Second Sophistic, which was characterized by the cultural and political effort to connect the imperial centre to the provincial elites through the rhetorical mediation of personages like Dio of Prusa or Aelius Aristides.[22] Of course, not all intellectuals could achieve the position of these rhetoricians or, in the medical field, of Galen: yet, they could aspire to a key position in the social and political life of bigger and smaller provincial centers. One may easily see how such a context drove physicians to show rhetorical as much as medical skills: the broad cultural environment allowed the success of discourses that could connect the actual treatment of diseases to a display of philosophical or religious knowledge.[23] In this perspective, ancient audiences might have understood the preaching activity that the Q Jesus entrusts to his disciples alongside the cure of the sick: the mention of the incoming *basileia* of God epitomizes the new message of liberation that is an integral part of the cure the missionaries have to bring to the villages.

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19) For an earlier period, see Massar, *Soigner et servir*, 47-49.

20) Plato, *Gorg.* 456b-c.

21) V. Nutton, "Healers in the Medical Market Place: Toward a Social History of Graeco-Roman Medicine," in *Medicine in Society. Historical Essays* (ed. A. Wear; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1991) 1-58.

22) On the role of physicians and of Galen, G.W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969).

23) It suffices to mention the case of Aelius Aristides' *Holy Discourses*, in which the quasi-medical analysis of a psychological disease is consistently intermingled with a display of the author's religious devotion.

3. Missionaries as Physicians in Early Christian Sources

Interestingly enough, the portrait of Christian missionaries as doctors is not limited to the Q text we are examining: a surprising and intriguing feature in a wide range of later Christian texts is the presence of characters who are identified both as missionaries and as doctors.[24] Albeit less widespread, this social posture may be compared to that of Christian missionaries posing as itinerant philosophers, which could as well be traced back to the depiction offered in Q: eventually, both of them shed light on the ways these preachers sought to integrate their message into the social structure of Late Antiquity.

A late text that offers an interesting instance is the *Acts of Philip*, probably a fifth century collection of earlier materials depicting the legendary travels of the apostle Philip in Asia Minor. The last chapters narrate Philip's missionary activity and martyrdom in the "city of the snakes":[25] upon his entering the city—at the beginning of chapter 13—the apostle chooses to lodge in a dispensary (ἰατρεῖον),[26] which had been vacated by the city's public physicians. Most interestingly, Philip addresses a follower of his, Bartholomew, with these words:

> Where is the narthex that the Savior gave us at the time in which we were in Galilee? Let us settle in this dispensary and let us cure until we see the design that the Savior has prepared for us.

It is noteworthy that the apostle is very straightforward in revealing his intention to replace the civic practitioners of medicine: the cure of illnesses is now entrusted to the Christian missionaries, who will actually heal a blind man in the immediately following chapters, but, of course, without using any of the Hippocratic methods. For the present purpose, it suffices to remark that Philip seems to wear here the clothes of the Greco-Roman doctor not only because he settles in a ἰατρεῖον, but furthermore because he is accompanied by a helper (who might be construed as an apprentice, whose presence in the wake of more or less famous physicians was not an uncommon sight), who carries his medical tools.[27] A most interesting feature, as far as the present theme is concerned, is Philip's statement that the casket has been given to the disciples by Jesus in Galilee. Bearing in mind that the most probable location for the Q commission might be exactly a Galilean town, it would be intriguing to suggest that the *Acts of Philip* echo Jesus' commission to his first missionaries, who are sent in the world as healers in the current Greco-Roman fashion.

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[24] I will not examine here the representations of Christ as physician and the imagery connected to this metaphor, which are present in many early Christian writings: in these instances, Jesus does not actually practice medicine or occupy the social position of a doctor. Such imagery, while very important for the early Christian thought, is connected to medicine only in a metaphoric way, since Christ is a doctor whose saving intervention on human souls saved from their vices and their sins.

[25] The battle against the cult of the snake can be interpreted as a replacement, by the new Christian healing, of Asclepius' role in the great shrines of Epidaurus, Pergamon, or Hierapolis, the supposed location of the *Acts of Philip* (*Acta Philippi. Textus* [ed. F. Amsler; CChrSA 11; Turnhout: Brepols, 1999] 310, n. 1).

[26] These buildings appear frequently in papyri and inscriptions (for instance, POxy 64, 4441, 4, 8 [315/316 CE]): they were located in public spaces (in the latter case, in a *stoa*) and probably built at public expenses or employing benefactions.

However, the mere accounts of miracles and prodigious cures are not sufficient evidence of medical activity: on the contrary, some texts show a clear structural resemblance to the actions attributed to doctors in the Greco-Roman social and cultural context. It would suffice to analyze Peter's *modus operandi* as it is described in the two versions of the Pseudoclementine novel: the narratives are clearly shaped to agree with the Q scheme. Peter always enters a city and goes directly to a house, in which he will lodge during his entire staying.[28] Subsequently, the apostle's activities always follow a common pattern: he spends the day preaching and, at sunset, before retiring, he imposes his hands on the people to cure their diseases. It is noteworthy that Peter's preaching is primarily focused on human bodily sufferings and their causes: all sickness is due to the presence of demons in human bodies and Peter goes to great lengths in order to explain how and why this demonic "infection" has been contracted or might be prevented.

A recurring feature in these writings (as in many other ancient texts) is a polemical attack against the institutionalized medical practice: a clear instance appears in the so called *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*, a composite work that figures at the beginning of the sixth Nag Hammadi codex.[29] Peter and the twelve apostles arrive at a city gate and meet an angel, Lithargoel, who is disguised as a doctor: he carries an unguent box

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27) Νάρθεξ is commonly used to indicate a casket, whose content may vary from books to, as in the present case, medical instruments: the connection with the stick that denotes Asclepius and medical practitioners in general was so strong that the name was chosen as the title for many ancient medical treatises.

28) See, for instance, *Hom.* 8:1-3 (GCS 42, 185).

29) R.McL. Wilson and D.M. Parrott, "The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles," in *Nag*

and is actually followed by a young apprentice with a pouch full of medicines.[30] In the following lines, the angel reveals his true identity to the disciples who have not been able to recognize him as Jesus. After this recognition, Jesus gives the unguent box and the pouch to the apostles and entrusts them with a mission that consists in relieving the poor of the city. Slightly later, in a second speech, Jesus sends out his disciples to cure the sick:[31]

> He gave them the pouch of medicine and said, "Heal all the sick of the city who believe in my name." Peter was afraid to reply to him for the second time. He signaled to the one who was beside him, who was John: "You talk this time." John answered and said, "Lord, before you we are afraid to say many words. But it is you who asks us to practice this skill. We have not been taught to be physicians. How then will we know how to heal bodies as you have told us?" He answered them, "Rightly have you spoken, John, for I know that the physicians of this world heal what belongs to the world. The physicians of souls, however, heal the heart. Heal the bodies first, therefore, so that through the real powers of healing for their bodies, without medicine of the world, they may believe in you, that you have power to heal the illnesses of the heart also. The rich men of the city, however, those who did not see fit even to acknowledge me, but who reveled in their wealth and pride—with such as these, therefore, do not dine in their houses nor be friends with them, lest their partiality influence you. For many in the churches have shown partiality to the rich, because they also are sinful, and they give occasion for others to sin. But judge them with uprightness, so that your ministry may be glorified, and that my name also, may be glorified in the churches." The disciples answered and said, "Yes, truly this is what is fitting to do."

Jesus' request meets the misunderstanding of his apostles, because they do not think to be adequately trained for a healing mission: Jesus' answer, at first, refers to the "medicine of the heart" and seems to fit into the recurring early Christian discourse on the gospel as the cure for any human spiritual ailment. Surprisingly enough, Jesus is actually speaking of bodily healing, even though his speech contains an attack against the "medicine of the world": identifying the aim of this polemic is difficult, since Jesus seems to advocate a sort of "alternative medicine", while he himself has just

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Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4 (ed. D.M. Parrott; NHS 11; Leiden: Brill, 1979) 198-229.

[30] The pouch is called in Coptic "nartos", which has brought M. Krause ("Die Petrusakten in Codex VI von Nag Hammadi," in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Alexander Bölig* [ed. M. Krause; NHS 3; Leiden: Brill, 1972] 36-58) to hypothesize a connection between this text and the *Acts of Philip*.

[31] *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*, 10:31-12:16 (NHS 11, 45-7).

consigned to his disciples the professional emblems of a Greco-Roman physician. This apparently inconsistent stance is clarified by the closing statement: Jesus asks his disciples to avoid contacts with the rich inhabitants of the city and it seems quite clear that the mission of the Christian healers should be restricted to the poor. Indeed, this text envisages Christian missionaries, who are required to refuse all the most significant features of the ancient patronage system ("do not dine in their houses nor be friends with them").[32] What meaning may such an apparently contradictory attitude towards social and cultural institutions have in the context of Greco-Roman medical practice?

4. The Social Profile of Physicians in Antiquity

The bulk of our information on the social stance of ancient doctors comes from Egyptian papyri, even though some evidence can be collected through the reading of inscriptions from Greece or Asia Minor. However, it should be noted that, particularly for the latter sources, our perspective might be biased, since the honor of being named in inscriptions was usually restricted to those figures who had attained a relevant social standing: this being the case, in inscriptions we have at our disposal less material on those practitioners who wandered through the countryside and never succeeded in obtaining a position in a urban center.[33]

Nevertheless, an assessment of the average income of an Egyptian public physician under Ptolemaic rule has been attempted by Fridolf Kudlien: his data seem to be reliable and consistent with the papyrological texts at our disposal.[34] We know that all the cleruchic landowners had to pay a special tax, whose name itself, ἰατρικόν, reveals its aim: this revenue was employed to assure a monthly allowance to public physicians in order to render more appealing their residence in small Egyptian towns.[35] A papyrus gives us the means to calculate the yearly amount a single doctor would have received from the royal treasure: a physician could seemingly earn 1000 drachmas per year.[36] This is not a particularly relevant sum, but it would have posed doctors above teachers, whose income was inferior. Nevertheless, one must note that such a yearly allowance, albeit huge if compared to Egyptian peasants' budgets, would not have exactly been a source of social prestige: indeed, 1000 drachmas is the same salary a simple policeman could earn in a year. Anyway, we should account for other sources of income viable to a physician: first of all, he could charge his patients for his treatments. As far as this issue is concerned, we have a fair number of papyri, both of Ptolemaic and Roman time, which give us a good picture of the situation.[37] Arguably, a skilled and well-connected physician could expect to earn at least another 3000 drachmas per year. This would have brought his or her social status at the level of a police chief, a figure of relatively good standing in a town or a metropolis of the Egyptian *chora*. Kudlien has correctly clarified the twofold structure of physicians' income by commenting upon a much debated text in Diodorus' history. In *Bibliotheca historica* 1, 82, 3 the Sicilian historian, probably quoting from Hecataeus' survey on Egyptian history and costumes, describes the activity of early Ptolemaic doctors:

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[32] For a possible historical and social scenery, see the suggestion of A.L. Molinari, *The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles (NHC 6.1): Allegory, Ascent and Ministry in the Wake of the Decian Persecution* (Atlanta: Scholars, 2000).

[33] Itinerant practitioners were numerous, as in the case of Dorotheos, who "after coming to many towns with much wandering" died in Tithoreia (G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* [vol. 2; Alexandria: Macquarie University, 1982] 20).

[34] Kudlien, *Der griechische Arzt*, 26-7. The relevant papyrological sources have been conveniently collected by Harrauer in CPR 13, 89-100. The most recent treatment by M. Hirt Raj (*Médecins et malades de l'Egypte romaine. Etude socio-légale de la profession médicale et de ses praticiens du Ier au IVe siècle ap. J.C.* [Studies in Ancient Medicine 32; Leiden: Brill, 2006]) does not add new elements.

> On their military campaigns and their journeys in the country (τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκδημίας) they all receive treatment without the payment of any private fee (οὐδένα μισθὸν ἰδίᾳ διδόντες); for the physicians draw their support from public funds (τὰς μὲν τροφὰς ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ) and administer their treatments in accordance with a written law which was composed in ancient times by many famous physicians.

This piece of information has been often discarded as sheer idealization (founded on the memory of the centralized system of pharaonic times) or valorized as a witness to the existence of a state healthcare system under Ptolemaic rulers. In fact, it is more probable that the maintenance (τὰς τροφάς) granted to physicians on special occasions (arguably, military expeditions and official journeys of state personages) should be understood as the above mentioned ἰατρικόν, which actually was taken from the royal treasure (ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαμβάνουσι) and is clearly distinguished from the fees paid for private treatments (οὐδένα μισθὸν ἰδίᾳ διδόντες).[38] Besides, it must be remarked that ancient physicians might have had at their disposal other sources of income: from a number of papyri we know about doctors who had significant interests in land tenure or cattle breeding.[39]

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[35] The existence of such a contribution (out of Egypt as well) is already witnessed by some inscriptions of early Hellenistic time: P.A. Stimolo, "Lo iatrikon," *Epigraphica* 64 (2002) 17-27.

[36] PHamb 2, 171 (Oxyrhynchus, 246 BCE) contains a receipt issued by the royal bank to the physician Demetrios for the monthly ἰατρικόν: the amount is 80 drachmas that would give a yearly revenue of roughly 1000 drachmas.

[37] A papyrus (PTebt 1, 112, 14. 16. 24. 73. 123 [112 BCE]) from the Arsinoite nome details a series of expenditures on the occasion of an official visit: we find mentioned here three unspecified medical interventions, whose fees range from 10 to 30 drachmas.

Interestingly, even though some physicians might have been relatively wealthy in Hellenistic cities, under the Roman empire their status seems to have been even improved by two important imperial decrees. The first, issued by Vespasian and reiterated by his successors, has already been mentioned above and prescribed that doctors and their descendants for two generations were exempted from liturgies. It is well known how burdensome and expensive these compulsory services were already in the first century CE and how much their weight on cities' inhabitants would increase during the following decades: Vespasian's measure granted to doctors a relevant privilege. Expectedly, as a consequence of these provisions, under the early empire we witness the emergence of voluntary associations of physicians, while the medical profession became more and more a hereditary matter.[40] Of course, there was plenty of space for abuses and the situation required a further intervention of the imperial authority under Antoninus Pius in the 140s: the *Digesta* (27, 1, 6, 2-4) witness that the emperor imposed limits to the number of physicians a city or a town was allowed to hire.[41] A first reason for such a measure was to restrict the number of well-to-do citizens who could avoid the burden of liturgies by virtue of the privilege bestowed on medicine practitioners by Vespasian. On the other hand, Horsley has correctly drawn our attention to an interesting clause in Antoninus' formulation: the emperor states that people who heal through exorcisms and incantations cannot be considered for an appointment.[42] Seemingly, the imperial rule intended to draw a clear line distinguishing the "scientific", Greek healing methods, which can obtain official recognition, from those practices that cannot be included within the boundaries of the dominating Greco-Roman culture.

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[38] See Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 151.

[39] Possession of land in PLond 3, 604, 91 (Krokodilopolis, 47 CE), BGU 8, 1897, 11. 15 (?, 166 CE), and SB 4, 7379, 36 (Arsinoite, 177 CE); a physician who possesses six camels in BGU 3, 921, 9 (?, II CE).

[40] This is probably reflected also in the Hippocratic oath, in which it is stated that physicians will teach medical skills to another practitioner's sons and descendants without charge (see C. Schubert and R. Scholl, "Der hippokratische Eid: Wie viele Verträge und wie viele Eide?" *MHJ* 40 [2005] 253-255).

[41] Modestinus preserved the text of this letter to the cities of Asia: the emperor states that smaller towns will have no more than five doctors exempted (ἀτελεῖς) from civic obligations, while the bigger cities no more than ten.

Leaving this point aside for the moment, I would add that imperial pronouncements in the first two centuries CE tended to transform medical practice into a matter for restricted and selected circles, whose members might earn very good wages and enjoy public favor. We have more information on wages in papyri from Roman times than for the Hellenistic period: see, for instance, the two payments, of 34 and 20 drachmas respectively, for two circumcisions in an account of expenditures (PThmouis 1, 123, 1; 128, 4 [170/1 CE]) or the payment of 20 drachmas for the healing of a foot in a private letter (PStras 1, 73, 19 [?, III CE]). Furthermore, those practitioners who achieved civic recognition became clearly distinguishable from charlatans and quacks, because of their increased responsibility in administrative and judicial affairs. Indeed, from this time on there appears a long series of reports on injuries and wounds due to violent assaults or accidents filed by "proved" (*probati* or δεδοκιμασμένοι) public physicians working on behalf of the imperial and local administration: the earliest extant witness to this bureaucratic employment of doctors dates from 96 CE (POslo 3, 95 [Oxyrhynchus]).

5. Early Christian Practice of Medicine

Beginning with the missionary commission in Q and looking at some apocryphal texts, we have been able to detect a number of early Christian preachers portrayed as Greco-Roman physicians. Among other more widespread types, such as that of the wandering philosopher, this kind of accommodation to the Greco-Roman social structure may have favored the diffusion of the Christian message. Moreover, this peculiar figure will survive well into the fourth century with some examples of bishops and doctors who gave full realization to the ideal mixture of social and pastoral care.[43]

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[42] Horsley (*New Documents*, 12) correctly underscores the creation of a "two class medical system", as it is evident from *Digesta* 50, 13, 1, 3, in which a decree poses medicine among the liberal arts with the exception of those practitioners who promised cure "through incantations, prayers or, to use the common word of these quacks, exorcisms" ("si incantavit, si inprecatus est, si, ut vulgari verbo inpostorum utar, exorcizavit"), even though someone may maintain to have been cured by such remedies.

Notwithstanding its success, Jesus' request that his disciples act as physicians looks somewhat difficult to explain; this sounds all the more true if one considers the many facets of Greco-Roman culture that were openly rejected by the Christians.[44] The above mentioned *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* adopt the image of the ancient doctor to describe the activity demanded to Jesus' missionaries, but, at the very same time, severely condemn those behaviors that provided richness and prestige to the practitioners of medicine. How may this contradiction be historically reconciled?

First of all, it cannot be maintained that the Christian missionary activity had religious character and thus was immediately distinguishable from Greco-Roman medicine, which purportedly applied a "scientific" method. Such a modern dichotomy between religion and science cannot adequately account for the ancient perspective on illness and its healing. Moreover, it would be erroneous to project on ancient documents our ideas on healthcare, since the latter are embedded in an altogether different "broad system of interaction between society and individuals over the meaning of health and the way it is to be maintained, regained, and defined."[45] Our entire conceptual system is radically different and it should not appear as striking that, in the ancient cultural and social environment of a village or a small city, itinerant doctors and wandering preachers of new salvation cults could be confused.

As far as the application of anthropological paradigms to New Testament texts is concerned, the most insightful contributions have come from Pilch's work.[46] Relying on the work of the renowned medical anthropologist Arthur Kleinmann, Pilch proposes to interpret New Testament references to doctors and healing by employing a threefold healthcare system, in which a popular, a folk, and a professional sector interplay. Pilch's reading yields valuable insights on many features of the Jewish and early Christian cultural appreciation of health and illness: in particular, his contributions have correctly emphasized that ancient approaches to illness must be described within a cultural framework, which should be much more nuanced than that of modern biomedicine.[47] Pilch puts Jesus' healing activity, as it is portrayed in the Gospels, into the folk sector, which he depicts as a "non-professional, non-bureaucratic, specialist sector of a healthcare system that often blends into the other two sectors", the professional and the familial-communitarian ones.[48] Interestingly enough, Pilch goes on to describe the figure of Jesus in the *Gospel of Mark* as that of a teacher-as-healer, a folk healer whose presence is relevant in many anthropological surveys. The teaching and the healing roles are often connected because the secret knowledge attributed to a folk doctor enhances the effectiveness of his or her therapeutic methods: in this analytical perspective, a therapy is judged successful as long as it is capable of inscribing the patient's experience of disease into a culturally meaningful context.[49] Nevertheless, in the Christian sources reviewed above, missionaries and folk healers are depicted as consciously appropriating some distinctive features of the contemporary professional sector, that of Greco-Roman medicine: how might we explain this apparently contradictory choice?

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[43] More than a century ago, A. Harnack (*Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte* [TU 8, 4, 2; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1892] 44-47) already indicated this feature as widespread in III and IV century Christian texts by mentioning the cases of Zenobius of Sidon (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, 8, 13), Theodotus of Laodicea (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, 7, 32), Basilius of Ancyra (Jerome, *Vir. Ill.*, 89), and finally the Arian Aetius (Philostorgius, *Hist.*, 3, 15).

[44] In a recent analysis of the Christian documentary material concerning physicians Christian Schulze (*Medizin und Christentum in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter* [STAC 27; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005]) significantly wonders why the Christian rejection of Greco-Roman culture did not comprise medicine.

[45] Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 16.

6. Mimesis and the Practice of Medicine in Colonial Contexts

Helpful comparisons may be drawn from ethnographic observations. During the last few years some researchers have taken into consideration the social practice of medicine in India and in other Asian countries by employing the interpretive category of "mimesis" proposed in some influential studies by the anthropologist Michael Taussig.[50] "Mimesis" should be envisaged as a phenomenon qualitatively different from mere imitation: "mimesis" would consist in appropriating behaviors and discourses coming from an Other and, through this appropriation, "becoming" the Other in a distinctive and often critical way. The concept has been employed mainly in analyzing colonial or post-colonial contexts, in which the cultural discourse of the colonizing powers has extensively been mimicked by the colonized: moreover, in many instances, mimesis entails a deeply critical parody of authoritative discourses and the use of these reversals in order to implement traditional practices that otherwise would have been repressed.[51]

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[46] J.J. Pilch, *Healing in the New Testament: Insights from Medical and Mediterranean Anthropology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000).

[47] Pilch, *Healing*, 19-36.

[48] Pilch, *Healing*, 70.

[49] Pilch's approach is heavily indebted to Kleinman's earlier reading of healthcare systems as interpretive systems: for the more recent attempts to bind subjective experiences and social constructs of suffering, see A. and J. Kleinman, "Suffering and its Professional Transformation: Toward an Ethnography of Interpersonal Experience," *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 15 (1991) 275-301.

As far as the present argument is concerned, the analyses of the Indian cultural context might prove particularly useful, since they draw on the social status and activities of self-taught (or, we might say, folk) physicians. Seemingly, the Indian professional healthcare system is largely unable to cope with the enormous demand of an ever-growing population, while great emphasis has been put by governmental agencies on the medical education of people living in rural villages and on the development of higher hygienic standards. A nebula of self-taught doctors, midwives, or injectionists has carved its own place into this landscape by providing minimal health services to the sick and by taking advantage of the "traditional" Ayurvedic medical discourse to establish its authority. This kind of mimesis serves well the inhabitants of Indian villages by obviating the mixture of awe or distrust (when not outright fear) the villagers usually feel towards the biomedical institutions based in the cities and run by governmental agencies. On the other hand, through its very presence and pretence to efficacy, this "quackery" is able to blur the boundaries between biomedicine and traditional practices, so that it actually undermines the post-colonial discourse founded on upholding modernity and scientific cure. After having described the impressive activity of an Indian pulse reader, Langford comments very aptly:[52]

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[50] M. Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (London: Routledge, 1993).

[51] The applicability of this concept to the study of ancient cultures depends largely on the recognition that eastern Mediterranean regions faced a process of Hellenistic and then Roman colonization during the centuries following Alexander's conquests (see, for Ptolemaic Egypt, R.S. Bagnall, "Decolonizing Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography* [ed. P. Cartledge; Berkeley: University of California, 1997] 225-241). Hence, the comparison with the Indian situation is particularly compelling, since in that case as well an already existing and rich medical tradition has to face the colonizing influence of western biomedical knowledge. Moreover, even though Taussig does not mention this connection, the concept of mimesis is well represented in ancient texts too, as, for instance, in Plato's *Republic*: interestingly enough, the philosopher seems to think that mimesis should be forbidden in his ideal city as a destabilizing element.

> Simulation is integral to medical practice, troubling the binary of truth and falsehood that is a foundation of scientific knowledge... the commodity value of pulse reading as a sign of traditional wisdom and the political value of pulse reading as a precolonial practice not assimilable to European-styled medical training... disturb... the notion of medical authenticity so crucial to biomedicine.

Is it possible to see any point of comparison between this picture and the social practice of early Christian physicians/missionaries? The above mentioned texts referred significantly to medical practices and to a missionary pattern, in which a behavior similar to that of Greco-Roman physicians played a relevant role: this being the case, the hypothesis of mimesis may be introduced. Early Christian missionaries might have chosen such a self-representation, because it could extend its authoritative aura over their preaching activity as well. That choice was not restricted to Christian groups: it suffices to mention Alexander, the pseudo-prophet depicted by Lucian, who starts his career as self-taught itinerant doctor (in paragraph 5 of the homonymous pamphlet, the young Alexander is portrayed as an apprentice of a quack, who is indeed a public physician and a follower of Apollonius of Tyana, and in paragraph 60 a certain Paitos, a doctor, strives to succeed the dead Alexander as priest and prophet of his cult). Such a choice might somehow have been favored by the traditional image of Judean medicine, which sometimes surfaces among Greco-Roman intellectuals: we have abundant information about physicians of Judean origin both in the West and in the East, while many sources refer to Judean healing recipes or to Judean treatments with a respectful attitude.[53]

Nevertheless, the early Christian medical practice followed patterns that we may safely call "traditional" (or folk) and are radically different from

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[52] J.M. Langford, "Medical Mimesis: Healing Signs of a Cosmopolitan 'Quack,'" *American Ethnologist* 26 (1999) 24-46; an equally useful analysis in S. Pinto, "Development without Institutions: Ersatz Medicine and the Politics of Everyday Life in Rural North India," *Cultural Anthropology* 19 (2004) 337-364.

[53] Texts about Judean physicians in antiquity in F. Kudlien, "Jüdische Ärzte im römischen Reich," *MHJ* 20 (1985) 36-57: he mentions also two instances, in which Galen draws on an anonymous Judean source to illustrate some treatments.

Hippocratic and Galenic medicine. The little we know about early Christian healing methods points exactly to those practices (incantations and exorcisms) that were excluded from the privileges granted by Antoninus Pius' decree.[54] The rejection of the socially dominant patron-client relations shows us how this early Christian instance of mimesis implied not only the imitation of a social posture, but also a good deal of cultural critique. It might be argued that this attitude, both critical and imitative at the same time, can concur in explaining the effectiveness of Christian missionary activities on the ancient religious market. At different times during the first centuries CE the patronage system that formed the backbone of civic life experienced moments of crisis. In such circumstances, it is fairly possible that poorer citizens and villagers received less attention from doctors whose institutional positions were more and more linked to the wealthy metropolitan elites:[55] the Christian cure, offered practically for free and mimicking the authoritative discourse of scientific medicine, might have constituted a suitable alternative for those social sectors that were particularly exposed to suffering and death during periods of distress.[56]

7. Conclusion

The Q commission shows some features that equate the Jesus' missionaries to Greco-Roman medical practitioners. Actually, some early Christian texts developed the same imagery, accompanying it with some hints of social critique. The social status of ancient doctors was deeply differentiated, but it is quite clear that, under the early empire, the prestige and the privileges of those who followed in the Hippocratic and Galenic path and had good patronage connections were significantly increased. The early Christian medical mimesis entailed a refusal of the patronage system and, for this reason, it arguably won the Christian mission a part of its success in some sectors of the ancient social structure.

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[54] On the countercultural significance of Jesus' exorcisms, see S. Guijarro, "The Politics of Exorcism: Jesus' Reaction to Negative Labels in the Beelzebul Controversy," *BTB* 29 (1999) 118-129, and "Healing Stories and Medical Anthropology: A Reading of Mark 10:46-52," *BTB* 30 (2000) 102-112.

[55] Distrust toward professional practitioners was a common feeling (it appears in the New Testament as well: for instance, in the account of the woman with the flow of blood in Mark 5:26). The mention of an Ephesian inscription of the I century CE might suffice to sketch a climate: in IEph 1386 a city decree seemingly established the penalty of losing public appointment for those physicians who were found guilty of charging excessive fees to their patients.

[56] The social and cultural effectiveness of Christian healing in the Greco-Roman context has been recently assessed by S.C. Muir, "'Look How They Love One Another': Early Christian and Pagan Care for the Sick and Other Charity," in *Religious Rivalries in the Early Roman Empire and the Rise of Christianity* (ed. L.E. Vaage; Studies in Christianity and Judaism 18; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University, 2006) 213-232.

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Law in Romans

Regulation and Instruction

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Abstract
Paul, in Romans, appears inconsistent in quoting from the Law while declaring believers in Jesus to be discharged from it. This discussion suggests a resolution, first by comparing Paul's use of the term νόμος with his appeals to scripture. After observing Paul's tendency to refer to νόμος as written regulation, not to scripture, the study discusses problem passages to observe Paul using νόμος ambiguously to advance his argument. That sets up Paul's normative appeal to laws in 13:8-10. Paul appears to advocate reading Torah as instructing scripture, while declaring its regulatory force at an end in Christ.

Keywords
Romans; Paul; law; Torah; scripture

1. Introduction

The enigmatic contrasts about law in Paul's letter to the Romans are well known. This paper attempts to elucidate one of those, namely how Paul can say that believers are discharged from the law (7:6) and yet be concerned that they fulfill it (13:10). That will involve a survey of what Paul communicates about law in Romans, beginning with elementary observations both of how the term for law, νόμος, is used and of some of Paul's appeals to writings that can also be signified by the term "law." It will lead to a discussion of several difficult passages in the letter before finally addressing Paul's appeals to the Law in chapters 13 and 14.

I accept for this inquiry the perspective that sees Romans as Paul's attempt to garner an expression of solidarity between himself and believers in Rome for his mission to Spain (15:23-29).[1] Paul knows that he has been

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[1] Robert Jewett, *Romans* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007) 1, 44, 74, 80-91;

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slandered in some circles (3:7-8; 15:30-32). He aims to explain himself clearly, not only to obtain some measure of support, but eventually to benefit believers in Rome. Since he advances a message that appears to minimize aspects of the Law, he needs to show how he does not promote behavioral excesses amongst his gentile converts.[2] Connected to this is the advocacy of harmony or solidarity between all who believe.

In Romans Paul primarily displays two overlapping concepts of law: that which offers written, controlling or authoritative regulations (sometimes referring to a body of laws and sometimes to an individual law) and that which offers written, authoritative instruction.[3] The former establishes grounds of accountability for Israel's covenant with God. The latter informs, both disclosing God's plans and purposes and portraying God-pleasing behavior. Both concepts of law are rooted in the words of the Torah, a segment of the scriptures. In Romans Paul tends to keep his use of the term νόμος separate from his quotations of words from the Torah.[4] A more precise definition of νόμος beyond signifying "Torah" or "Mosaic Law" brings more clarity to a discussion of the letter's issues.[5] That is especially true for those difficult passages in which Paul seems to appeal to a concept of law as a general controlling authoritative standard,[6] a concept

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James C. Miller, *The Obedience of Faith, the Eschatological People of God, and the Purpose of Romans* (SBLDS 177; Atlanta: SBL, 2000) 5-19; A.J.M. Wedderburn, *The Reasons for Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1988); F.F. Bruce, "The Romans Debate—Continued," *The Romans Debate* (rev. and expanded; ed. K.P. Donfried; Peabody, Mass: Hendrikson, 1991) 175-94.

[2] James D. Hester, "The Rhetoric of *Persona* in Romans," *Celebrating Romans* (ed. S.E. McGinn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 95-103.

[3] See *BDAG*, 667-78. Definition #2 of νόμος reflects this first meaning: "constitutional or statutory legal system." Definition #3 reflects the second: "a collection of holy writings precious to God's people." *NIDNTT*, 2.444 does not delineate these two senses as carefully, but does talk about law as scripture, as the "Pentateuch," as "Mosaic law" and as "Decalogue." Michael Winger, *By What Law? The Meaning of Νόμος in the Letters of Paul* (SBLDS 128; Atlanta: Scholars, 1992) 104, defines "Jewish law" as: "Those words given to and possessed by the Jewish people, which guide and control those who accept them and according to which those who accept them are judged."

[4] Pace E.P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1983) 160.

[5] Michael Winger, "Meaning and Law," *JBL* 117 (1998) 105-110.

[6] See *BDAG*, 677, definition #1: "a procedure or practice that has taken hold." Joseph Fitzmyer, *Romans* (AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1993) 131 divides this between a "generic" sense of law and a "figurative or analogous sense, as a 'principle,'" seeing possibilities of both in a few statements in Romans.

to which many object in view of Paul's consistent rootedness to the Torah throughout the letter.[7]

The sense of law as written, authoritative regulation is conveyed through most of the 74 uses of the term νόμος found in Romans,[8] and also both with the term γράμμα,[9] translated by the NRSV as "written code"[10] in 2:27and 7:6, and the term ἐντολή, which clusters in chapter 7 (7:8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13) and reappears in 13:9. While the second sense of law as written, authoritative instruction clearly is implied in some uses of νόμος, it appears most directly in Romans' twenty-three quotations from the Torah, the Law.[11] Instead of being tied to the term νόμος, it is connected to the term γραφή,[12] scripture, and its verbal counterparts γέγραπται,[13] "it is written," and two other tense variations of γράφω ("it was written"—4:23 and "Moses writes"—10:5, both introducing Torah quotes). Of Romans' twenty-four unequivocal appeals to scripture connected to the γραφ- root, seven refer directly to the Torah.[14] That high view of Law as scripture is in total harmony both with Paul's Jewishness and his sense of what he claims God has done new for the world in the gospel. It helps to free him from the charge of promoting illicit behavioral patterns. Though Paul also advances the notion that to some degree, the Torah's authoritative regulations are surpassed by what God has done in the events of the gospel, Torah as scripture always maintains its authority for Paul.

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[7] Note the brief survey in Akio Ito, "ΝΟΜΟΣ (ΤΩΝ) ʼΕΡΓΩΝ and ΝΟΜΟΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ: The Pauline Rhetoric and Theology of ΝΟΜΟΣ," *NovT* 45 (2003) 237-38.

[8] Pace *NIDNTT,* 2.442, which counts only 72. The 74 are: 2:12 (2x); 2:13 (2x); 2:14 (4x); 2:15; 2:17; 2:18; 2:20; 2:23 (2x); 2:25 (2x); 2:26; 2:27 (2x); 3:19 (2x); 3:20 (2x); 3:21 (2x); 3:27 (2x); 3:28; 3:31 (2x); 4:13; 4:14; 4:15 (2x); 4:16; 5:13 (2x); 5:20; 6:14; 6:15; 7:1 (2x); 7:2 (2x); 7:3; 7:4; 7:5; 7:6; 7:7 (3x); 7:8; 7:9; 7:12; 7:14; 7:16; 7:21; 7:22; 7:23 (3x); 7:25 (2x); 8:2 (2x); 8:3; 8:4; 8:7; 9:31 (2x); 10:4; 10:5; 13:8; 13:10.

[9] Rom 2:27, 29; 7:6. Winger, *By What Law*, 41, notes that νόμος and γράμμα appear to have a similar referent, rather than meaning. I consider that referent to be the covenantal aspects of the Mosaic Law. See J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans* (WBC 38; Dallas: Word, 1988) 123-125.

[10] All quotations from scripture are from the NRSV unless indicated otherwise.

[11] Rom 4:3, 22 and 23—Gen 15:6; Rom 4:17 and 18—Gen 17:5; Rom 4:18—Gen 15:5; Rom 7:7—Exod 20:17/Deut 5:21; Rom 9:7—Gen 21:12; Rom 9:9 (2)—Gen 18:10 conflated with 18:14; Rom 9:12—Gen 25:23; Rom 9:15—Exod 33:19; Rom 9:17—Exod 9:16; Rom 10:5—Lev 18:5; Rom 10:6 (2)—Deut 9:4 combined with 30:12; Rom 10:8—Deut 30:14; Rom 10:19—Deut 32:21; Rom 11:8—Deut 29:3; Rom 12:19—Deut 32:35; Rom 13:9 (2)—Deut 5:17-21/Exod 20:13-17 and Lev 19:18; Rom 15:10—Deut 32:43.

[12] 1:2; 4:3; 9:17; 10:11; 11:2; 15:4. Two of those, 4:3 and 9:17, are from the Torah.

[13] 1:17; 2:24; 3:4, 10; 4:17; 8:36; 9:13, 33; 10:15; 11:8, 26; 12:19; 14:11; 15:3, 9, 21. Three of those introduce quotes from the Torah: 4:17; 11:8; and 12:19.

[14] See 4:3, 17, 23; 9:17; 10:5; 11:8; 12:19. Only three of Paul's Torah quotations have no introductory words: 4:18a, 22; and 9:7. Of the remaining thirteen we see: "according to what was said" (4:18); "the law says" (7:7); "the word of promise," merging together two quotes (ἐπαγγελίας ὁ λόγος, 9:9); "she was told" (9:12); "he says to Moses" (9:15); "the righteousness that comes from faith says," merging together two more quotes (10:6); "it says" (10:8); "Moses says" (10:19)—an apparent variant of "Moses writes" in 10:5; "it"

Distinguishing between law as regulation and Law as instructing scripture is not a novel approach.[15] Neither is defining a specific meaning for the term νόμος as it is used in passages in Romans.[16] Starting with the distinction between law as authoritative regulation and Law as instructing scripture, I would like to probe its implications for Paul's regard for law throughout Romans. That would include interacting with passages where the meaning of νόμος does not fall neatly into those two definitions. I hope to demonstrate how Paul shows a basically consistent application of the distinction in Romans, but how that distinction may also provide a glimpse into how he perceives that regulations of the Law can be read as scripture in normative ways. Paul applies that approach informally in chapter 14 in discussing the dissension between the strong and the weak in faith.

In his unusual epistolary greeting, Paul states that he promotes amongst gentiles an obedience "of faith," ὑπακοὴ πίστεως. What is "the obedience of faith?"[17] That is Paul's well-nuanced, introductory point.[18] Consider

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says, or NRSV "he says," (15:10). The sets of laws quoted in 13:9 are tagged as "commandments" and "word." See the detailed discussion of scripture citation formulae and their significance in Romans in Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (London: T & T Clark, 2004) 40-53.

[15] Though assuming Jewish legalism, the seed to such thinking appears in C.A.A. Scott, *Christianity According to St. Paul* (Cambridge: CUP, 1961) 42. Scott distinguishes between "the Law as a *system*" that "had come to an end" and "the *contents* of the Law" that "remained valid for Jews and Christians, though not valid in quite the same sense for both." That is refined by Richard Longenecker, *Paul, Apostle of Liberty* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1964) 144-147, who distinguishes "contractual obligations" from the Law's "standards and judgments." His position is updated by Douglas Moo, "The Law of Moses or the Law of Christ," *Continuity and Discontinuity* (ed. J.S. Feinberg; Westchester, IL: Crossway, 1988) 210-215.

[16] See Winger, *By What Law*, 159-196.

[17] Note the detailed options in Don Garlington, *Faith, Obedience and Perseverance* (WUNT 79; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1994) 10-30. My position resembles Hester, "The Rhetoric of *Persona* in Romans," 89-91.

[18] See Don Garlington, *'The Obedience of Faith': A Pauline Phrase in Historical Context* (WUNT 2/38; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1991).

how the thought would be different if Paul stated that he promoted ὑπακοὴ νόμου.[19] Paul appears to be declaring in one opening shot that his commission from Christ does not result in an uncontrolled way of living, but rather involves a form of obedience consistent with God and his activities. It is an obedience that flows naturally out of the good news to which Paul has been commissioned. That news concerning the descendent of David, Jesus, whose resurrection declares his sonship of God, has been anticipated in the scriptures, says Paul (1:2). As part of that news, gentiles are included in the role of obeying God. Paul indicates that that obedience flows from faith.[20] What role does law play in delineating that obedience?

2. The Basic Point

The term νόμος occurs 74 times in Romans. Most of those uses—perhaps as many as 63[21]—do fit clearly within the notion of the Torah, the Mosaic Law, as containing written, authoritative regulations. Consider the following as cross-sectional examples:

> 2:12, the first use of νόμος—"... all who have sinned under the law [as a body of written, authoritative regulations] will be judged by the law [as a body of written, authoritative regulations]."
>
> 3:20—"For 'no human being will be justified in his sight' by deeds prescribed by the law['s body of written, authoritative regulations]."
>
> 4:14-15—"If it is the adherents of the law['s body of written, authoritative regulations] who are to be the heirs, faith is null and the promise is void. For the law [with its written, authoritative regulations] brings wrath, but where there is no law [written, authoritative regulation] neither is there violation."[22]

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[19] For Second Temple Jewish possibilities, note *TJud* 13:1, in Greek: ὑπακούειν ἐντολῆς κυρίου θεοῦ.

[20] See Dunn, *Romans*, 17-18, pace C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1975-80) 1.66.

[21] That number reflects where the debate seems to be most intense. Do the uses of νόμος in 2:14, 3:27 (2x), 7:21, 7:23 (2x), 7:25 and 8:2 (2x) refer to law as Torah's regulations or to something else? The remaining two potential non-regulation uses appear close together, in 3:19 and 21.

[22] Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 131, 385, regards this latter use as a "generic" reference to law.

> 5:13—"sin was indeed in the world before the [body of authoritative written regulations of the] law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law [authoritative written regulation]."
>
> 7:1—"For do you not know, brothers and sisters—for I am speaking to those who know the law['s body of written, authoritative regulations]—that the law['s body of written, authoritative regulations are] is binding on a person only during that person's lifetime?"[23]
>
> 8:3-4—"For God has done what the law['s body of written, authoritative regulations], weakened by the flesh, could not do: by sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and to deal with sin, he condemned sin in the flesh, so that the just requirement of the law['s body of written, authoritative regulations] might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit."
>
> 10:4—"For Christ is the end [goal?] of the law['s body of written, authoritative regulations] so that there may be righteousness for everyone who believes."

Associating the expressions "body of written, authoritative regulation" or "written, authoritative regulation" with most of the uses of the word "law" would offer similar clarity. Though those regulations are written as part of scripture, Paul for the most part tends to keep his actual uses of the term νόμος as regulation separate from his references to scripture. There are places where the two senses obviously overlap. For example, when in 2:18 Paul addresses Jews who claim to know God's will because they "are instructed in the law," he is clearly referring to regulations that are part of the scriptures that instruct. The same thought emerges two verses later when he addresses the law as "the embodiment of knowledge and truth" (2:20). But in the immediate context of both statements he is dealing quite specifically with violations of regulations: theft, adultery, idolatry. Likewise, in 3:19 and 3:20 there is a similar running together of meaning when Paul writes, "Now we know that whatever the law says..." and "through the law comes the knowledge of sin" where again he is drawing on the informing quality of the Law while addressing its covenantal regulations,[24] referring to people being under the law" (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ) and to "deeds prescribed by law" (ἐξ ἔργων νόμου). Only in one place, 3:21, does Paul unequivocally use the word νόμος as part of the standard hendiadys for scripture: "But now, apart from law [the body of written, authoritative regulations], the righteousness of God has been disclosed, and is attested by the law and the prophets...." And though elsewhere, Paul refers to what "the law had... said" (ὁ νόμος ἔλεγεν, 7:7), quoting the command against coveting, he does so focusing on the regulation itself, not on its authority from being in the scriptures.

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[23] Again, Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 131, 456-57, regards this as a "generic" reference to law.

[24] Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 57-58, usefully explains how the term νόμος here reflects Torah's basis for indicting the activity described in other parts of scripture, rather than referring to scripture itself.

When Paul quotes from the part of the scriptures known as the Law, he identifies what he quotes as scripture, not as law. He uses the formula "it is written" (4:17, 23; 11:18; 12:19), though twice he writes "scripture says" (4:3, 9:17) and once, "Moses writes" (10:5). Eleven times he quotes from the Torah with no introductory formula, and in three other cases uses variants: "word of promise" (9:9), "Moses says" (10:19), "it/he says" (15:10). In only three of the twenty-three citations from the Torah does Paul ever quote specific commands or regulations: Romans 7:7, noted above, and Romans 13:9 (with two sets of laws), which will be examined later. The word νόμος also appears in those contexts, though only in 7:7 might one be able to make a case that it be correlated with γραφή since it is used the same way as γραφή in 4:3 and 9:17. With these three exceptions noted (7:7 and twice in13:9), the rest of Paul's citations from the Torah come from narrative or didactic settings, not from regulations. Paul's usage does tend to distinguish νόμος as regulation from Law as informing scripture.

3. Difficulties

Not every usage fits the concrete, distinct definition of law as regulation. In at least nine different statements (2:14, 3:27 (2x), 7:21, 7:23 (2x), 7:25 and 8:2 (2x)), appearing at significant moments in three different passages, Paul appears to broaden his use of the term νόμος. In each of those passages, Paul's use of νόμος creates ambiguity that helps to advance his overall message by calling into question certain ideological assumptions. Paul then follows the ambiguity with clarifying explanations that help to advance his central points. Those three passages, along with a fourth, will be explored in a bit more detail to discuss ideology behind Paul's rhetoric with relation to νόμος as regulation.

(a) 2:14

One of those uses, 2:14, follows the above quoted statement in 2:12, where Paul refers to people sinning under the law as a body of regulations being judged by that body of regulations. Paul's comments are puzzling when he says:

> When Gentiles, who do not possess the law [the body of written, authoritative regulations] do instinctively what the law [the body of written, authoritative regulations] requires, these, though not having the law [the body of written, authoritative regulations] are a law [νόμος] to themselves (2:14).

This last use of "law" appears to refer to something other than the body of written, authoritative regulations found in the Torah, even though it does point to some sort of controlling authority.[25] This is the first of Romans' thought-provoking ambiguities with the use of the word νόμος. The statement that follows in 2:15 does help clarify the expression "they are a law to themselves" by referring to "what the law requires" (τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου, the work of the written body of regulations) as being "written on their hearts." What is the work of the law written on gentiles' hearts? That appears to reflect the words of the "New Covenant" in Jer 38:33 (LXX, MT 31:33) about νόμος being written on the heart by God.[26] Quite possibly, we have here a reference to gentile converts living under the New Covenant, a point that appears to be reiterated in 2:26-29 in reference to uncircumcised gentiles who keep the δικαιώματα of the "law," the "written requirements" of the body of authoritative regulations. When the uncircumcised keep the basic standards of the written regulations, what the use of νόμος in 2:27 appears also to reference, they reflect the same circumcised heart that Israel under its covenant is also to display, as the echoes to Deut 30:6 in Rom 2:29 would indicate.[27] The "law to themselves" of 2:14 would appear to refer to controlling factors that are in line with the Torah's regulations, but not precisely the Torah's regulations.

This statement in 2:14 appears to set up Paul's discussion of gentile inclusion in the work of Christ later on in the letter.[28] Those gentiles who do the Law's δικαιώματα without themselves being subject to its written regulations would be amongst those eventually described as under the influence of God's Spirit.[29] That would coordinate with Paul establishing the notion of God's impartiality as judge (2:16), building to the equal participation of Jew and Greek beneath the power of sin (3:9) as a foundation to his case in chapter 7 that the Law's body of authoritative regulations do not keep people from succumbing to sin's power.[30]

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[25] Note discussions in Fitzmyer, *Romans* 131, 310, and Dunn, *Romans*, 99.

[26] J.D.G. Dunn, "'The Law of Faith,' 'the Law of the Spirit' and 'the Law of Christ,'" *Theology and Ethics in Paul and His Interpreters* (ed. E.H. Lovering, Jr. and J.L. Sumney; Nashville: Abingdon, 1996) 70.

[27] Frank Thielman, *Paul and the Law* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1994) 173-174.

[28] N.T. Wright, "The Law in Romans 2," *Paul and the Mosaic Law* (ed. J.D.G. Dunn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001) 143-148; Ito, "ΝΟΜΟΣ (ΤΩΝ) 'ΕΡΓΩΝ," 250-251; Jewett, *Romans*, 212-224; Klyne Snodgrass, "Gospel in Romans: A Theology of Revelation," *Gospel*

(b) 3:27-31

The next two unusual, often discussed uses of νόμος appear twice in 3:27. There Paul contrasts a law "of works" with a "law of faith," introduced by speculation of what sort of "law" excludes boasting. In asking "what sort of law," Paul is clearly querying about what can be found in the body of written, authoritative regulations. The law "of works" certainly connects to those written, controlling regulations, as indicated by the statement that follows in 3:28 that one is "justified by faith apart from works prescribed by the law." However, it is difficult to see any specific regulation in view in the "law of faith." Paul might be appealing to a sense of νόμος as a general controlling authority, a disputable point.[31] He may instead be setting the stage rhetorically for his presentation of what the Law as scripture points out about righteousness coming from faith in the story of Abraham.[32] Through an ambiguous use of the word for "law" in 3:27, he prepares his readers to consider that the scriptures in the Torah portray much more than regulations. The regulations, and an emphasis on performing them, can be exclusionary (3:29). To root righteousness in the obedience of Torah's regulations, *all* of which express the covenantal obligations to

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in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard Longenecker (ed. L.A. Jervis and P. Richardson; Sheffield: SAP, 1994) 304-306.

[29] The contrast in 2:29 between circumcision of the heart ἐν πνεύματι rather than γράμματι may connect with the contrast in 7:6 between καινότητι πνεύματος and παλαιότητι γράμματος. See Dunn, *Romans*, 123-25; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 323.

[30] Note the description of Paul's picture of the "law as a failed project" in 3:10-20 in Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 67-71.

[31] See, e.g., Andrew Das, *Paul, the Law and the Covenant* (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 2001) 192-200; K. Snodgrass, "Spheres of Influence: A Possible Solution to the Problem of Paul and the Law," *JSNT* 32 (1988) 100-103.

[32] Ito, "ΝΟΜΟΣ (ΤΩΝ) ᾿ΕΡΓΩΝ," 239-241 and 247-249. He notes how ambiguity with the word νόμος would most likely be heard at the first reading of the letter, with further reflection leading to more specific delineation.

which the people of Israel have committed themselves,[33] would be to make God the god of Jews only, and not of gentiles (3:29-30). The life of Abraham as portrayed in Genesis shows that God can justify both the uncircumcised and the circumcised, but does so based on their faith, not on their adherence to any regulation.

Quoting from the Torah, Paul reminds his readers of what "scripture says" (4:3) about Abraham, portraying him as the recipient of an agreement in which he was to be "the father of many nations" (4:16, quoting Gen 17:5). Thus when in 3:27, Paul refers to a "law of faith" that excludes boasting, and in 3:31 he claims that faith for both Jew and gentile upholds the law, he is setting up his explanation of how the body of written regulations that is being upheld and not overthrown (3:31) is itself part of a broader restoring program involving all people, not just Jews. Paul implies that God's plan to establish righteousness in the world begins, not with the regulations of Sinai but the promise to Abraham. The "law of faith" precedes the law "of works." The law "of works" is controlled by the "law of faith." Abraham, after all, was considered righteous by believing the promise in Genesis 15, not by the act of circumcision in Genesis 17. He received circumcision as a "sign," (the term in Gen 17:11 and Rom 4:11) to seal the righteousness obtained by his earlier faith as an uncircumcised man (4:11, referring also to the "righteousness" of Gen 15:6). As Paul recounts, Abraham showed his strong faith (4:20) that he would become "the father of many nations" (Gen 17:5) after having already been regarded righteous by his faith (Gen 15:6) that his descendents would be as numberless as the stars (Gen 15:5).[34]

Throughout chapter 4, Paul quotes from the Torah as scripture (4:3) to establish that point. He ends his argument saying, "Now the words, 'it was reckoned to him,' were written not for his sake alone, but for ours also. It will be reckoned to us who believe in him who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead, who was handed over to death for our trespasses and was raised for our justification" (4:23-25). The scriptures, of which the Law is a part, are meant to instruct Paul and his audience, who both believe in Christ. Just as he has shown in chapters 1-3 that both Jew and Greek face the

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33) Dunn, "The New Perspective: Whence, What and Whither?," *The New Perspective on Paul* (WUNT 185; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 22-26.

34) See the detailed discussion of Abraham as Jewish and gentile exemplar of faith in Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*," 209-219.

impartiality of God's wrath, he now has shown how both Jew and Greek benefit by having the same kind of faith as Abraham, the father of the people to whom the written, authoritative regulations were eventually given. The expression "law of faith" is a thought-provoking ambiguous statement that leads to Paul's portrayal of what establishes a foundation for the written body of regulations. It does not point to any specific regulation itself. Neither does it signal a shift in the definition of the term νόμος in 3:27 from regulation to a segment of the scriptures, the Torah.[35]

(c) 7:21-8:2

Five different statements, clustered toward the end of chapter 7 and the beginning of chapter 8, do use the term νόμος in a way that *seems* to alternate between a sense of written regulation, and a sense of some other overriding, controlling entity. In 7:21 Paul states, "So, I find it to be a law that when I want to do what is good, evil lies close at hand." Paul does not indicate a specific written regulation with his reference to "law" in 7:21. No regulation says what Paul says in 7:21. In 7:22-23 he attributes that circumstance of 7:21 to a ἕτερος νόμος when he says "For I delight in the law of God [the body of written, authoritative regulations] in my inmost self, but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind, making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members." Is that "other law" another principle outside of the written regulations?[36] Is it the written regulations as applied in the sphere of sin (7:23), to be contrasted with how the law works in the sphere of the mind?[37] Are the expressions the "other law," the "law of my mind" and "the law of sin" all metaphors?[38] The uses of νόμος in 7:21 and 7:23 are jarringly ambiguous.

Paul appears to shift the goalposts, not to obscure, but to reinforce a point he has been making earlier in chapters 5 and 6, that the world is dominated by a significant overriding power, sin, which cannot be overcome by any sort of regulation, written or otherwise, that seeks to hinder the urges of the flesh. That is because sin working in the flesh can overcome any form of mental willpower. Thus sin imposes another form of regulatory control, a ἕτερος νόμος, probably also equivalent to "the law of sin" (7:23, 25, 8:2) that governs the flesh and stands in the way of the holy, righteous and good law of God (7:8), a reference to the body of regulations.[39]

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[35] Modifying Richard Hays, "Three Dramatic Roles: The Law in Romans 3-4," *Paul and the Mosaic Law* (ed. J.D.G. Dunn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001) 153-155.

[36] See, e.g., Jewett, *Romans*, 469-471.

[37] Snodgrass, "Spheres of Influence," 105-107; Dunn, "The Law of Faith," 69-75.

[38] Winger, *By What Law*, 160: "It is precisely the multiplicity of these νόμοι, and their internecine warfare, which account for Paul's miserable (ταλαίπωρος [7:24]) condition. Paul's expressions are metaphorical, to be sure, and the metaphors are not fixed... the metaphors make a point about the nature of νόμος, and about the limitations of Jewish νόμος."

Here it may be helpful to recognize that Romans is filled with the language of political discourse.[40] Terms such as "righteousness" or "justification" [both δικαιοσύνη] and "law" [νόμος], along with a variety of related terms (just, justice, justify, right, righteous, unrighteous, unrighteousness, injustice, obey, obedience, disobedience, good, bad, evil, lawless, sin, transgression, trespass) that abound in Romans are at home in the world of Greco-Roman politics. The context of the section under discussion is sprinkled with other significant terminology such as βασιλεύω (5:14, 17, 21; 6:12) and κυριεύω (6:9, 14; 7:1). Paul appears to be discussing the entity that actually rules the world apart from Christ.[41] It is sin, he claims. He has shown in chapters 1-3 that all, whether Jew or gentile, are under sin's power (3:9). Sin shows no partiality. Belonging to the people of Israel is not a way to overcome such power. In chapter 7 he points out that sin is so powerful that it can take words that themselves are holy, righteous and good, the regulating words of the Law itself, and make people sin even more.

Paul demonstrates the point in a way that reaches even beyond the words of the Torah's regulations, to engage the wider moral philosophical world of Greco-Roman thought.[42] His chief illustration comes from the tenth commandment, "you shall not covet." The rendering of that command in Greek enables Paul to play both sides of the Jew-gentile fence, enhancing the atmosphere of gentile inclusion that persists throughout the letter. The words in Greek, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, also evoke one of the chief vices of the Greco-Roman world—passion, ἐπιθυμία.[43] This is not to say that the written regulations of Torah are suddenly not being referred to with some of his uses of νόμος here. It is merely to point out that what Paul says here has immediate relevance for those who know Torah's written regulations (7:1), while serving as an example for those who understand the rhetoric of the inner conflicts of the mind.[44] Jew and Greek are equally susceptible to the controlling passions of the flesh under the power of sin. Whether appealing to the specific regulations of Torah, the source of Paul's illustration, or to any device designed to promote control and order, even self-control the supposed antidote to passion, one is helpless in the face of the power of sin.

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[39] See Jewett, *Romans*, 469-471.

[40] See, e.g., Bruno Blumenfeld, *The Political Paul* (JSNTSup 210; London: SAP, 2001) 302-414.

[41] E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1977) 497-500.

[42] Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2000) 239-246, discusses, the Aristotelian concept of "weakness of the will" expressed in Pauline language. Similar regard for Greco-Roman moral-philosophical and moral psychological issues in this passage appears in Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and*

The issue that Paul has been developing in earnest since chapter 5:12 is that there has been a change of citizenship for those who believe in Jesus. Believers belong to a different order, one headed by Christ to whom they belong by virtue of his death and resurrection. In that order, grace rules. In that order, righteousness is in charge. In that order, the Spirit of God enlivens its citizens to overcome sin and death.

The law, as a body of authoritative regulations, belongs to the old order. It is ineffective in enabling people to overcome the power of sin. Since people in that order naturally succumb to the power of sin, thus violating specific regulations in the Law, people receive two chief outcomes from the regulations of that Law: knowledge of sin (3:20, 7:13), and condemnation (7:9-11; 14-24). The first outcome emerges from an awareness of Law as instructing scripture. The regulations do also inform, a point important to recognize for the discussion of 13:8-10.

By contrast, the death and resurrection of Jesus, claims Paul, have set believers free from the power of sin. Those who believe in Jesus have been baptized into his death (6:2-7). They are free now to live in newness of life

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Gentiles (New Haven: Yale, 1994) 258-284, and Emma Wasserman, "The Death of the Soul in Romans 7: Sin, Death, and the Law in Light of Hellenistic Moral Psychology" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2005).

[43] The term ἐπιθυμία appears throughout the letter: 1:26; 6:12; 7:7, 8; 13:14. Paul's exhortation in 13:14 may be a paraenetic recapitulation of his argument in chapters 7 and 8. See Dunn, *Romans*, 791; Jewett, *Romans*, 828. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 278-280, notes that Paul's appeal to ἐπιθυμία resembles the tradition of the refutation of Stoic views that knowledge can help overcome inner struggles.

[44] Winger, *By What Law*, 166-167, suggests the clustering of the term ἐντολή in 7:8-13 de-emphasizes the Jewish connotations of the term νόμος.

(6:4). They are not under law as a regulating authority, but under grace, the product of God's active interventions on their behalf (6:14).[45] Those who see themselves as under the Law's body of regulations should recognize that they have actually died to them (7:1-6). They are discharged from the governing code of the Law's body of written regulation (7:6), its γράμμα, free now to live in the new life of the Spirit (7:6).

Paul *may* be referring to regulations when he speaks of the νόμος of the Spirit in 8:2, but I find that a less likely possibility in view of the point that he has just made that no regulation works to overcome the conflict of the mind. Such triumph comes only through Christ (7:25). Paul's point is that sin causes the regulations to divide the person. Saying that the regulations as ministered or superintended by the Spirit are what Paul is referring to is dissatisfying. Defenders of that point declare that Torah is in view, but do not identify how the Spirit uses regulations from the Torah to help overcome the influences of sin and death.[46] The phrase "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" seems to be a rhetorically effective way for Paul to set the stage for his discussion of the Spirit. The phrase uses νόμος ambiguously, yet with a scripture-based connection, not specifically to the regulations of Torah, but to the "new life of the Spirit" (7:6), i.e. the New Covenant to which he has already alluded in his use of νόμος in 2:14-15. Though it may be unusual for a Jewish writer to portray the law referred to in Jeremiah 31 as different from the written regulations of the Torah,[47] Paul sidesteps such a difficulty by appealing ultimately, not to Torah's body of regulations, but its δικαίωμα, its "righteous requirement"[48] being "fulfilled" because of what has happened to those who have come to be "in Christ Jesus." The "law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" sounds like a new kind of law that promotes the standards of Torah's regulations, but in a successful way.

Paul's point is that in the death and resurrection of Jesus, God has done what the Law's body of written regulations could not do. He has passed sentence on that which has hindered his people's escaping the condemnation of law-violation, the power of sin itself. Not the specific regulations of the Law, but the core of right living promoted by its regulations is enacted by those who live by God's Spirit instead of by sin-dominated flesh (8:1-4). This will be important to recognize when addressing Paul's conclusions in 13:8-10.

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[45] Dunn, *Romans*, 351.

[46] Note Snodgrass, "Spheres of Influence," 105-107; Dunn, *Romans*, 416-418.

[47] Dunn, "The Law of Faith," 70.

[48] Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 1.384: "The use of the singular is significant. It brings out the fact that the law's requirements are essentially a unity, the plurality of commandments being not a confused and confusing conglomeration but a recognizable and intelligible whole."

(d) 9:30-10:4

Before addressing 13:8-10 it is important to see how Paul finalizes his point about the inadequacy of the written regulations at the end of chapter 9 and the beginning of chapter 10. This does not involve any controversial understanding of the term νόμος, but it does make some provocative points about the regulations of the Law, recalling statements Paul had made earlier in the letter. In 9:30 he picks up the thread that he had introduced in 1:16-17, how the "gospel" reveals "the righteousness of God." It is a thread he had continued in 3:21 when he said that "the righteousness of God" has been disclosed "apart from law." He goes on to explain in 3:21-23 how God's putting forward of Jesus as a "sacrifice of atonement" offers a fresh disclosure of that righteousness. That is the point to which he returns at the end of chapter 9 in explaining the rejection of his Jewish contemporaries of the acts of Jesus:

> What then are we to say? Gentiles, who did not strive for righteousness, have attained it, that is, righteousness through faith; but Israel, who did strive for the righteousness that is based on the law, did not succeed in fulfilling that law. Why not? Because they did not strive for it on the basis of faith, but as if it were based on works. They have stumbled over the stumbling stone, as it is written, "See, I am laying in Zion a stone that will make people stumble, a rock that will make them fall, and whoever believes in him will not be put to shame" (9:30-33).

If, in Paul's thought, God's righteousness has most recently been expressed through the death and resurrection of Jesus, then any rejection of the crucified resurrected one would be tantamount to a rejection of God's righteousness, resulting in a reinvention of what God's righteousness is. To deny that God has worked in Jesus would be to base righteousness solely on covenantal obligations portrayed in the Law's body of regulations.[49] That is the contextual setting for Paul's comments in 10:1-4, where he claims that Jews who seek to establish their righteousness based on adherence to Torah's regulations are not in submission to God's righteousness in Christ. Paul here does not make the point that the Torah's individual laws are problematic in themselves, but that they have been outmoded by what God has done in Christ, who is proclaimed as "the end of the law for those who believe." Dependence on righteousness as stemming only from keeping regulations (10:5), then, would place one under an obligation that is apart from Christ, linked to an out-of-date system that elsewhere Paul has portrayed as exclusionary (3:29) and ineffectual (chapters 2 and 7). In this context, it is ultimately out of touch with what God has done in Christ, who has inaugurated a new order that has brought the regulatory system to an end.[50]

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[49] Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 482, 491, 550-552. See also his clarification in *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*, 154-160.

4. A Regulation that Instructs

Paul's final uses of the word νόμος in Romans occur in 13:8 and 10. Various commentators have noted how Romans 13:8 with its regard for the Torah's regulations being "fulfilled" echoes the thought of 8:4, where the just requirement expressed in Torah's regulations is "fulfilled" in those who live by the Spirit.[51] As Paul, in 13:8, revisits the idea of the Law as a body of regulations being "fulfilled" he lists behavioral details. He quotes four laws from the Decalogue as commands, ἐντολαί. He says that the one who loves fulfills those regulations, and any other regulation. How? He quotes another law, not as a regulating statement, but as an instructive one, a λόγος that sums up any other ἐντολή, disclosing to him love as a core, ongoing responsibility within the ways of God.[52] Paul declares that the one who heeds the instruction of Lev 19:18 will do what the entire body of regulations is promoting. Each regulation that he cites portrays a wrong enacted against another: murder, adultery, theft and coveting. When one loves, putting a higher regard for the wellbeing of others ahead of one's own, one will not be involved in such activities. The Law as scripture may instruct about specific activities that wrong others. But as long as one aims to place the wellbeing of others ahead of one's own, one will be doing what the written regulations basically advance. One's behavior will be consistent with the δικαίωμα of the Law, fulfilling its regulations.[53] In this use of laws from the Torah, Paul is demonstrating how the Torah's body of regulations remains valid as an instructive, informing authority. When regulations can be incorporated into a sense of love, they can be behaviorally instructive.

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[50] See Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 329-341, especially 332-333; pace Jewett, *Romans*, 619, 622, as one of the more recent advocates of translating τέλος as "goal" instead of "end." R. Badenas, *Christ the End of the Law* (JSNTSup 10; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985) 38-80, offers compelling evidence to question the meaning of τέλος as "end," but his explanation of the context of Rom 10:4 (113-114) relies on νόμος suddenly referring to the Torah as scripture, rather than to a body of regulations. The uses in 9:31 and 10:5 appear to have a body of regulations in view. For τέλος as referring to a cessation of a program that moves on to another, see Dunn, *Romans*, 589-590; *BDAG*, 998; *NIDNTT*, 2.59-62.

[51] Dunn, *Romans*, 775 and 777; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 677 and 679. Dunn, 775, also points out that the concern for "love" recalls points in 5:5, 8:28 and 12:9, while the concern for "fulfillment" recalls points in 8:4 as well as 1:5, 3:31, 9:31-32 and 10:6-8.

That may be one key to Paul's comparatively easy dismissal of food and holiday regulations in chapter 14. Those laws do not advance an agenda of love.[54] They are not important to people who realize that they have been discharged from the law as a regulating authority through the death and resurrection of Jesus (6:14-15; 7:1-6; 10:4). Only when in the exercise of freedom one believer offends another should one refrain from inherently non-injurious behaviors that are prohibited by specific regulations. Why? Because in so causing offense, and thus causing another believer to stumble, one is not acting in love (14:15). Instead, one would be doing wrong to a neighbor (13:10). Love becomes a core behavioral principle.[55] In the obedience of faith that Paul promotes amongst the gentiles, he urges believers in Jesus to love others. When believers do that, they live up to the Law's regulatory requirement. As one learns love from commandments and regulations one may enact it in the new life of the Spirit.

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[52] The shift from ἐντολή to λόγος may be a stylistic variant. Dunn, *Romans*, 778, connects it to the "word of divine revelation" mentioned in Rom 9:6, 9 and 28, also noting that the 10 commandments are the 10 "words" in Exod 34:38 and Deut 10:4. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 679, restricts ἐντολή here to the Decalogue.

[53] Richard Hays, "The Role of Scripture in Paul's Ethics," *Theology and Ethics in Paul and His Interpreters* (ed. E.H. Lovering, Jr. and J.L. Sumney; Nashville: Abingdon, 1996) 36-37, links 2:26 and 8:4 with their uses of δικαίωμα, noting how the former context appeals to a fulfillment of Deut 30:6 while the latter appears to echo that fulfillment in language relating to the activities of Christ. That would provide rhetorical grounding for what Paul says in 13:10.

[54] Additional "scripture" based issues may be at play here. Note Wolfgang Schrage, *The Ethics of the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1988) 201-203.

[55] See Dunn, *Romans*, 816 and 820.

Where did Paul acquire his principle of love? From a law found in the Torah, from the body of regulations that as part of the scriptures always remains authoritative *instruction* from which believers in Jesus must continue to learn.[56] When Paul urges those who are strong in faith to put up with the failings of the weak (15:1), pleasing their "neighbor" ahead of themselves (15:2, recalling 13:9-10),[57] he does so based first on the warrant offered by the exemplar of Christ. In suffering for the sins of others, putting up with their failings and bearing insults, Christ provides a behavioral model.[58] That model appears in the gospel, the declaration of the death and resurrection of Jesus that earlier in the letter Paul has announced has discharged law-followers from the "written code of the law" to place them into the "new life of the Spirit" (7:6). But Paul reasons further in 15:3. He supports the warrant of the model of Christ with another warrant, the scriptures: "For it is written," says Paul, "the abuses with which you have been abused have fallen upon me." Paul then articulates a point that he has been enacting throughout the contents of the letter: "For whatever was written beforehand was written for our instruction, so that through the steadfastness and encouragement of the scriptures we may have hope" (15:4).[59] Paul reminds his readers that all of the scriptures, of which the regulations of the Law are a part, exist for instruction, both to promote endurance within the present incompleteness of God's program and to encourage believers to live appropriately in the meantime.

This does not indicate a detailed, worked out system using law regulations as informing instruction. Paul shows a consistent reluctance even to appear to construct a gospel-based set of regulations. But one can discern that for Paul a basic sense of right and wrong emerges from what the regulations communicate, not as regulatory laws within Israel's covenant with

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(56) Hays, "The Role of Scripture in Paul's Ethics," 35-36: "The hermeneutical reconfiguration of the law is achieved not through appeal to the teaching of Jesus or to some other normative consideration but through a rereading of Scripture itself."

(57) Dunn, *Roman*, 837-838.

(58) Jewett, *Romans*, 878-880, shows how the instruction here fits within Paul's basic exhortation to love.

(59) Hays, "The Role of Scripture in Paul's Ethics," 30, regards παράκλησις in 15:4 as moral exhortation. Dunn, *Romans*, 839-840, thinks the context points to general encouragement that gives rise to hope.

God, but as instructing, informing scripture.[60] That is discernable from comments earlier in the letter (e.g. 2:18, 20; 3:20; 7:7). The point is even stronger in 13:9-10, where individual regulations offer specific declarations about "wrong" that can be done to a neighbor. In this same passage, Paul sees another statement from the body of written regulations, the declaration about love of neighbor that instructs positively what one can do in order to avoid the wrongs against others detailed in any law, pointing even to the avoidance of wrongs not specified by a law.

5. Conclusions

In Romans Paul tends to keep his quotations from the Torah separate from his use of the word for law, νόμος. Most often Paul connects the term νόμος to the body of authoritative, controlling regulations found in the Torah. When the term does not clearly denote law as authoritative regulation, its lack of clarity appears in contexts where Paul, in view of the activities of God in Christ, probes shortcomings of the Law's regulations and the covenant to which they belong. Only once (3:21) does Paul use the word νόμος exclusively in reference to a segment of the scriptures.

Paul, as a Jew, maintains a consistently high regard for the Law as scripture. He shows respect for what individual laws of the Torah communicate. But he is convinced of the life-changing dimensions of the gospel, the power of God for salvation for all who believe, whether Jew or Greek. God's recent activities in Christ, claims Paul, have signaled a further advancement in the divine program. In light of that advancement, he recognizes how the regulations of the Law disclose God-displeasing behavior amongst *both* Jews and non-Jews. Additionally in light of that advancement he notes how insistence on pursuing regulations tied to the covenant between God and Israel alienates non-Jews, in defiance of what God has done in Jesus. He also recognizes how those regulations appear ineffective in themselves as words to break the power of sin in people's lives. Those regulations have been brought to a fulfilled end in Christ, crucified and raised from the dead, breaking the power of sin. What matters is that those who belong to God do what the Law's regulations basically aim at, love. That happens to believers in Jesus who live by the Spirit. One can read the

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[60] Schrage, *The Ethics of the New Testament*, 205: "Nevertheless, the words of the Old Testament as quoted have lost their absolute and binding authority. They obviously cannot be the final court of appeal for Christians."

Law as scripture to be informed of God and his ways. But one must connect with God first and foremost on the basis of the crucified, resurrected Jesus and so participate in the new way of the Spirit, a way that brings life, instead of condemnation for violating specific standards.

As Paul reads the Torah in view of God's work in Christ, he regards love of neighbor as a chief principle by which other regulations should be understood. Rather than dwelling on the upholding of specific regulations, believers should aim to treat others properly. That appears to be missing in the practice of some believers in Rome. If the "saints" in Rome are to stand in solidarity with one who advocates "the obedience of faith," they must stand in solidarity with one another. To do that, they must reflect a standard that is important to God as expressed in the scriptures, the standard of love. Paul derives that standard in view of the activities of God in Christ, not from the pursuit of a specific regulation, but from a sense of what he considers many of the regulations to be promoting. He learns that standard, not from adhering to regulations, but from considering what they instruct. The scriptures, for Paul, remain important in informing the faith and life of those who believe in God through Jesus.

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Wiederentstehung und Erneuerung (Tit 3:5)

Zu einem erhaltenswerten Aspekt der Soteriologie des Titusbriefs

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Abstract
The soteriological metaphor in Tit 3:5 διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως seems to be a combination of Pauline and pagan language. The Pauline neologism ἀνακαίνωσις describes the individual salvation in the context of the new creation as a universal process, and seems to serve as an explanation of the preceding term παλιγγενεσία. The author of Titus uses the expression παλιγγενεσία, which is probably influenced by the reception of Stoic terminology by Philo, to describe not only the salvation of the individual person, but also of all believers in a universal sense. As the Stoic term παλιγγενεσία is used for the cosmic renewal of the world, this connotation has to be remembered even in Titus. Consequently παλιγγενεσία has to be translated rather with "regeneration" than with "rebirth".

Keywords
regeneration/rebirth/παλιγγενεσία; renewal/ἀνακαίνωσις; pastoral letters; baptism; mystery-cults; cosmology; soteriology

Den Höhepunkt des Titusbriefs bildet ein bekenntnisartiger Text (3:3-7), der an die für die Christen entscheidende Rettungstat Gottes erinnert, deren Summe in 3:5 mit folgenden Worten gezogen wird: ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου. Die entscheidende Heilswende wird mit der Metapher παλιγγενεσία καὶ ἀνακαίνωσις, herkömmlicherweise übersetzt mit „Wiedergeburt und Erneuerung", signifikant beschrieben.

Die frühen Christen haben die unterschiedlichsten Metaphern verwendet, um das sich durch Gott in Christus ereignende Heil für den Menschen und die mit dem Menschen damit verbundene Wende zu beschreiben:

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Paulus spricht davon, dass die Christen eine „neue Schöpfung“ erfahren (καινὴ κτίσις 2 Kor 5:17; Gal 6:15), dass sie in der „Neuheit des Lebens“ wandeln (καινότης ζωῆς Röm 6:4), nachdem sie zuvor in der Taufe mit Christus „begraben“ worden sind; der Evangelist Johannes spricht vom „Von-oben-“ oder „Von-neuem-geboren-werden“ (γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν 3:3, 7), „Aus-Wasser-und-Geist-geboren-werden“ (γεννηθῆναι ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος 3:5), der 1. Johannesbrief vom „Aus-Gott-gezeugt-werden“ (γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ 3:9; 4:7; 5:1, 4, 18), der 1. Petrusbrief vom „Neu-gezeugt-werden“ (ἀναγεννᾶσθαι 1:3,23; vgl. auch 2:2), der Jakobus-Brief gar von einem göttlichen „Gebären“ (ἀποκύειν 1:18), um nur die wichtigsten Bilder zu nennen.[1] Der Titusbrief dagegen benennt diese Heilswende mit παλιγγενεσία καὶ ἀνακαίνωσις. Während die Übersetzung von ἀνακαίνωσις mit „Erneuerung“ unstrittig ist, stellt sich jedoch die Frage, ob παλιγγενεσία wirklich synonym mit den eben genannten Geburtsmetaphern zu verstehen ist, was die stereotyp zu findende Übersetzung „Wiedergeburt“ suggeriert.

Sprachlich ist zunächst festzuhalten, dass es sich bei παλιγγενεσία um ein mit einem Adverb zusammengesetztes *nomen actionis* handelt, das aus πάλιν und γενεσία besteht, wobei γενεσία nicht von einem Verbum wie γεννᾶν/erzeugen herzuleiten ist, sondern identisch ist mit γένεσις.[2] In der

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[1] Vgl. zur Wiedergeburtsmetaphorik im NT allgemein F. Back, „Wiedergeburt in der religiösen Welt der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit“, *Wiedergeburt* (BTSP 25; Hg. R. Feldmeier; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005) 45-73, hier 57-64; zu 1 Petr vgl. R. Feldmeier, „Wiedergeburt im 1. Petrusbrief“, ebd. 75-99; F.J.J. van Rensburg, „Metaphors in the Soteriology in 1 Peter: Identifying and Interpreting the Salvific Imageries“, *Salvation in the New Testament* (NovTSup 121; ed. J.G. van der Watt; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005) 409-435, bes. 420-421; zu Joh vgl. O. Hofius, „Das Wunder der Wiedergeburt. Jesu Gespräch mit Nikodemus (Joh 3,1-21)“, in: O. Hofius und H.-C. Kammler, *Johannesstudien* (WUNT 88; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996) 33-80, und Th. Söding, „Wiedergeburt aus Wasser und Geist. Anmerkungen zur Symbolsprache des Johannesevangeliums am Beispiel des Nikodemusgesprächs (Joh 3,1-21)“, *Metaphorik und Mythos im Neuen Testament* (QD 126; Hg. K. Kertelge; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1990) 168-219, bes. 194-212; zur paulinischen und deuteropaulinischen Metaphorik vgl. J. Buchegger, *Erneuerung des Menschen* (TANZ 40; Tübingen: Francke, 2003); C. Hoegen-Rohls, *Neuheit bei Paulus* (Habil. Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2003); M.V. Hubbard, *New Creation in Paul's Letters and Thought* (SNTSMS 119; Cambridge: Cambridge Univ., 2002) 11.23f; U. Mell, „“Neue Schöpfung” als theologische Grundfigur paulinischer Anthropologie“, *Menschenbild und Menschenwürde* (Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie 17; Hg. E. Herms; Gütersloh: Kaiser, 2001) 345-364.

[2] Vgl. dazu E. Fraenkel, „Zur Geschichte der Verbalnomina auf -σις,-σία“, *Zeitschrift*

Regel erscheinen mit γένεσις zusammengesetzte Komposita jedoch in der Form -γέννησις und verweisen so auf den weiteren Zusammenhang mit dem Verbum γεννᾶν.[3] Γένεσις kann sich sowohl auf das Entstehen der Welt als auch auf die des Menschen als auch auf das aller anderen Dinge und Phänomene beziehen. Daher ist von den Wortbestandteilen her für παλιγγενεσία sowohl die Bedeutung „Wiedergeburt", als auch „Wiederwerdung", „Wiederentstehung" angelegt.[4]

1. Die Aussagen des Titusbriefs über παλιγγενεσία

Der Titusbrief stellt sich dar als ein im Namen des Paulus verfasster Brief an seinen Kollegen Titus in Kreta, den er dort zurückgelassen hat.[5] Titus soll die Gemeinde in Kreta organisieren, die verschiedenen, der frühchristlichen Lehre zuwiderlaufenden irreführenden Verkündigungen ausgesetzt ist. Der Brief ist daher von stark ermahnendem Charakter, er ist durchsetzt mit konkreten Anweisungen für verschiedene Gruppen der Gemeinde, jedoch auch mit Reminiszenzen an die theologische Erstverkündigung, die an die Fundamente des christlichen Glaubens erinnern sollen.[6]

Nach dem Präskript des Briefes, das bereits mit programmatischen theologischen Aussagen gefüllt ist, und Haustafel-ähnlichen Anweisungen (2:1-10) folgen ab 2:11 zentrale theologisch-christologische Glaubenssätze verbunden mit paränetisch-imperativischen Aufforderungen zu einer dem

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für vergleichende Sprachforschung 45 (1913) 160ff; J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology* (GCP 1; Nijmegen: Dekker & van de Vegt, 1962) 88.

[3] So etwa ἀναγέννησις, ἐπιγέννησις, προσγέννησις, παραγένησις s. LSJ. Weitere mit -γενεσία zusammengesetzte Komposita sind sehr spät: so etwa ἀειγενεσία (4.Jh. n.Chr. bei Flavius Claudius Julianus), auch das Simplex γενεσία ist sehr rar (vgl. etwa das bei Ps.-Justin überlieferte Fragment des Pythagoras in: H. Tesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Ǻbo: Heslingfors, 1965) 186,16).

[4] Gegen F. Büchsel, „παλιγγενεσία", *ThWNT* I:685-688, 685 Anm.2.

[5] Ebenso wie Paulus als Verfasser des Briefes stellt vermutlich auch der Adressat Titus nur ein Mittel literarischer Fiktion dar; vgl. K.-W. Niebuhr in: *Grundinformation Neues Testament* (UTB 2108; Hg. K.-W. Niebuhr; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) 286. Der Verfasser des Titusbriefes verfügt jedoch ganz offenbar über Kenntnisse der Insel Kreta, die dem Leser eine auch historische Ausrichtung auf eine kretische Gemeinde durchaus plausibel erscheinen lassen, selbst wenn auch dies nur literarische Fiktion sein sollte.

[6] Zur Paränese als Hauptanliegen des Titusbriefs s. A. Malherbe, „Paraenesis in the Epistle to Titus", *Early Christian Paraenesis in Context* (BZNW 125; ed. J. Starr and T. Engberg-Pedersen; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004) 297-317.

Glauben entsprechenden Lebensführung. Dass die vorchristliche Lebensführung in vielerlei Hinsicht der idealen christlichen Lebensführung zuwiderläuft, weiß auch der Verfasser, und leitet mit dieser Feststellung den Abschnitt in 3:3 ein:

(3) Ἦμεν γάρ ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς
ἀνόητοι, ἀπειθεῖς, πλανώμενοι, δουλεύοντες ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ποικίλαις,
ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες, στυγητοί, μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους.
(4) ὅτε δὲ ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ,
(5) οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς
ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς
διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου,
(6) οὗ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς πλουσίως διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν,
(7) ἵνα δικαιωθέντες τῇ ἐκείνου χάριτι κληρονόμοι γενηθῶμεν κατ᾽ ἐλπίδα ζωῆς
αἰωνίου.

Der Abschnitt stellt die vorchristliche Lebensführung, die durch Unverstand und Vergnügungen und gegenseitigen Hass gekennzeichnet war (V. 3), dem Moment gegenüber, als sich die Güte und Menschenfreundlichkeit Gottes erwies (V. 4). Diese zeigte sich darin, dass er allein aus seinem Erbarmen heraus gerettet hat (V. 5): Im Zentrum der Phrase steht ἔσωσεν, die Rettungsaussage. Wodurch die Rettung erfolgte, beschreibt der aus 5 Genitiven gebildete Präpositionalausdruck διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου.

Von den verschiedenen Auflösungsmöglichkeiten dieser Reihe hat m.E. die Übersetzung „Gott hat uns gerettet durch das Bad der παλιγγενεσία und der Erneuerung, die vom Heiligen Geist ausgehen", die παλιγγενεσίας und ἀνακαινώσεως als von λουτροῦ abhängige Genitive versteht, ebenso wie der Genitiv πνεύματος ἁγίου wiederum von παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως abhängt, die größte Plausibilität.[7] Der inhaltliche Charakter der Rettung besteht im Gerechtgemachtwerden (ἵνα δικαιωθέντες V. 7) und darin dass „wir Erben werden entsprechend der Hoffnung auf ein ewiges Leben" (κληρονόμοι γενηθῶμεν κατ΄ ἐλπίδα ζωῆς αἰωνίου).

Der *engere Kontext* selbst erzählt über dieses λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου nicht mehr, als dass es sich um die entscheidende, von Gott ausgehende Rettungstat handelt (V. 5), dass diese sich an allen Glaubenden vollzogen hat (ἡμᾶς V. 5-6), und dass diese in den Zustand der Gerechtigkeit und der Erbschaft versetzt worden sind (V. 7). Christus ist ebenfalls an der Rettungstat durch das von Gott initiierte reichliche Ausgießen des Heiligen Geistes beteiligt (V. 6). Die Rettung ist unabhängig von menschlichen Werken und verdankt sich der Güte, Menschenliebe und dem Erbarmen Gottes (V. 4-5). Das Lexem παλιγγενεσία wird durch die im Stil eines Einst-Jetzt-Schemas geführte Diktion in 3:3-7 dem früheren Zustand ἦμεν γάρ ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνόητοι… in 3:3 gegenübergestellt und damit als Kontrastbegriff erkennbar:[8] Die παλιγγενεσία ist zusammen mit der Erneuerung/ἀνακαίνωσις der den Zustand des „Unverständigseins“ etc. ablösende neue Zustand. Dieser ist mit einem „Bad“, einer „Waschung“ (λουτρόν) ursächlich verbunden.

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[7] Zur Diskussion der verschiedenen Lesarten vgl. I.H. Marshall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistels* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999) 316f; G.W. Knight, *The Faithful Sayings in the Pastoral Letters* (Kampen: Kok, 1968) 96; W.D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles* (WBC 46; Nashville: Nelson, 2000) 441-442.

Im *weiteren Kontext* finden sich zwar keine weiteren Lexeme, die mit „Bad“/„Waschung“ oder παλιγγενεσία oder auch Erneuerung zu tun haben, jedoch ist an einigen Stellen des Briefes von „reinigen“, καθαρίζειν, die Rede. Der Zustand der Reinheit als christlicher Zustand wird dem der Befleckung gegenübergestellt. So formuliert der Verfasser in 1:15: πάντα καθαρὰ τοῖς καθαροῖς· τοῖς δὲ μεμιαμμένοις καὶ ἀπίστοις οὐδὲν καθαρόν, ἀλλὰ μεμίανται αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ συνείδησις („dem Reinen ist alles rein; den Befleckten und Ungläubigen aber ist nichts rein, sondern sowohl ihr Verstand als auch ihr Gewissen sind befleckt“). Der Zustand der Reinheit entspricht dem des Gläubig-Seins, während der vorgläubige oder ungläubige Zustand als der der Befleckung beschrieben wird, womit einerseits Terminologie aus den jüdischen Reinheitsgesetzen, jedoch auch aus der griechischen religiösen Sprache[9] aufgenommen wird.

Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang jedoch vor allem die Aussage aus 2:14, Hier ist die Rede von Jesus Christus, „der sich für uns hingegeben hat, damit er uns aus aller Gesetzlosigkeit erlöse und sich ein eigenes Volk reinige (καὶ καθαρίσῃ ἑαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον…), das nach guten Werken strebt“.[10] Diese Erlösung und Reinigung ist das Ziel der Selbsthingabe Christi in den Tod. Die für pagane Hörer ungewöhnliche Formulierung λαὸς περιούσιος spielt dabei vor allem auf Ez 37:23 LXX an.[11] Hier verkündigt der Herr, das Volk Israel aus der Ungerechtigkeit zu befreien und zu reinigen, was dazu führt, dass Israel sein Volk sein wird: „und ich werde sie reinigen und sie werden mein Volk sein" (καὶ καθαριῶ αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαόν…). Die Reinigung bezieht sich hier auf die durch den Götzendienst entstandene Befleckung und ist offenbar die Voraussetzung für das neue Gottesverhältnis. Der Verfasser des Titusbriefs überträgt nun diese Reinigungshandlung von Gott auf Christus und verortet sie zugleich in der Selbsthingabe Christi im Kreuzestod. Diese Selbsthingabe Jesu resultiert aus der Initiative Gottes (2:11), und wird mit der aus der paganen Tradition stammenden Formel des „Sterbens-für"[12] formuliert. Zugleich wird Jesu Tod in judaisierender Interpretation als Erlösung und Reinigung verstanden, d.h. auch Jesu Tod befreit von den Befleckungen bzw. den Verfehlungen. Der Tod Jesu hat erlösenden, reinigenden und zugleich gemeinschaftskonstituierenden Charakter.[13]

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[8] Vgl. dazu A. Malherbe, „ „Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners“: Soteriology in the Pastoral Epistles“, *Salvation in the New Testament* (NovTSup 121; ed. J.G. van der Watt; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005) 331-358, hier 351.

[9] Vgl. R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983); vgl. auch Anm. 45.

[10] LSJ bieten als Übersetzung des aus der LXX in Tit 2:14 übernommenen Adjektivs περιούσιος: *especial, peculiar*.

Im *Text 3:4-7* finden sich nun einige dieser Gedanken, wenngleich in anderer Terminologie, wieder: Wie Christus erlöst (λυτρώσηται 2:14), so rettet hier Gott (ἔσωσεν 3:5), wie Christus reinigt (καθαρίσῃ 2:14), so reinigt hier Gott durch das „Bad"/die „Waschung" (λουτρόν 3:5), wie Christus sich ein eigenes Volk konstituiert (λαὸν περιούσιον 2:14), so geschieht Vergleichbares durch die Einsetzung der Christen als „Erben" (κληρονόμοι 3:7). Der Gedanke der Erlösung aus dem Zustand der Gesetzlosigkeit (λυτρώσηται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας 2:14) findet sich wieder in der Aussage des „Gerechtgemachtseins" (δικαιωθέντες 3:7). Da auch der Text in 2:13-14 Gott als denjenigen, der die Epiphanie Christi letztlich auslöst, im Hintergrund sieht, ist in beiden Texten die eigentliche Ursache der Rettung Gott, beide jedoch, Jesus und Gott, sind Retter (2:13; 3:4). Jesus schafft durch seine Selbsthingabe die Voraussetzung der Reinigung der Menschen von Verfehlungen (2:14), die in 3:5 als an den Christen durch das von Gott ausgehende „Bad der παλιγγενεσία und der Erneuerung" vollzogen beschrieben wird. Christus partizipiert an diesem Geschehen durch das Ausgießen des Heiligen Geistes (3:6).[14]

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[11] Weitere atl. Parallelen sind Ex 19:5; 23:22; Dtn 7:6; 14:2; 26:18.

[12] Vgl. dazu C. Eschner, *„Gestorben und hingegeben „für" die Sünder"* (Diss. Humboldt-Universität Berlin 2007).

[13] Zur Vorstellung der reinigenden Kraft des Bluts Christi vgl. auch Hebr 9:14 (Blut reinigt das Gewissen); 1 Joh 1:7 (Blut reinigt von jeder Sünde). Malherbe, „Christ Jesus", 346, verweist auf die Vorstellung der reinigenden Kraft der Philosophie, die hier im Hintergrund zu sehen ist.

[14] Das muss keine Anspielung auf Pfingsten sein, sondern kann eine Reminiszenz an die

Dass die Rede vom λουτρόν als Erinnerung an die Taufhandlung gewertet werden sollte,[15] legt sich nahe durch die enge Verbindung von 3:5-7 mit 1 Kor 6:9 und 11, wo sich eine vergleichbare Verbindung von „abwaschen", „gerechtgemachtwerden" und „Erbschaft" findet. Hier spricht Paulus davon, dass die ἄδικοι das Königreich Gottes nicht erben werden (οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν V. 9), und erinnert die Korinther nach einer Aufzählung verschiedener Laster, mit denen er diese ἄδικοι kennzeichnet, in V. 11 daran, dass sie selbst „reingewaschen, geheiligt und gerecht geworden sind im Namen des Herrn Jesus Christus und im Geist unseres Gottes" (ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλὰ ἡγιάσθητε, ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν). Die korinthischen Christen werden ebenfalls im Rahmen eines Einst-Jetzt-Schemas an die besondere Wende erinnert, die ihr Leben durch die Reinigung, Heiligung und Gerechtmachung genommen hat, und die sie in den Status der Erbschaft stellt. Hier spricht vor allem die Verbindung des „Abwaschens" und „Gerechtgemachtwerdens"[16] mit der Formel „im Namen des Herrn" für einen Zusammenhang mit der frühchristlichen Taufe.[17]

Da sowohl Tit 3:5-7 als auch 1 Kor 6:9,11 jeweils in einen deutlich paränetischen Kontext eingebettet sind, scheinen die beiden Texte als Erinnerung an diese entscheidende Wende im Leben der Christen zu fungieren, die sich offensichtlich in einem veränderten Verhalten zu konkretisieren hat. Der Titusbrief stellt diese Wende in den größeren Zusammenhang der durch den Tod Christi geschehenen Reinigung der Menschen von der

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Taufhandlung sein, bzw. eine Erinnerung an die synoptisch überlieferte Ankündigung des Täufers, der nach ihm Kommende werde mit Heiligen Geist taufen. Möglicherweise erinnert die Formulierung auch an Ez, da der Verfasser von der Erneuerung, die vom Heiligen Geist ausgeht, spricht: In Ez 36:25-28 LXX geht der für Tit 2:14 relevanten Aussage aus Ez 37:23 die Ansage voraus, dass Gott seinem Volk ein neues Herz schenken werde, indem er seinen Geist in es lege: καὶ ῥανῶ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ὕδωρ καθαρόν, καὶ καθαρισθήσεσθε ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀκαθαρσιῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν εἰδώλων ὑμῶν, καὶ καθαριῶ ὑμᾶς. καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν καρδίαν καινὴν καὶ πνεῦμα καινὸν δώσω ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀφελῶ τὴν καρδίαν τὴν λιθινὴν ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν καρδίαν σαρκίνην. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά μου δώσω ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ποιήσω ἵνα ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασίν μου πορεύεσθε καὶ τὰ κρίματά μου φυλάξησθε καὶ ποιήσητε… καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς λαόν.

[15] Vgl. dazu und zum rein metaphorischen Verständnis von λουτρόν Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 318, der die Verbindung von äußerer und innerer (spiritueller) Reinigung betont.

[16] Zu den Differenzen des konkreten Verständnisses von δικαιοῦσθαι und δικαιοσύνη bei Paulus und im Titusbrief vgl. jedoch Malherbe, „Christ Jesus", 353.

[17] Zur Nennung des Namens des Herrn bei der Taufe vgl. 1 Kor 1:13-15; U. Schnelle, „Taufe" II, *TRE* 32:663-74, hier 665; A. Ruck-Schröder, *Der Name Gottes und der Name Jesu* (WMANT 80; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1999) 78-81.

Ungerechtigkeit, von den Verfehlungen und benennt ihre Konsequenz als παιδεία des Menschen zu einem besseren Verhalten (2:12). Zwar formuliert der Verfasser des Titusbriefs diese Vorgänge auf seine eigene, durch die griechische Philosophie mitgeprägte Weise, die Nähe zu 1 Kor 6:9 und 11 zeigt jedoch, dass er sich mit der Beschreibung der Heilswende in der Taufe in (vor-)paulinischer Tradition bewegt.[18]

Die für den Titusbrief so spezifische Formulierung διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου ist damit terminologisch jedoch noch nicht geklärt. Weitere ntl. Texte scheinen auf den ersten Blick kaum zu helfen, da sowohl παλιγγενεσία als auch ἀνακαίνωσις nur an je einer weiteren Stelle belegt sind.

2. Der ntl. Kontext von παλιγγενεσία und ἀνακαίνωσις

Nur Mt 19:28 spricht noch von παλιγγενεσία, nur Röm 12:2 von ἀνακαίνωσις. Mt 19:28, setzt die *παλιγγενεσία* eschatologisch an: Jesus sagt zu Petrus und den Jüngern, dass sie, die ihm nachgefolgt sind, bei der παλιγγενεσία mit ihm zusammen inthronisiert werden (ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, ὅταν καθίσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ, καθήσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους...). Hier bezieht sich παλιγγενεσία auf die Endzeit, die zugleich als Anbruch des Königreichs Gottes eine neue Zeit darstellt, in der die Jünger „das ewige Leben erben", wie V. 29 sagt.[19] Dies kann in Tit 3:5 nicht konnotiert sein, wo die παλιγγενεσία bereits vollzogen worden ist.

Große Nähe zur Beschreibung der religiösen Wende als „Wiederentstehung", bzw. „Wiedergeburt" zeigt die Rede vom ἀναγεννᾶσθαι in 1 Petr (1:3, 23), der „Neuzeugung" der Glaubenden auf die lebendigen Hoffnung hin (1:3) durch das lebendige Wort Gottes (1:23). Doch auch für dieses Lexem fehlen ntl. ebenso wie pagane Parallelen.[20]

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[18] Vgl. W. Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther I* (EKK 7/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991) 427-428. Das heißt jedoch nicht, dass der ganze Abschnitt 3:3-7 paulinisch zu interpretieren ist, s. Malherbe, „Christ Jesus", 349. Auch im Römerbrief finden sich eine ganze Reihe der im Titusbrief mit der Rettung verbundenen Begriffe und Gedanken wieder, ohne dass die Zusammenhänge und die Zielrichtung der Argumentation identisch wären: die durch den Tod Christi geschehende Erlösung aus dem sündigen Zustand (ἀπολύτρωσις 3:21; 8:23), die Erneuerung des Lebens des Glaubenden (καινότης ζωῆς 6:4), die zu seiner Gerechtmachung führt (δικαιοῦσθαι 6:7) und ihn zum Erben (κληρονόμος 8:17) macht. Als Vergleich herangezogen werden auch immer wieder Kol 3:7-8; Eph 2:4-9; 4:17-24; 1 Petr 1:3-5,14-21; und Gal 4:3-7.

[19] S. U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus III* (EKK 1/3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1997) 129, zur Problematik des genaueren Verständnisses des Lexems bei Matthäus.

Während die Rede von *παλιγγενεσία* nur im Titusbrief und Mt-Evangelium erscheint, greift der Verfasser des Titusbriefs mit dem Lexem *ἀνακαίνωσις* jedoch offenbar bewusst auf paulinische Terminologie zurück: Dies zeigt sich daran, dass ἀνακαίνωσις zuallererst überhaupt bei Paulus in Röm 12:2 belegt ist (als Verb in 2 Kor 4:16) und dann außer im Titusbrief erst wieder bei den Kirchenvätern erscheint. Die ἀνακαίνωσις beschreibt Paulus als die des νοῦς; sie ist eine innere Erneuerung und Umgestaltung des zum Glauben gekommenen Menschen, die diesen vom „jetzigen Äon" abhebt. Auch in 2 Kor 4:16 vollzieht sich das Erneuern am „inneren Menschen" in einem fortwährenden Prozess. Nicht nur ἀνακαίνωσις, sondern auch καινὴ κτίσις, die „neue Schöpfung", ist ein paulinischer Neologismus und zeigt, wie zentral die Neuheits-Metaphorik für das Denken des Apostels ist.[21] Doch greift Paulus mit dieser Metaphorik insgesamt auf atl. und frühjüdische Tradition zurück: ein Vergleich mit Jes 43:19 und Jub 4:26 macht deutlich, dass nicht nur die Vorstellung von der Erneuerung, sondern auch die von der neuen Schöpfung bereits als atl. Motive begegnen.[22]

Die Neuheits-Metaphorik bei Paulus findet ihren Ansatzpunkt in der im Kreuz definierten Heilswende, an der die Christen nach Röm 6:4 durch das „Mitbegrabensein" partizipieren. Die gegenwärtigen Konsequenzen des „Mitbegrabenseins" für den Menschen formuliert Paulus in Röm 6:4 als ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατεῖν. Zwischen „Mitbegrabensein" und eschatologischem „Mitlebenwerden"[23] wandelt der Mensch in der „Neuheit des

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[20] Ἀναγεννᾶν ist offenbar ein ntl. Neologismus; vgl. C. Breytenbach, „„Christus litt euretwegen". Zur Rezeption von Jes 53 im 1.Petrusbrief", *Deutungen des Todes Jesu im Neuen Testament* (Hg. J. Frey und J. Schröter; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 437-454, hier 453. Vgl. aber Philo *Aet.* 8: s. dazu Anm. 53, und Jos. *Bell.* 4,484.

[21] Vgl. Buchegger, *Erneuerung*; Hoegen-Rohls, *Neuheit*.

[22] Vgl. bes. Jer, Ez 36:25-28; Ps 51:12; Dt-Jes; s. Hubbard, *New Creation* 11.23f; Mell, „Neue Schöpfung". Vergleichbar zu ἀνακαινοῦσθαι in 2 Kor 4:16 ist ἀνακαινίζειν, das in JosAs die für die Umkehr zum Judentum verwendete Metapher ist (s. etwa 8:9; 15:5,7).

[23] Für Paulus steht das „Mitlebenwerden", d.h. das „Mitauferstehen" mit Christus noch aus, wie er in 1 Kor 15:20-22 und 2 Kor 4:14 deutlich macht. Ebenso stellt 2 Tim 2:11 das „Mitgestorbensein" dem endzeitlichen „Mitlebenwerden" gegenüber. In 2 Tim 2:18 wehrt der Verfasser den offenbar von einigen Personen vertretenen Gedanken ab, dass die Auferstehung schon geschehen sei, das „Mitlebenwerden" mithin schon begonnen habe. Damit stellt sich 2 Tim 2:11 deutlich in die Tradition von Röm 6:3-5,8. Ebenso wie bei Paulus

Lebens". Einerseits hat diese „Neuheit des Lebens" einen individuellen Aspekt, wie es die Verwendung von ἀνακαίνωσις in Röm 12:2 und ἀνακαινοῦσθαι in 2 Kor 4:16 zur Beschreibung der fortschreitenden inneren Umgestaltung des zum Glauben gekommenen Menschen zeigt. Andererseits hat diese Neuheit, bzw. Erneuerung grundsätzlichen, schöpfungsgleichen Charakter. Darauf verweist 2 Kor 5:17-18: ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινά. τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ... Nicht der alte Mensch ist vorbeigegangen und ein neuer geworden, sondern „das Alte" ist vorbei, „Neues" geworden. Die Erläuterung von καινὴ κτίσις mit den pluralischen Neutra deutet auf das Verständnis der Neuschöpfung als eines korporativen, universalen Geschehens. Der Nachsatz „alles aber ist aus Gott" weist auf die umfassende Perspektive des Ereignisses, das die Genese der alten sowie der neuen Schöpfung Gott zuschreibt. Die Neuheits-Metaphorik bei Paulus ist also von der grundsätzlichen Schöpfermacht Gottes nicht zu trennen und sieht den einzelnen Menschen und dessen ἀνακαίνωσις unter der ganzheitlichen, korporativen und universalen Perspektive der καινὴ κτίσις. Der neue Mensch lebt in einer neuen Welt.

Der Verfasser des Titusbriefs greift sicherlich bewusst auf diese spezifische Redeweise mit ihren individuellen und universalen Konnotationen zurück, wenn er den paulinischen Neologismus ἀνακαίνωσις verwendet. Doch gibt es auch einen erkennbaren Grund, warum er speziell παλιγγενεσία zur Beschreibung der Heilswende auswählte? Da die Verwendung dieses Lexems in Mt 19:28 hier nicht weiterhilft, ist ein Blick auf die außerchristliche Verwendung zur Klärung dieser Frage unerlässlich.

3. Παλιγγενεσία in zeitgenössischen paganen und jüdischen Quellen

Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule ging davon aus, dass der Begriff παλιγγενεσία aus den griechischen Mysterienkulten übernommen wurde, wo er zur Beschreibung der als „Wiedergeburt" zu verstehenden Einweihung in die Mysterien diente.[24]

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inauguriert das neue Leben nach der Taufe das eschatologische Leben, ohne es bereits vorwegzunehmen.

[24] Vgl. etwa E. Käsemann, „Titus 3,4-7", in: ders., *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen I* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ^{4}1965) 298-302, hier 299; mit Einschränkungen M. Dibelius/H. Conzelmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (HNT 13; Tübingen: Mohr, ^{3}1955) 111-112; dagegen Büchsel, „παλιγγενεσία", 688; J. Dey, *ΠΑΛΙΓΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ. Ein Beitrag zur*

Im aus Ägypten stammenden Kult der Isis und des Serapis, der in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit über das ganze Reich verbreitet war, beging man ein Aufnahmeritual für neue Mitglieder, das in der Tat mit einer „Wiedergeburt" verglichen werden konnte. Seine aitiologische Begründung findet dieses Ritual im Mythos der Rettung des Osiris durch die Göttin Isis. Dieser Mythos erzählt, dass Isis die Gebeine ihres verstorbenen Bruders und Mannes Osiris eingesammelt und wiederzusammengefügt habe. Plutarch bezeichnet diesen Vorgang Ende des 1. Jh.s in *Is. Os.* 364 F als ἀναβιώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίαι, als „Wiederbelebungen und Wiederwerdungen" des Osiris, und vergleicht diese zugleich mit den entsprechenden Erzählungen über Dionysos. Die „Wiederwerdungen" werden hier durch den vorausgehenden Begriff „Wiederbelebungen" sozusagen genauer erklärt. Osiris „wird wieder", indem er „wiederbelebt" wird, „wieder zum Leben kommt". Es handelt sich bei den παλιγγενεσίαι des Osiris also um einen individuellen postmortalen Vorgang, eine Auferstehung. Die rituelle Zusammenfügung der *membra disiecta* des erschlagenen Osiris hatte jedoch offenbar zugleich einen kosmisch-nationalen Aspekt, insofern der „wiedervereinigte und zu einer beseelten Ganzheit reorganisierte Leib ... das Symbol für die rituell verwirklichte Zielgestalt Ägyptens als politischer und kultureller Einheit" bildete.[25] Auch im von Plutarch durchgeführten Vergleich dieser ἀναβιώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίαι des Osiris mit denen des Dionysos wird sowohl auf die individuelle Wiedergeburt des Dionysos/Zagreus in der mythischen Erzählung der Τιτανικά als auch auf die damit verbundene kosmische Wiederentstehung der Titanen als Menschengeschlecht angespielt.[26] Die Titanen hatten Dionysos, dem Zeus die Herrschaft übertragen wollte, zerstückelt und gegessen. Zeus vernichtete die Titanen daraufhin mit einem Blitz. Aus

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Klärung der religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung von Tit 3,5 (NTA 17.5; Münster: Aschendorff, 1937) 175. Weitere Literatur bei Söding, „Wiedergeburt", 187 Anm.66. Für eine breitere Darstellung der Mysterienreligionen und ihrer Bedeutung für die frühchristliche Welt vgl. A.J.M.Wedderburn, *Baptism and Resurrection* (WUNT 44; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987) 90-163. 296-359.

[25] J. Assmann, *Der Tod als Thema der Kulturtheorie* (edition suhrkamp 2157; Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2000) 81. Dies zeigt sich in der Entsprechung der 42 Glieder des Osiris, die während des Choiak-Festes jährlich rituell wieder zusammengefügt wurden, mit den 42 Gauen Ägyptens; vgl. dazu H. Beinlich, *Die „Osirisreliquien". Zum Motiv der Körperzergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984).

[26] Vgl. J.G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cambridge: University of Wales Press, 1970) 434.

ihrer Asche entstanden die Menschen der neuen Weltordnung. Nach der Tradition orphischer Fragmente brachte Apoll die Gebeine des Dionysos aus Kreta, wo die Zerstückelung stattgefunden hatte, nach Delphi.[27] Das noch schlagende Herz des Dionysos trug Apoll zu Zeus, der ihn wiederentstehen ließ.[28] Ähnliches berichtet Plutarch in *E Delph.* 389 A, wo die den Veränderungen des κόσμος vergleichbare Zergliederung des Dionysos ihre Auflösung in den ἀναβιώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίαι findet.[29]

Dass auch in den Isis-Mysterien die Initianden selbst eine Art praemortaler, intramundaner Auferstehung oder „Wiederentstehung" erlebten, scheint sich aus den *Metamorphosen* des Apuleius aus dem 2. Jh. n.Chr. zu ergeben, wo Apuleius von der Initiation eines gewissen Lucius in die Isis-Mysterien berichtet. Nach Anleitung des Priesters muss sich Lucius durch ein Reinigungsbad, Fasten und Askese sorgfältig vorbereiten, ehe er, in ein grobes Gewand gehüllt, am Abend in das Innere des Isis-Tempels gebracht wird. Die in aller Einsamkeit vollzogenen Einweihungsriten werden von Lucius anschließend in geheimnisvoller, verschlüsselter Weise wiedergegeben: „Ich bin an die Grenzen des Todes gekommen und habe die Schwelle der Proserpina betreten, durch alle Elemente bin ich gefahren und dann zurückgekehrt" (*accessi confinium mortis et calcato Proserpinae limine per omnia vectus elementa remeavi*).[30] Die hier berichtete Initiation ist vergleichbar der Art eines freiwilligen Todes mit anschließender Rettung. Auch hier fehlt der kosmische Aspekt der Erfahrung nicht: „durch alle Elemente bin ich gefahren". Der Initiand gilt mit den Worten des Apuleius als *renatus quodam modo*, „auf eine gewisse Weise wiedergeboren".[31] Der Tag nach der Weihe gilt als neuer Geburtstag.[32]

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[27] M.L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983) 151: fr. 209-211.

[28] Vgl. dazu West, *Orphic Poems*, 151; Th. Hopfner, *Plutarch. Über Isis und Osiris. 2 Teil: Die Deutungen der Sage. Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967) 163. Nach Euphorion (fr.36) setzte Rhea den zerstückelten Dionysos wieder zusammen: s. A. Henrichs, „Philodems *De Pietate* als mythographische Quelle", *Cronache Ercolanensi* 5 (1975) 5-38, hier 35. So überliefern es auch Diodor, Philodem und Cornutus (s. West, *Orphic Poems*, 161).

[29] In *De esu* 996 C und 998 C verwendet Plutarch παλιγγενεσία dagegen im Kontext des Fleischverzehrs für die Wiedergeburt verstorbener Seelen in anderen Körpern, also die Reinkarnation, und folgt damit orphischer und platonischer Tradition. Für ihn setzt παλιγγενεσία sowohl bei Osiris und Dionysos als auch in diesem Kontext den Tod voraus.

[30] *Metam.* 11,23.

[31] *Metam.* 11,16.21.

[32] Back, „Wiedergeburt", 51.

Hier erscheint im Zusammenhang mit der Isisweihe also auch explizit die Wieder*geburts*terminologie.[33]

Diese Parallele ist vor allem von der religionsgeschichtlichen Schule auf der Suche nach dem Hintergrund der paulinischen Taufvorstellung in Röm 6 geltend gemacht, jedoch immer wieder verworfen worden, da sich im Isis-Kult keine Taufhandlung nachweisen ließ.[34]

Hier haben sich jedoch in den letzten Jahrzehnten neue Erkenntnisse ergeben, die vor allem auch durch die Analyse der Ausgrabungen auf Kreta gewonnen werden konnten: Auch den Kretern, an die sich der Verfasser des Titusbriefs implizit wendet, war der Isis-Kult bekannt. In hellenistischer Zeit stand Kreta unter starkem Einfluss der Ptolemäer, die mit der Errichtung der ursprünglich ägyptischen Kulte der Isis und des Serapis auf der Insel unter anderem auch politische Ziele verfolgten. Besonders in den Hafenstädten waren die Kulte verbreitet.[35] So wissen wir von Heiligtümern der Isis und des Serapis in Itanos, Hierapytna, in Phaistos, Poikilasion, Phoinike, in Lasaia und nicht zuletzt in der Stadt Gortyn. Gortyn liegt im Süden der Insel, nicht weit des Ortes Kaloi Limenes, wo Paulus nach Apg 27:8 auf seiner Fahrt nach Rom ankerte, und war in römischer Zeit Sitz des senatorischen Statthalters. In der Nähe von Gortyn befindet sich die Stadt Metropolis, in der der 1. Bischof Titus seinen Sitz gehabt haben soll.[36] In Gortyn ist das Isis-Heiligtum noch erhalten: Das sog. Iseum von Gortyn, das aus dem 2. Jh. v.Chr. stammt und im 1. oder 2. Jh. n.Chr. erneuert wurde, zeichnet sich vor allem dadurch aus, dass es eine Krypta mit einem Wasserbecken besitzt.[37] Ähnliche Krypten finden sich in den Iseen in Delos, Thessaloniki und Pompej. Diese Becken dienten vermutlich der rituellen Reminiszenz der Nilflut, die zugleich den verstorbenen

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[33] Zur Diskussion der Herkunft und zum öffentlichen/nichtöffentlichen Charakter dieser Terminologie vgl. Wedderburn, *Baptism*, 93-98.

[34] So durch G. Wagner, *Das religionsgeschichtliche Problem von Röm 6,1-11* (AThANT 39; Zürich: Zwingli, 1962).

[35] K. Sporn, *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit* (Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern 3; Heidelberg: Archäologie und Geschichte, 2002) 339.

[36] Eusebius *Hist.eccl.* IV 23,5.7f berichtet von einer Brief-Korrespondenz des Bischofs Dionys von Korinth (2. Jh. n.Chr.) und des Philippus von Gortyn. Auch in Knossos gab es eine christliche Gemeinde.

[37] Vgl. R. Salditt-Trappmann, *Tempel der ägyptischen Götter in Griechenland und an der Westküste Kleinasiens* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 15; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 54ff; R.A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 87; Leiden: Brill, 1981).

Osiris repräsentierte, und der Leben spendende Kraft zugesprochen wurde. Zwar ist der genaue rituelle Rahmen dieser in den Becken vollzogenen Wasserriten umstritten,[38] jedoch ist nicht auszuschließen, dass es im Zusammenhang der lokalen kultischen Ausprägungen Entwicklungen des Ritus gab, die etwa ein Untertauchen der Initianden zur Nachahmung des Todes und der Wiederbelebungen, der παλιγγενεσίαι, des Osiris vorsahen.[39] Einen Hinweis darauf könnte man auch in den Statuen des Totenbegleiters Hermes und des Unterwelthundes Kerberos sehen, die mit den Kultbildern der Isis und des Serapis im Iseum aufgestellt waren.[40]

Dennoch lassen sich diese Beobachtungen nicht wirklich für das Verständnis von λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας in Tit 3:5 auswerten, zum einen, da die eigentliche Verwendung der Wasserbecken ungeklärt ist, zum anderen, da die Quellen über die Isis-Mysterien keine wirklichen Belege für ein Verständnis dieser Einweihung als παλιγγενεσία bieten; die erste fassbare Bezeichnung des Initianden als *renatus quodam modo*, als „in gewisser Weise wiedergeboren", bei Apuleius datiert erst aus dem 2. Jh. n.Chr. Die Verwendung von παλιγγενεσία bei Plutarch rekurriert dagegen nicht auf irgendwelche Initianden, sondern auf den Mythos der Wiederkehr des Osiris bzw. Dionysos ins Leben, also auf deren individuelle postmortale Auferweckung.

Bemerkenswert ist jedoch, dass die Konnotationen der παλιγγενεσία bei Plutarch über die individuelle postmortale Wiederentstehung des Osiris und Dionysos hinaus das Geschehen in einen überindividuellen, gemeinschaftlichen Kontext einbinden, der mit kosmischen Veränderungen in Zusammenhang gesehen wird, und auch die Beschreibung der Initiation bei Apuleius mit dem „Durchfahren der Elemente" einen kosmischen Aspekt des Geschehens überliefert.

Bislang nicht weiter in die Erwägungen für den Hintergrund der παλιγγενεσία—Terminologie einbezogen wurden die den orphischen Mysterien zuzuordnenden Textfragmente, obwohl sich auch hier interessante Beobachtungen machen lassen. Vergleichbare Metaphorik überliefert nämlich ein orphisch-bakchisches Goldblättchen aus dem thessalischen Pelinna vom Ende des 4. Jh. v.Chr., auf dem vermutlich ein Mysterienpriester einer verstorbenen Mystin folgende Worte mit ins Grab gibt: „Jetzt bist du gestorben und jetzt bist du geboren worden…" (νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου).[41] Riedweg geht davon aus, dass diese Worte eine Reminiszenz an das Initiationsritual darstellen: Im Tod wird die Wiedergeburt ausgeführt, die im Einweihungsritual bereits angelegt war.[42] Diese Wiedergeburt spiegelt das Wiederaufleben des getöteten Dionysos. Das Ritual implizierte zugleich eine Reinigung, die als „Lösung" durch Dionysos/Bakchos verstanden wurde (Βά(κ)χιος αὐτὸς ἔλυσε),[43] dessen Tod durch die Titanen die Menschen ihre Existenz nach der orphischen Anthropogonie verdankten.[44] Der Myste versteht sich durch dieses Ritual als „gereinigt" von dieser Schuld (ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρά).[45] Dionysos nimmt auf diese Weise Züge einer Erlösergottheit an, die die Macht hat, den Mysten von den Unterweltsstrafen zu befreien.[46] Als παλιγγενεσία wird diese Einweihung jedoch auch hier nicht bezeichnet.[47]

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[38] S. W. Burkert, *Antike Mysterien: Funktionen und Gehalt* (München: Beck, ^{2}1990) 86.

[39] So B.W.R. Pearson, „Baptism and Initiation in the Cult of Isis and Sarapis", *Baptism, the New Testament and the Church* (FS R.E.O. White; JSNT Suppl. 171; ed. S.E. Porter and A.R. Cross; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1999) 42-62, hier 56.

[40] S. Sporn, *Heiligtümer,* 169.

Abgesehen von den bei Plutarch mit der Osiris- und Dionysos-Mythologie verbundenen Texten und einigen zeitlich unsicheren Belegen,[48] finden sich die frühesten Belege des Nomens παλιγγενεσία in stoischen Texten.[49] Zwar überliefert uns fast nur Philo in seinen Stoiker-Referaten exakt diesen Terminus, andere Stoiker-Quellen dagegen die Verbalform πάλιν… γίνεσθαι oder Vergleichbares,[50] jedoch ist davon auszugehen, dass Philo, da er sich zugleich vom stoischen Gebrauch von παλιγγενεσία distanziert,[51] hier auch tatsächlich auf einen stoischen Terminus zurückgreift.[52] Die Stoa verbreitete angeregt von Heraklit die Lehre, dass die ganze Welt einer παλιγγενεσία unterworfen sei. Nach Zenon besteht die Urmaterie der Welt aus Feuer, und zwar nicht aus einem zerstörerischen, sondern aus dem durch Wärme wachsen lassenden und bewahrenden Feuer, wie es sich in Pflanzen und Lebewesen findet. Die bestehende Welt wird nach Ablauf dieser Weltperiode in dieses Feuer verwandelt—ein Vorgang, der als ἐκπύρωσις, Weltenbrand, bezeichnet wird—und wieder aus diesem hervorgehen in der Gestalt, wie sie vorher war. Dieses Wiederhervorgehen bezeichneten die Stoiker als παλιγγενεσία.[53] Wir würden diesen Prozess mit „Wiederentstehung" beschreiben. Er impliziert, dass dem Wiederentstehen ein zerstörender Akt des Alten vorausgeht, der jedoch zugleich das Wiederentstehen zuerst ermöglicht. Nach Seneca führt dieser Prozess zu einer Verbesserung der Welt. Er ist durch Feuer und Wasser ausgelöst (*conflagratio atque diluvio; Nat.* 29,1). Die Zerstörung führt zu einer Neuentstehung aller Lebewesen (*omne ex integro animal generabitur; Nat.* 30,8), so auch zu der des Menschen, der keine Verfehlungen kennt (*homo inscius*

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[41] S. C. Riedweg, „Initiation—Tod—Unterwelt", *Ansichten griechischer Rituale* (Hg. F. Graf, Stuttgart: Teubner, 1998) 359-398, hier 392: P 1, Z.1. Zur Anlage des Gedankens des Todes als Geburt bereits bei Pindar (*fr. 137* Maehler) s. H.D. Betz, „Der Erde Kind bin ich und des gestirnten Himmels", ebd., 399-419, hier 411.

[42] Vgl. Riedweg, „Initiation", 372, 388.

[43] Riedweg, „Initiation", 392 (P 1, Z.2).

[44] Riedweg, „Initiation", 375, 381.

[45] So zu lesen auf weiteren Goldblättchen: Riedweg, „Initiation", 392 (A 1, Z.1); 393 (A 2-3, Z.1); 394 (A 5, Z.1).

[46] So F. Graf, „Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology. New Texts and Old Questions", *Masks of Dionysus* (Hg. T.H. Carpenter and C.A. Faraone, Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 1993) 239-258.

[47] Erst Proklos überliefert im Kommentar zu Platons *Timaios* ein orphisches Fragment, in dem παλιγγενεσία verwendet wird, hier jedoch für die Seelenwanderung (s. O. Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta* (12th ed.; Berlin: Weidmann 1963; § 205); vgl. dazu die folgende Anm. Zur kritischen Auseinandersetzung mir der Frage des Einflusses der Orphik auf Gnosis und Neuplatonismus s. Wedderburn, *Baptism*, 120-130.

[48] Der kaiserzeitliche Historiker Memnon (FGH 434 fr. 60) verwendet παλιγγενεσία für die Neubesiedelung einer Stadt; zum Datierungsproblem s. H. Gärtner, „Memnon" (5), *KP 3*: 1191-1192; Aristoxenos (fr.12 Wehrli) beschreibt mit παλιγγενεσία die Reinkarnation des Pythagoras. Die Lehre von der Reinkarnation geht bis ins 6.Jh. v.Chr. zurück, vgl. C. Riedweg, „Palingenesia", *Wörterbuch der antiken Philosophie* (Hg. C. Horn und C. Rapp; München: Beck, 2002) 328. Platon entwirft eine eng an die orphische Lehre angelehnte Darstellung menschlicher „Wiedergeburt": In *Men.* 81b berichtet er vom Glauben Pindars und anderer Dichter, dass die Seele nach dem Tod „wieder entstehe" (πάλιν γίγνεσθαι). In *Pol.* 269c4ff spricht er von τὸ ζῆν πάλιν (270a3), ἀναβιώσκεσθαι (271b6; 272a1) und

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τὰ… νεογενῆ σώματα (273e10). In *Tim.* 41e-42b stellt er die πρώτη und die δευτέρα γένεσις des Menschen gegenüber, wobei die δευτέρα γένεσις hier die Wiedergeburt, also Reinkarnation des Mannes im Körper einer Frau als Strafe für ein Leben benennt, das den Begierden folgte. Die Vorstellung der Seelenwanderung als Strafe basiert auf der Vorstellung, dass der Tod als Erlösung vom Leib und seinen Bedürfnissen verstanden wird. Diese Art der Reinkarnation wird jedoch offenbar auch erst später als παλιγγενεσία bezeichnet: Zum Problem der Datierung des Aristoxenos-Belegs vgl. *Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar. Bd. II: Aristoxenos* (Hg. F. Wehrli, Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co.) 50.

[49] S. Büchsel, „παλιγγενεσία", 685f; W. Popkes, „Wiedergeburt" II, *TRE* 36:9-14, hier 11; H. Leisegang, „Palingenesia", *PRE* 36:139-148, hier 141-144.

[50] Vgl. etwa *SVF* II 599 (Arius Didymus), 614 (Justin Apol.), 624 (Alex. Aphrod.), 623 (Lactantius), 625 (Nemesius).

[51] Vgl. *Aet.* 9,45-51,76,107.

[52] Dafür spricht auch die Rezeption des Lexems bei M. Aur. 11,1.

[53] Zur Virulenz dieser Lehre vgl. allgemein A. A. Long and D.N. Sedley, *Die hellenistischen Philosophen. Texte und Kommentare* (Stuttgart-Weimar: Metzler, 2000) 327-333 und 367-373. Παλιγγενεσία kann auch synonym mit ἀναγέννησις wiedergegeben werden: vgl. Philo *Aet.* 8 (=*SVF* II 620).

scelerum; Nat. 30,8) und unter besseren Vorzeichen geboren ist (*melioribus auspiciis natus; Nat.* 30,8). Der Mensch als Teil des Kosmos partizipiert also nach dieser Vorstellung an der kosmischen παλιγγενεσία, am Wiederentstehen der Welt.

Dass das stoische παλιγγενεσία-Konzept in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit auch im Judentum bekannt war, zeigen eben die Schriften Philos, der die Lehre der Stoiker referiert und kritisiert.[54] So teilt er etwa nicht die Ansicht des Weltenbrands, der ἐκπύρωσις, die dem Wiederentstehen der Welt vorausgehen müsse. Παλιγγενεσία verwendet Philo selbst fast nur in individueller Hinsicht: Sie setzt den physischen Tod voraus, ist also postmortal, und betrifft allein die vom Körper sich lösende Seele, die sich mittels der παλιγγενεσία mit der intelligiblen Welt vereinigt. Diese παλιγγενεσία erreicht jedoch nur derjenige, der schon vor seinem Tod in Richtung einer ethischen Perfektion gestrebt hat.[55] Bei Philo führt also die postmortale παλιγγενεσία zum ewigen Leben der Seele des weisen und tugendhaften Mannes. Dass dieser Weg für jeden Glaubenden möglich ist, verdeutlicht Philo mit der metaphorischen Interpretation der atl. Sintflut-Erzählung: Er versteht die Sintflut als durch Gott initiierte Reinigung der Seele von allen schlechten Eigenschaften, die den Platz für die Etablierung der Tugenden in der Seele freigemacht hat. Insofern bezeichnet Philo Noahs Familie als „Anführer der παλιγγενεσία" (*Mos.* 2,65). Noah ist für ihn der Archetypos der „reinen Seele", der als Retter aus der Sintflut neue Tugenden im Menschen entstehen ließ und so ein neues Menschengeschlecht geschaffen hat.[56] Die Zerstörung der bisherigen kosmischen Gegebenheiten durch die Sintflut gilt so als metaphorischer Ausgangspunkt der Ermöglichung des tugendhaften Lebens eines jeden Glaubenden mit dem Ziel der postmortalen παλιγγενεσία der Seele.[57]

Dass ein vergleichbarer Prozess auch bereits praemortal möglich ist, zeigt Philo in seinem Exodus-Kommentar, wo er von der „zweiten Geburt" Mose bei dessen Berufung zum Aufstieg auf den Sinai berichtet (*QE* 2,46):

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[54] Vgl. grundsätzlich Dey, *ΠΑΛΙΓΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ*, 109-117; Burnett, „Philo on Immortality".

[55] Burnett , „Philo on Immortality", 464: „the rebirth of the soul which occurs after death seems to be on a continuum with the migration of the soul towards perfection *before* death". Vgl. auch Philo *QG* 1,16.

[56] Burnett, „Philo on Immortality", 469.

[57] Diese typologische Verbindung der Sintflut mit der Taufe findet sich auch im 1. Petrus- (3:20-21) und im 1. Clemens-Brief (4:9), ohne dass hier allerdings von παλιγγενεσία die Rede wäre. Vgl. dazu K.-H. Ostmeyer, *Taufe und Typos: Elemente und Theologie der Tauftypologien in 1. Korinther 10 und 1. Petrus 3* (WUNT 2/118; Tübingen: Mohr, 2000).

Die griechischen Fragmente des Werks überliefern hier δευτέρα γένεσις, um die „zweite Geburt“ als im Unterschied zur irdischen als auf den göttlichen Vater allein bezogen zu beschreiben.[58] Zugleich wird dieser Vater als derjenige beschrieben, der die Welt und das menschliche Geschlecht geschaffen hat und dieses Geschlecht in geordnetem Einklang mit dem Kosmos sehen will. Moses wird durch die „zweite Geburt“ befreit zum reinen νοῦς,[59] er ist ἄνευ σώματος. Wenngleich die Seele auch bereits in ihrem praemortalen Zustand eine ethische Erneuerung in der Vision der intelligiblen Welt erreichen kann, wird das Lexem παλιγγενεσία von Philo jedoch für die postmortale Wiedergeburt der Seele, die nun vom Körper losgelöst ist, vorbehalten.[60]

Offenbar hat Philo den Begriff παλιγγενεσία über die Stoa rezipiert, jedoch zugleich in seiner Weise umakzentuiert von der kosmischen Welterneuerung in die individuelle postmortale Wiedergeburt der vom Körper befreiten Seele in der intelligiblen Welt.

Außer diesen Belegen bei Philo[61] gibt es kaum weitere Belege für die Verwendung von παλιγγενεσία im Frühjudentum.[62]

4. Auswertung des paganen und jüdischen Befundes für das Verständnis von παλιγγενεσία im Titusbrief

Hält man sich die Verbreitung von παλιγγενεσία und die jeweiligen Kontexte vor Augen, so scheinen die Mysterienreligionen in der Tat die größten Konvergenzen zur Verwendung von παλιγγενεσία im Titusbrief zu bieten: das praemortale Wiederentstehen des Menschen im Initiationsritus imitiert in gewisser Weise das Schicksal eines getöteten und wieder lebendig gemachten Gottes, es ist mit einer Lösung, mit der Reinigung von Schuld verbunden, bindet den jeweiligen Mysten aufs Engste mit dieser Gottheit zusammen und hat einen gewissen kosmischen Aspekt. Zudem sind die orphisch-bakchischen Mysterien aitiologisch mit Kreta verbunden. Dennoch sind die Kenntnisse über die Mysterienkulte, besonders auch zur Zeit der Entstehung der ntl. Schriften zu ungenau, um wirkliche Parallelen ziehen zu können. Die Metapher vom „wieder geboren werden" (νῦν ἐγένου) aus den orphisch-bakchischen Mysterien, die möglicherweise auf den Initiationsakt als einer praemortalen Wiedergeburt bezogen werden kann, stammt aus dem 4. Jh. v.Chr., die Bezeichnung des Isis-Initianden bei Apuleius als „in gewisser Weise wiedergeboren" (*renatus quodam modo*) aus dem 2. Jh. n.Chr.

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[58] Vgl. R. Marcus, *Philo, Supplement II. Questions and Answers on Exodus. Translated from the Ancient Armenian Version of the Original Greek* (LCL 401; Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970) 91-92.251; Back, „Wiedergeburt“, 56.

[59] Vgl. Back, „Wiedergeburt“, 57.

[60] Burnett, „Philo on Immortality“, 470.

[61] Dass Philo παλιγγενεσία auch in anderen Kontexten benutzen kann, zeigt etwa *Post.* 124 (für das Wiederaufleben der Gerechtigkeit Abels in Seth).

[62] Die LXX kennt nur die verbale Formulierung ἕως ἂν πάλιν γένωμαι (Hiob 14:14) für ein (hier bezweifeltes) Leben nach dem Tod. Vergleichbar ist jedoch auch die Aussage der Mutter der sieben Brüder in 2 Makk 7:23 τὴν ζωὴν … πάλιν ἀποδίδωσιν, mit der sie den auch von den Brüdern formulierten Glauben an ihre Auferstehung ausdrückt (s. 7:14). Josephus verwendet γενέσθαι … πάλιν für die Auferstehung (*C.Ap.* 2,218), das Nomen παλιγγενεσία jedoch für die Rückkehr aus dem Exil in die Heimat (*Ant.* 11,67,1: ἀνάκτησιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς πατρίδος; vgl. auch Cic. *Att.* 6,6), wobei auch hier der Fokus nicht auf dem Rückkehrenden, sondern auf der Rekonstitution der Heimat, also dem nationalen Aspekt liegt.

Plutarch dagegen berichtet in Texten, die die mythischen Kontexte der Mysterien tradieren, von den παλιγγενεσίαι des Osiris und des Dionysos, wobei diese im Unterschied zu Tit 3:5 jedoch eindeutig postmortal anzusetzen sind.

Auch die philonische Verwendung von παλιγγενεσία ist postmortal, setzt den physischen Tod voraus und unterscheidet sich insofern von der praemortalen Verwendung im Titusbrief. Dennoch scheint eine Anregung des Verfassers des Titusbriefs durch Philo durchaus möglich, da sich in den Tugend-Katalogen des Briefs ebenso wie in seiner Gottesrede interessante Konvergenzen mit philonischem Denken ausmachen lassen.[63] Im Falle von παλιγγενεσία hätte er jedoch klar umakzentuiert, da sich παλιγγενεσία im Titusbrief nicht als praemortale „Wiedergeburt" im Sinne der Auferstehung zum ewigen Leben verstehen lässt. Dem steht nicht nur die Tatsache entgegen, dass παλιγγενεσία in Tit 3:5 im Sinne einer „Erneuerung" zu verstehen ist, und die Christen sich nach 3:7 noch in der Hoffnung auf das ewige Leben befinden, sondern auch die Abwehr des Gedankens, dass die Auferstehung der Christen bereits geschehen sei beim vermutlich vom selben Verfasser stammenden 2 Tim 2:18.

Da auch in anderen Texten das Begleitwort die Art und Weise der παλιγγενεσία genauer bestimmt,[64] lässt sich für Tit 3:5 die Wiederentstehung konkretisieren als Erneuerung,[65] d.h. die hier beschriebene Heilswende hebt auf das *neue* Sein des Christen im Kontrast zum früheren Sein des Menschen ab, wie es auch durch die Gegenüberstellung von „auch wir waren einst“ (ἦμεν γάρ ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς) in Tit 3:3 mit παλιγγενεσία nahe gelegt wird, ohne dass hier eine explizite Geburtsmetapher gebraucht würde.

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[63] S. C. Mott, „Greek Ethics and Christian Conversion: The Philonic Background of Titus II 10-14 and III 3-7", *NT* 20 (1978) 22-48.

[64] Vgl. bei Plutarch die ἀναβιώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίαι des Osiris sowie des Dionysos, aber auch bei Philo die παλιγγενεσίαι καὶ περίοδοι der stoischen Kosmologie in *Aet.* 9.

Insofern mag der Verfasser des Titusbriefs angeregt sein durch die Verwendung des Lexems bei Philo, für ihn hat παλιγγενεσία jedoch keine eschatologische, sondern eine präsentisch-soteriologische Ausrichtung: Παλιγγενεσία im Titusbrief beschreibt die persönliche, intramundane Heilswende, die eine Erneuerung des präsentischen Lebens darstellt.

Dabei lässt sich der Aspekt der gemeinschaftskonstituierenden, überindividuellen, übernationalen und insofern kosmischen Funktion des Lexems, wie er durch die stoische Verwendung angelegt ist, jedoch in gewisser Weise auch in den Erzählungen aus dem Osiris- und Dionysos-Mythos zu finden ist, und auch in Mt 19:28 zum Tragen kommt, ebenfalls im Kontext des Titusbriefs wieder finden: So gilt das Erscheinen der Gnade Gottes in Christus allen Menschen (πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις 2:11), so schafft Christus sich durch seinen Tod ein „eigenes Volk“ (2:14), das durch die Wiederentstehung und Erneuerung zu „Erben“ eingesetzt wird (3:7). Die Verwendung des Lexems παλιγγενεσία fügt sich insofern konsequent in die auch anderweitig zu beobachtende Tendenz des Briefs, den einzelnen Christen eher als Teil einer größeren Gemeinschaft denn als Individuum zu sehen.[66]

Die παλιγγενεσία in Tit 3:5 lässt sich folglich als eine durch das göttliche ἔλεος motivierte Rettungstat bestimmen, die durch die inhaltliche Verbindung mit der durch Christi Tod vollzogenen Konstitution des „eigenen Volks“ Christi einen gemeinschaftskonstituierenden, „kosmischen“ Aspekt hat, wie er auch in der paganen Tradition des Lexems mitanklingt; sie ist eine praemortale Wiederentstehung des Glaubenden, die parallelisiert wird mit der auf paulinische Metaphorik zurückgreifenden ἀνακαίνωσις. Damit erläutert der Verfasser die „Wiederentstehung“ als eine schöpferische Erneuerung der Individuums und der Welt, die die erste Schöpfung

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Diese Beobachtung spricht gegen eine zu starke inhaltliche Trennung von παλιγγενεσία und ἀνακαίνωσις in Tit 3:5; s. auch Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 321.

[65] So auch Ysebaert, *Baptismal Terminology*, 87; Knight, *Sayings*, 101. Popkes, „Wiedergeburt“, 9-10, erkennt zwar die eigentliche Bedeutung von παλιγγενεσία („Wiedererstehen“), behält aber die Übersetzung mit „Wiedergeburt“ bei.

[66] Vgl. dazu Malherbe, „Christ Jesus“, 350.356.

als kosmisches Geschehen notwendig voraussetzt. Παλιγγενεσία dient dabei als adressatengemäße Erläuterung der „Erneuerung" im Rahmen der oben dargestellten Herkunft des Lexems aus der griechischen Kosmologie für ein Publikum, das mit dem Begriff „Schöpfung"/κτίσις vermutlich nicht allzu viel anfangen konnte,[67] jedoch eigene Weltentstehungserklärungen mit dem Lexem γένεσις fassen konnte. Aus der paulinischen „Neuschöpfung"/καινὴ κτίσις, aus dem paulinischen „Neues-ist-geworden"/γέγονεν καινά wird im Titusbrief παλιγγενεσία καὶ ἀνακαίνωσις als Beschreibung der individuellen und gemeinschaftlichen Heilswende vor kosmischem Hintergrund, die allein auf Gott den Schöpfer zurückgeht, für einen pagan geprägten Adressatenkreis.[68]

5. Das „Bad der Wiederentstehung und Erneuerung" als Zeichen der Konstitution des „eigenen Volkes" Christi im Titusbrief

Nach Angaben im Präskript des Briefes hat Gott schon vor ewigen Zeiten (πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων 1:2), d.h. vor der Schöpfung oder auch mit der Schöpfung der Welt, die Hoffnung auf das ewige Leben verheißen. Durch die Epiphanie Christi ist dieser Heilsplan Gottes allen Menschen offenbar geworden (2:11), er hat also universalen Charakter. Durch den Tod Christi wurden die Menschen gerettet, d.h. von ihren Sünden gereinigt und als „eigenes Volk" Christi konstituiert (2:14), durch das λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως partizipieren die Christen an der Hoffnung auf das ewige Leben, sie werden „Erben entsprechend der Hoffnung auf das ewige Leben" (3:7). Insofern vollzieht sich durch παλιγγενεσία und ἀνακαίνωσις die Aufnahme in das „eigene Volk" Christi und in die eschatologische Aussicht auf ein ewiges Leben. Gott rettet, indem er den Glaubenden bereits jetzt die Voraussetzung für eine Teilhabe am ewigen Leben gibt. Dabei ist die Perspektive zwar deutlich, aber nicht ausschließlich eschatologisch, sondern auf die weltlichen, kosmischen

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[67] Sollte das Schreiben wirklich nach Kreta gerichtet gewesen sein, so entspräche diese Beobachtung der Tatsache, dass es nur sehr wenige Dokumente zur Existenz von Juden auf Kreta im 1. und 2. Jh. n.Chr. gibt; vgl. P.W. van der Horst, „The Jews of Ancient Crete", in: P.W. van der Horst, *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity* (NTOA 14; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1990) 148-165.

[68] Insofern bleibt die kosmische Dimension im Syntagma παλιγγενεσία καὶ ἀνακαίνωσις erhalten und wird nicht in eine rein individuelle soteriologische Aussage überführt; gegen Back, „Wiedergeburt", 58.

Konsequenzen der Umkehr konzentriert: Im bestehenden Äon (ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι 2:12), der unter dem Zeichen der Epiphanie Christi steht, führt die Hinkehr zu Christus dank der χάρις παιδεύουσα (2:11-12) zu einer Lebensveränderung in der Abkehr von irdischen Begierden (τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας 2:12) hin zum Eifer nach guten Werken (καλὰ ἔργα 2:14; 3:8,14; ἔργον ἀγαθόν 3:1), der sich im besonnenen, gerechten und frommen Verhalten manifestiert. Mit der Formulierung σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζῆν (2:12) steht der Verfasser im Einklang mit den Verhaltensidealen der zeitgenössischen griechischen Ethik sowie deren Ergänzung um εὐσέβεια durch Philo,[69] die nun unter der Voraussetzung der παλιγγενεσία als irdische Antwort der Christen auf den eschatologischen Ausblick auf das ewige Leben verstanden werden können.

Doch noch eine weitere Beobachtung aus dem Kontext der Stelle ist in diesem Zusammenhang wichtig: Nach Tit 3:5 rettet Gott auf Grund seines ἔλεος. Dieser Gedanke steht in der Tradition der über das Frühjudentum rezipierten atl. „Gnadenformel“, wie sie sich etwa in Ex 34:6 findet,[70] und die das rettende Handeln Gottes an Israel mit seiner Barmherzigkeit und seinem Mitleid begründet. Dieses ἔλεος richtet sich nun auf alle Menschen über Israel hinaus. Zugleich wird Gott in Tit 3:4 mit Charakteristika beschrieben, die in der kaiserzeitlichen Herrscherverehrung für die römischen Kaiser verwendet wurden: Dazu gehören neben der Nennung seiner χρηστότης und φιλανθρωπία[71] die Aussage seiner ἐπιφάνεια[72] und vor allem die Aussage, dass er der σωτήρ ist. Die σωτήρ-Bezeichnung wurde in der römischen Kaiserzeit verstärkt den Kaisern zugedacht.[73] Dabei wurden die Kaiser zunehmend als Retter der Welt, als kosmische Retter bezeichnet: Titus, Nero und Hadrian ließen sich, wie uns Inschriften belegen, als „Retter … der bewohnten Welt"/σωτὴρ…τῆς οἰκουμένης verehren,[74] Claudius, Tiberius und Domitian als „Retter der Welt"/σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου.[75]

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[69] S. Mott, „Greek Ethics“.

[70] Vgl. dazu H. Spieckermann, „Barmherzig und gnädig ist der Herr…“, *ZAW* 102 (1990), 1-18; C. Zimmermann, *Die Namen des Vaters. Studien zu ausgewählten neutestamentlichen Gottesbezeichnungen vor ihrem frühjüdischen und paganen Sprachhorizont* (AGJU 69; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007) 95-97; zu ἔλεος bei Paulus vgl. C. Breytenbach, „Der einzige Gott-Vater der Barmherzigkeit. Thoratexte als Grundlage des paulinischen Redens von Gott“, *BThZ* 22 (2005) 37-54, hier 51ff.

[71] Zu φιλανθρωπία vgl. E. Plümacher, Art. „φιλανθρωπία“, *EWNT* III:1015-1016. Zur φιλανθρωπία und χρηστότης des Kaisers bei Philo: *Legat.* 73.

[72] S. dazu K. Läger, *Die Christologie der Pastoralbriefe* (Hamburger Theologische Studien 12; Münster: Lit, 1996) 111 (Bezeichnung von Caligulas Regierungsantritt).

[73] Vgl. dazu F. Jung, *ΣΩΤΗΡ. Studien zur Rezeption eines hellenistischen Ehrentitels im Neuen Testament* (NTA NF 39; Münster: Aschendorff, 2002); M.Karrer, „Jesus, der Retter (Soter). Zur Aufnahme eines hellenistischen Prädikats im Neuen Testament“, *ZNW* 93 (2002) 153-176. Der Bezeichnung eines Menschen als σωτήρ entspricht die Erfahrung

Vor diesem Hintergrund erhält die Aussage des Briefes, dass Gott mittels der παλιγγενεσία eine individuelle, aber zugleich eben auch kosmische Erneuerung vollzieht, einen implizit politischen Akzent. Nicht der römische Kaiser, sondern Gott und Christus sind aufgrund der παλιγγενεσία Retter der Welt. Insofern macht παλιγγενεσία in Tit 3:5 eine über die individuelle Erneuerung des Menschen hinausgehende Aussage über das Rettungswerk Gottes in kosmischer Hinsicht, die ihn und Christus damit über alle irdischen Herrscher erhebt und zugleich von allen anderen paganen rettenden Göttern, wie etwa Isis und Serapis, abhebt. Das Rettungswerk Gottes und Christi entspricht dabei in seinen irdischen Konsequenzen dem philosophisch geprägten Konzept der an den Tugenden ausgerichteten παιδεία.[76]

6. Zusammenfassung

Der Verfasser des Titusbriefs überliefert somit in seinem nach Kreta gerichteten Schreiben mit seiner Rede von παλιγγενεσία καὶ ἀνακαίνωσις eine Übersetzung des paulinischen Neuschöpfungsgedankens, der das neue Individuum in einer neuen Welt sieht, in pagane Terminologie, und tradiert mit παλιγγενεσία einen Begriff, der um die Zeitenwende offenbar an Modernität gewann und hier ebenfalls individuelle und überindividuelle Konnotationen hat: Sowohl für die individuelle postmortale „Wiedergeburt" des Dionysos und Osiris mit national-kosmischen Implikationen als auch für die kosmische Wiederentstehung der Welt in der stoischen Lehre ist παλιγγενεσία in dieser Zeit belegt. Das Lexem lässt von seinem paganen Gebrauch her nicht nur ein individuelles Geschehen, sondern auch die kosmische Welterneuerung anklingen, an der die christliche Gemeinde in Absehung von allen irdischen Machtansprüchen der römischen Herrscher partizipiert. Damit unterscheidet sich παλιγγενεσία von den in

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einer machtvollen, rettenden Tat; s. etwa Plut. *Cor.* 11. Zur Bezeichnung des Philosophen als σωτήρ vgl. Malherbe, „Christ Jesus", 341.

[74] *SEG* IV, 209; *OGIS* II, 668; *IK* 271; vgl. Karrer, „Jesus", 167f.

[75] *IG* II/2, 373; *IGRR* III, 721; *IGRR* III, 729; vgl. Karrer, „Jesus", 167f.

[76] S. Malherbe, „Christ Jesus".

den ntl. Texten sehr viel häufiger verwendeten Geburtsmetaphern, die die Beschreibung der religiösen Wende allein auf die individuelle Erfahrung zuspitzen.[77]

Insofern macht der Titusbrief mit seiner Erinnerung an das Bekenntnis zu Gott, der mit Hilfe Christi und des Heiligen Geistes durch das „Bad der Wiederentstehung und Erneuerung" gerettet hat, eine über die individuelle Rettung hinausgehende soteriologische Aussage mit gemeinschaftskonstituierendem, universalem und insofern kosmischem Anspruch. Diese formuliert er in einer Weise, die den paulinischen Neuschöpfungsgedanken in die pagane, philosophisch-kosmologisch geprägte Terminologie übersetzt, und deren besonderer Charakter durch eine nivellierende Übersetzung auch dieses griechischen Lexems mit „Wiedergeburt" verloren ginge.

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[77] Im Hintergrund der Präferenz der Geburtsmetaphorik steht möglicherweise Mt 18:3parr („wenn ihr nicht wieder wie Kinder werdet, werdet ihr nicht in die Königsherrschaft Gottes gelangen"). Die Rede von der Gotteskindschaft der Glaubenden findet sich jedoch bereits in atl. Texten und steht in engem Zusammenhang mit der Metapher Gottes als Vater; vgl. dazu Zimmermann, *Namen*, 41-166. Paulus kann die Vater-Kinder-Metapher jedoch aufgreifen (Gal 4:5-7; Röm 8:14f,23) ohne Geburtsmetaphorik anzuwenden. Die nachpaulinische ntl. Literatur verstärkt nach und nach die Neuzeugungs- und Geburtsmetaphorik wie etwa Joh, 1 Joh und 1 Petr, der die zum Glauben Gekommenen explizit mit ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη vergleicht (2:2), oder auch besonders Clem. Rom und Clem. Alex.

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μακροθυμεῖν in Ben Sira 35:19 and Luke 18:7

A Lexicographical Note

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Abstract

This article investigates the lexical meaning of μακροθυμεῖν in Luke 18:7 with a view to clarifying whether the verb means "to be patient or longsuffering" or "to delay or tarry". The former meaning is well-attested in Greek sources, while evidence for the latter is sparse and is primarily supported by appeal to Sir 35:19 [22], in which μακροθυμεῖν occurs in parallelism with βραδύνειν. After noting some of the limitations of parallelism as a lexicographical tool, the article examines the underlying Hebrew text of Sir 35:19. The verb μακροθυμεῖν is used to render the hithpael of אפק, a verb which never indicates a "slowness to act" but rather refers to restraining or controlling oneself. Lexical evidence that μακροθυμεῖν means "to delay or tarry" is therefore lacking; any sense of a temporal "delay" in Luke 18 or Sir 35 is to be attributed to the larger literary context and not to the semantics of the verb itself.

Keywords

μακροθυμεῖν; Luke 18:7; Sir 32:22; 35:19, 22; Greek lexicography; parallelism; contextual meaning; Hebrew Sirach

Scholars continue to disagree over the meaning of the verb μακροθυμεῖν in the phrase καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς in Luke 18:7.[1] It is clear from the standard Greek lexica that the verb has a dispositional sense of "to be forbearing, longsuffering, patient" in a great many of its occurrences in Greco-Roman literature, the New Testament, and early Christian sources.[2]

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[1] See the surveys of opinion in I.H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 674-675, and D. Bock, *Luke 9:51-24:53* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996) 1451-1454.

[2] See e.g. LSJ 1074, BDAG 612, *PGL* 824-25; cf. also the survey in *TDNT* 4.374-387. In the LXX, the cognate forms μακρόθυμος and μακροθυμία are used to render expres-

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In some instances, however, the verb acquires a temporal nuance of "to wait patiently" (e.g. Heb 6:16; Jas 5:7), and consequently some have argued that in certain cases, such as Luke 18:7, μακροθυμεῖν has undergone a further semantic development from "to wait patiently" to "to be slow, to tarry, to delay."[3] A plausible exegetical argument can be made for understanding the verb in this context either as "to be patient or longsuffering" or as "to tarry or delay," yet the question of its lexical meaning remains unsettled and invites further study. This note will attempt to resolve some of the semantic issues pertaining to μακροθυμεῖν, particularly as they relate to its usage in Luke 18:7.

Apart from Luke 18:7 itself, the passage that is by far the most frequently appealed to as attesting a meaning of "to tarry or delay" for μακροθυμεῖν is Sir 35:19.[4] The entire pericope of Sir 35:11-24 bears a number of striking similarities to the Lukan parable,[5] but verses 19 and 20 are particularly relevant for the lexical question at hand:

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sions for being patient or longsuffering such as אֹרֶךְ/אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם (Exod 34:6; Prov 25:15; Sir 5:4 MSS A and C) and אֹרֶךְ/אֶרֶךְ רוּחַ (Eccl 7:8; Sir 5:11 MS A), and the verb μακροθυμεῖν renders a similar expression in Prov 19:11 (הֶאֱרִיךְ אַפּוֹ). On the other hand, in Job 7:16 μακροθυμεῖν does not appear to correspond directly to anything in the Masoretic Text, and in other cases the verb occurs in texts without an extant Hebrew original (Sir 2:4; 18:11; Bar 4:25; 2 Macc 6:14). On the vexed question of method in LXX lexicography see T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly of the Pentateuch and Twelve Prophets* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002) viii-ix.

[3] See e.g. H. Riesenfeld, "Zu μακροθυμεῖν (Lk. 18,7)," in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift für Prof. Josef Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. J. Blinzler, O. Kuss, and F. Mussner; Regensburg: Pustet, 1963) 214-217; A. Wifstrand, "Lukas XVIII.7," *NTS* 10 (1963/64) 72-74; C. Spicq, "La parabole de la veuve obstinée et du juge inerte, aux décisions impromptues (Lc. XVIII, 1-8)," *RB* 68 (1961) 68-90. It should be noted, however, that only a small number of possible attestations for this meaning of the verb are cited. Indeed, in some of the standard reference works Luke 18:7 is the only example given; see e.g. LSJ 1074; MM 386; L&N 2.646.

[4] The numbering is according to Rahlf's edition; in the Göttingen edition it is 32[35]:22. For comments on some of the other examples cited in the scholarly literature see notes 16 and 17 below. This article will limit its analysis to the lexicography of the verb μακροθυμεῖν, though one should note that appeal is sometimes made to the evidence of cognate forms (e.g. the usage of μακροθυμία in Artemidorus, *Oneir.* 2.25 and μακρόθυμος in *Anthologia Graeca* 11.317).

[5] E.g. both feature "widows" (Luke 18:2, 4; Sir 35:14-15), "judges" (Luke 18:2, 6; Sir 35:11), "prayers" (Luke 18:1; Sir 35:16-17), and a concern for "justice" or "vindication" (Luke 18:3, 5, 8; Sir 35:17, 22). See especially P. Dumoulin, "La parabole de la veuve de Ben Sira 35,11-24 à Luc 18,1-8", in *Treasures of Wisdom: Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom* (ed. J. Vermeylen and N. Calduch-Benages; BEThL 143; Leuven: Peeters, 1999) 169-179.

καὶ ὁ κύριος οὐ μὴ βραδύνῃ	And the Lord will not be slow,
οὐδὲ μὴ μακροθυμήσῃ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς	*neither will he be patient with them/ tarry for them*, (?)
ἕως ἂν συντρίψῃ ὀσφὺν ἀνελεημόνων	till he shatters the loins of the unmerciful
καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀνταποδώσει ἐκδίκησιν	and pays out vengeance to the nations.

Based on the parallelism of the verbs, several scholars have concluded that μακροθυμεῖν is a synonym of βραδύνειν, thus indicating a "delay" or "slowness" to act.[6] There are, however, good reasons to be cautious of placing so much lexical weight on the *parallelismus membrorum*. In terms of lexicographical method, one must bear in mind that there are many different types of parallel structures, which need not be entirely or even partially synonymous in nature. As Barr has rightly observed:

> (1) We do not know in the beginning whether the verse will be a synonymous parallelism or some other kind; we may not even have complete certainty that it is parallelistic at all.
> (2) Even where a verse is certainly parallelistic, we do not certainly know what effect this will have on a particular word within it.[7]

In light of this, one should not assume *a priori* that the parallelism of βραδύνειν and μακροθυμεῖν in Sir 35:19 indicates that they are to be understood as synonyms.[8] Moreover, when one compares the Greek version with the Hebrew text,[9] it becomes evident that a synonymous parallelism was *not* in fact the intent of the writer:

καὶ ὁ κύριος οὐ μὴ βραδύνῃ	גם אל לא יתמהמה
οὐδὲ μὴ μακροθυμήσῃ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς	וכגבור לא יתאפק
ἕως ἂν συντρίψῃ ὀσφὺν ἀνελεημόνων	עד ימחץ מתני אכזרי
καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀνταποδώσει ἐκδίκησιν	ולגוים ישיב נקם

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[6] So e.g. Riesenfeld, "Zu μακροθυμεῖν," 216; Spicq, "La parabole," 79; E. Freed, "The Parable of the Judge and the Widow," *NTS* 33 (1987) 54.

[7] J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 277-278.

[8] Cf. H. Ljungvik, "Zur Erklärung einer Lukas-Stelle (Luk. XVIII.7)," *NTS* 10 (1963/64) 290.

[9] For the Hebrew text of this verse, which is extant only in MS B, see P. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew* (VTS 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 61; Z. Ben-Hayyim, *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary* (Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language and the Shrine of the Book, 1973) 28 [Hebrew]. The verse numbering is 35:22 in Beentjes' edition and 32:22 in Ben-Hayyim's.

The hithpalpel of מהה means "to delay, linger, tarry, wait",[10] and לא יתמהמה is thus nicely rendered by βραδύνειν.[11] On the other hand, the hithpael of אפק never indicates a "delay" or a "slowness to act"; rather, it means "to restrain oneself" or "to control oneself."[12] While μακροθυμεῖν is not used to translate this verb elsewhere in the LXX, it is nevertheless an appropriate rendering in this instance for expressing the lack of restraint in the divine wrath.[13] לא יתמהמה and לא יתאפק, though parallel, are clearly not synonymous expressions, and consequently there is no reason to suppose that μακροθυμεῖν was intended here as a semantic equivalent of βραδύνειν.[14] The denial of a delay in judgment is undoubtedly present in the context, but this is to be attributed to the phrase οὐ μὴ βραδύνῃ, not οὐδὲ μὴ μακροθυμήσῃ. As Louw observes,

> proper semantic analysis requires a distinction between lexical meaning and contextual meaning. That is, between what a word in itself, on its own, contributes to the understanding of an utterance (lexical meaning) and what features of meaning, derived from the context, enable one to define the event more precisely by adding particular contextual features.[15]

Where many have erred in the analysis of Sir 35:19 is by failing to observe this distinction between lexical and contextual meaning, thereby mistakenly attributing the notion of delay expressed by βραδύνειν to the semantics of μακροθυμεῖν.[16]

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[10] See e.g. BDB 554; *HALOT* 2.552; *DCH* 5.163.

[11] So also in Gen 43:10.

[12] BDB 67; *HALOT* 1.80; *DCH* 1.360; cf. Dumoulin, "La parabole," 176-177.

[13] Cf. D. Catchpole, "The Son of Man's Search for Faith (Luke XVIII 8b)," *NovT* 19 (1977) 101.

[14] This assumes a reasonably competent rendering of the Hebrew text on the part of the Greek translator, though firm conclusions regarding the nature of the Greek translation are admittedly difficult to draw in light of the fragmentary state of the Hebrew original. See B. Wright, *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text* (SBLSCS 26; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 115-116.

[15] J.P. Louw, "How Do Words Mean—If They Do?" *Filología Neotestamentaria* 4 (1991) 137.

[16] The same can be said of an example mentioned by Wifstrand ("Lukas XVIII. 7," 72-73) from Chrysostom's homily on Genesis 19:27 (*PG* 54.409), in which he speaks of Jesus' initial silence when approached by the Canaanite woman seeking healing for her daughter (Matt 15):

> ἀλλ᾽ ὁ τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα τῆς διανοίας ἐπιστάμενος σιγᾷ καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίνεται, οὐ λόγου μεταδίδωσιν, οὐδὲ οἰκτείρει τὸ γύναιον, ὁρῶν μετὰ τοσαύτης οἰμωγῆς προσελθοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ μακροθυμεῖ, βουλόμενος τὸν λανθάνοντα θησαυρὸν ἐν τῇ γυναικὶ κατάδηλον

In sum, Sir 35:19 should not be appealed to as establishing a meaning of "to tarry or delay" for μακροθυμεῖν.[17] Accordingly, the simplest lexical analysis of μακροθυμεῖν in Luke 18:7 which makes exegetical sense of the passage is to take the verb in its typical meaning of indicating a disposition of "being patient" or "longsuffering" with someone else: In contrast to the

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> ἅπασι ποιῆσαι. ᾔδει γὰρ τὸν κρυπτόμενον μαργαρίτην ὃν οὐκ ἐβούλετο λαθεῖν ἡμᾶς. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀναβάλλεται, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀποκρίσεως ἀξιοῖ, ἵνα ἡ πολλὴ τῆς γυναικὸς προσεδρία διδασκαλία πᾶσι γένηται τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα.
>
> But the one who understands the secret thoughts of the mind was silent and did not reply, offering not a word nor showing pity to the woman on seeing her come with such weeping; ἀλλὰ μακροθυμεῖ, desiring to make the treasure lying hidden in the woman obvious to everyone. You see, he recognized the secret pearl that he did not want to escape us; and for this reason he put her off (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀναβάλλεται) and did not deign to reply to her, in order that the woman's earnest intercession might become a lesson for everyone afterwards.

As with Sir 35:19, there is certainly a sense of "delay" present in the larger context (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀναβάλλεται), but this should not be attributed to the semantics of μακροθυμεῖν; in this instance ἀλλὰ μακροθυμεῖ can without difficulty be understood as "but he waits patiently".

[17] Likewise, other examples of μακροθυμεῖν with an alleged sense of "to tarry or delay" cited in the literature do not stand up under closer inspection. Artemidorus' ὅσα μακρά ἐστιν… πάντα μακροθυμεῖν κελεύει καὶ μὴ κενοσπουδεῖν (*Oneir.*, IV, 11) is not a particularly compelling example (cf. Ljungvik, "Zur Erklärung," 290 n.1), as it can easily be understood as "Whatever is tall… bids one to bear all things patiently and not to be idly frivolous." *PGL* 824-825 refers to an example from one of Chrysostom's homilies on Matt 8 concerning Christ's calming the storm on the Sea of Galilee (*PG* 57.351):

> ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπετίμα πρὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. Καὶ γάρ, ὅπερ ἔφην, γυμνασίας ἕνεκεν ταῦτα συνεχωρεῖτο, καὶ τύπος ἦν τῶν μελλόντων καταλήμψεσθαι αὐτοὺς πειρασμῶν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλάκις ἀφῆκεν αὐτοὺς εἰς χαλεπωτέρους χειμῶνας πραγμάτων ἐμπεσεῖν, καὶ ἐμακροθύμησε.
>
> But he rebuked them before rebuking the sea. Because, as I have said, these things were permitted as exercise, and were a type of the coming temptations that would overtake them. For even after these things he many times allowed them to fall into fiercer storms of circumstances, καὶ ἐμακροθύμησε.

Some (e.g. Wifstrand, "Lukas XVIII. 7," 72) see a notion of "delay" in this instance since the text mentions that Jesus rebuked the disciples before he stilled the sea (ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπετίμα πρὸ τῆς θαλάσσης), yet καὶ ἐμακροθύμησε actually refers not to the specific episode on the Sea of Galilee but rather to Christ's patience with his faltering disciples on many later occasions (μετὰ ταῦτα πολλάκις).

unrighteous judge who is motivated purely by self-interest, God is patient with his chosen ones (τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ).[18] Had Luke 18:7 actually intended to refer to God's "slowness to act", it is much more probable that one of the several verbs from the semantic field of "delay" utilized elsewhere in Luke-Acts would have been chosen, such as χρονίζειν (Luke 1:21; 12:45), ὀκνεῖν (Acts 9:38), or ἀναβάλλεσθαι (Acts 24:22).[19] Any sense of a temporal delay in the parable, then, is not due to μακροθυμεῖν's lexical meaning but rather to other contextual features. In light of these factors, it is unnecessary to attribute a sense of "delay" or "tarry" to μακροθυμεῖν in this passage.

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18) Cf. e.g. J. Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1993) 870.

19) That μακροθυμεῖν is not part of the semantic field of "delay" or "slowness to act" is further suggested by the contrast drawn in examples such as Sir 29:8: "Nevertheless, *be patient* (μακροθύμησον) with a man in humble circumstances, and *do not make him wait* (μὴ παρελκύσῃς) for your alms"; and 2 Pet 3:9: "The Lord of the promise *is not slow* (οὐ βραδύνει), as some consider *slowness* (βραδύτητα), but rather he *is patient* (μακροθυμεῖ) towards you."

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Book Notes

1. The Apocryphal New Testament

a) The ongoing series *Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha* from Peeters of Leuven issued volumes 8 and 9 in 2007. Number 8 is István Czachesz, *Commission Narratives: A Comparative Study of the Canonical and Apocryphal Acts* xii + 322 pp. ISBN 9789042918450. It is based very closely on his doctoral dissertation presented to the University of Groningen in 2002. The title is self-explanatory of the contents. We are given a careful and close analysis of the relevant texts in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Acts of John, of Philip, of Peter, of Titus and of Barnabas, mostly in a chapter apiece. Czachesz analyses the narrative patterns, formed on biographical models, and the likely historical settings. His aim throughout is to show how such stories function. The richly deserved doctorate that resulted from this dissertation now merits wider acclaim. Volume 9 has Czachasz as co-editor (with Jan Bremmer) of one of the regular sets of papers from the Dutch-Hungarian research conferences on the apocryphal texts: *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* xiii + 249 pp. ISBN 9789042918511. From this research team, including Pierluigi Piovanelli, Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta and Monika Pesthy, we have here eight articles on *inter alia* the history of the manuscript remains of the apocryphal Apocalypse of Paul, its literary merit, its theology and other aspects of its contents, followed by one piece on the Coptic Apocalypse of Paul and an impressive Bibliography, These volumes, like their predecessors, provide much-needed and much-appreciated secondary literature on these valuable texts.

b) Further welcome secondary literature, now on the Gospel of Peter (GPet), has been published by de Gruyter of Berlin in the prestigious series *Texte und Untersuchungen* as volume 158: *Das Evangelium nach Petrus: Text, Kontexte, Intertexte* (2007) viii + 384 pp. €98 ISBN 9783110193138. The editors are the ubiquitous Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas. They provide a German introduction to nineteen articles (10 in German, the rest in English) on aspects of GPet, its manuscripts, its language and style, its relationship to the New Testament Gospels, its Christology and a piece on the context in which GPet emerged. The contributors include Dieter Lührmann, Stanley Porter, John Dominic Crossan, István Czachecz, Joseph Verheyden and Stanley Jones.

c) Oxford University Press has inaugurated its new series *Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts* in 2007 with Christopher Tuckett (ed.), *The Gospel of Mary* xviii + 226 pp. and 12 plates £65 ISBN 9780199212132. This intriguing text has Mary (Magdalene) a recipient of a revelation from the risen Lord. The Coptic text and the two Greek fragments are printed with a facing translation into English. General essays on such matters as genre and unity and the work's alleged Gnosticism form Part I: these

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introductory chapters are informative and easily readable. Another part (III) is a commentary. Tuckett is (wisely) cautious in going beyond the evidence but he is prepared to suggest that the work arose when 'orthodox' Christians, personified in the text by Peter and Andrew are in mild debate with pro-Gnostic Christians, represented by Mary and Levi. We have here a good, solid and reliable entrée to this apocryphon.

d) Another new series is *Early Christian Apocrypha &* published by Polebridge Press, Santa Rosa, CA: it is designed to provide study editions of early Christian apocryphal texts and related writings. The first—and welcome—volume is Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Acts of Andrew* viii + 127 pp. ISBN 0944344550 (2005). We have a good lively English translation of three main sections of this 2nd Century Acts: The Passion of Andrew; Gregory of Tours' Epitome; and (being Macdonald) the Acts of Andrew and Matthias. The translations differ somewhat from his earlier edition of these texts in the SBL series *Texts and Translations* 33 of 1990. There are attached notes of explanation and exegesis as well as comments on the translation. Cross references, generally to Biblical parallels, occur in the outer margins and are collected in a concluding index. Again, characteristic of MacDonald's interests, we are also provided with parallels to Greek classical literature, Homer in particular. This book came out before Roig Lanzillotta's study of this apocryphon (reviewed in a recent 'Book Notes'). There is a succinct introduction and an annotated Bibliography. The book is comparable is scope and intention to Ronald Hock, *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas* in the short-lived series *The Scholars Bible*, which is perhaps not surprising as both come from the same press. We wish this series well and congratulate the press for having selected a world-class expert on the Acts of Andrew to launch it.

e) April DeConick, *Recovering the Original Gospel of Thomas: A History of the Gospel and Its Growth* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2006) xvii + 290 pp. £30 ISBN 0567043320 and *id., The Original Gospel of Thomas in Translation with a Commentary and New English Translation of the Complete Gospel* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2007) xvii + 290 pp. £30 ISBN 9780567042927. [These were originally published in the *Library of New Testament Studies* vols. 286 and 287 in 2006 and 2007 respectively.] Originally intended to form just one volume April DeConick wisely decided to divide her work into two parts. The first explains her theory how the Gospel of Thomas developed from an early collection of sayings preoccupied with the eschaton to a larger collection of logia through varying stages from the first to the late second centuries. The Coptic Gospel we know today is an aggregate text. She is persuasive in describing how the original kernel developed and acquired accretions as a product of a community's social memory. She argues that the alleged Gnostic logia are better described as ascetic. The second half, with its somewhat cumbersome title, is a helpful logion-by-logion commentary that does justice to her theories of the rolling composition, but is usable even if one cannot always agree with her precise reconstruction of this Gospel's growth. It is recommended that we add DeConick's commentary to the all-too-few on this Gospel such as that by Richard Valentasis (Routledge, 1997).

2. Illustrated Books

The British Library and the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin have recently published three books that, among other things, expose some of their handsome manuscript treasures.

a) John Reeve (ed.), *Sacred. Books of the Three Faiths: Judaism, Christianity, Islam* (London: The British Library, 2007) 224 pp. £14.95pb ISBN 9780712349550. This catalogue was published to accompany the exhibition "Sacred" at the British Library from April 27-September 23, 2007 under Anglo-Moroccan patronage.

The book contains essays but its bulk is given over to the texts (and artefacts) that made up the exhibition. Thus we see examples and entries on a range of splendid Jewish, Christian and Muslim writings—Bibles, prayer books, Qurans—from different periods. Some printed books are included, but most of the exhibits are manuscripts; most, but not all, belong to the British Library. A range of texts in different languages, including Armenian, Persian, Ethiopic and Coptic sits alongside those in Hebrew, Arabic, Greek and Latin. The Psalter of Henry VIII is open at Ps. 53 (52) where King David as a harpist is depicted as the British monarch! The photographs, scholarly notes and splendid production ought to survive beyond the original print run to accompany the exhibition. We urge that it will remain in print in its own right.

b) To coincide with the exhibition, two of the British Library staff, who had contributed to *Sacred*, Scot McKendrick (Head of Western Manuscripts) and Kathleen Doyle (Curator of Illuminated Manuscripts), have collaborated to produce a handsome introduction to some of their treasures: *Bible Manuscripts: 1400 Years of Scribes and Scripture* (London: The British Library, 2007) 160 pp. ISBN 9780712349222 at the remarkably low cost of £20. The book is filled with full colour photographs: 142 manuscripts are shown, each accompanied by explanatory comment. These examples range in age from the second century (P.Egerton 2) to Henry VIII's Psalter of 1547; this time it is open at Ps 52 (51)! The early manuscripts are usually of text only; plates of the later manuscripts are chosen for their illuminations or concentrate on a full page picture (such as the Harrowing of Hell from the Tiberius Psalter). Some books are picture Bibles (like the Genesis Picture Book); one is an example of a so-called Biblia pauperum; several are Psalters. All are British Library possessions. Inevitably some of these treasures also figure in *Sacred*, although the photographs are not always from the same opening.

c) Those aware of the importance of the Armenian Church and its textual heritage often turn to Michael Stone for information. Now Nira and Michael Stone have produced a handsome small guide to the history, literature, buildings, topography and art of Armenia: *The Armenians: Art, Culture and Religion* published by the Chester Beatty Library in conjunction with D. Giles Ltd. of London 95 pp. ISBN 9781904832379. (It may be obtained from the library in Dublin Castle for €30.) Many, but not all, of the manuscript illustrations come from the Chester Beatty Library. That library has 89 Armenian manuscripts (dated from the 12th-19th centuries with the majority from the 17th.), of which over half are Biblical (predominantly Gospel books); there are hymnals, lectionaries and amulets. Their last catalogue (by Sirarpie Der Nersession) was published 50 years ago. The Stones are now preparing a supplementary catalogue for Peeters which we eagerly await in 2008. Meanwhile, this popular book will not only increase awareness of the library's holdings but also provide a much-needed fillip for those interested in Armenian studies.

3. Textual Criticism

a) Edited by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project, *The New Testament in Greek* IV: *The Gospel According to St John* 2 *The Majuscules* edited by U.B. Schmid, W.J. Elliott and D.C. Parker (Leiden: Brill, 2007) ix + 557 and 29 pages of plates €169 ISBN 9789004163133 (= *New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents* 37). This is a sequel to the volume on papyri of John published under this series' earlier name, *NTTS*, in 1995. Here the transcriptions of 31 of the mss. containing the Fourth Gospel are printed in the book together with a commendably full apparatus of variants from *all* the majuscules (bar a few understandable exceptions) that contain a continuous text of John. Lost manuscripts are not included in the apparatus as the readings even when known cannot now be verified. Transcriptions of all 68 majuscules may be consulted along with the allied publication of the apparatus on the web (www.iohannes.com). This is a remarkable achievement and marks another significant stepping-stone that augurs well for the completing of the IGNTP John.

b) Two works on Sinaiticus need to be commended. One, specifically on this manuscript, is Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007) xvii + 323 pp. $78 ISBN 9781593334222 (= *Texts and Studies* III 4). This is based on a Cambridge PhD thesis. It examines the nature of the different scribes of the manuscript, their singular readings and the corrections. Inevitably Milne and Skeat's pioneering studies are to the fore, but Jongkind analyses in particular the unique readings in 1 Chron. and the work of scribes A and D in Luke, in five Pauline letters and in the Psalms. The essential focus is on scribal behaviour. Here the pioneers are Colwell then Royse whose oft-quoted thesis of 1981(!) is finally about to be published. Jongkind's study is timely, coming as it does during the work currently being undertaken to digitise Sinaiticus and thereby to expose its characteristics to an ever widening readership. Jongkind's well-researched appendices on Eusebian canon numbering are also welcome. The other monograph is also concerned with the singular readings of Sinaiticus and with the unique readings of Alexandrinus and Codex Ephraimi Rescriptus in Revelation: Juan Hernández Jr., *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences in the Apocalypse* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) xvi + 241 pp. €50 ISBN 9783161491122 (= *WUNT* II 218). Colwell and Royse figure again, of course, as do J. Schmid and (especially) B. Weiss; Milne and Skeat's work has also been mined. This monograph is based on an Emory University thesis. Hernández systematically works through each manuscript, even allowing orthographical and nonsense readings, before analysing the findings. He concludes that accidental omission is common, and that scribes were prone to harmonising. These are not new results but it is helpful to have these many examples from Revelation. Hernández also identifies deliberate theological changes involving Christological titles, conforming to theories about orthodox corruption. The scourings, statistics and conclusions in the book are helpful additions to a growing literature that concentrates on the characteristics of particular witnesses.

c) One scholar who will loudly applaud such an approach is Thomas Kraus, who has already established himself as a doughty advocate of the scribe and the manuscript as *tangible* witnesses. In Thomas J. Kraus, *Ad fontes: Original Manuscripts and their Significance for Studying Early Christianity. Selected Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) xxv + 272 pp. including 4 figures €119 ISBN 9789004161825 (= *TENT* 3) we see his work from the past decade. After a personal statement about his love of manuscripts as artefacts each with their own history to impart follow twelve articles, all in English, some newly translated for this volume and all with addenda plus a helpful, full bibliography appended. Most of these articles appeared earlier, all but three in German, and in a range of journals and publications, not all of which are readily to hand. Thus it is helpful to have this collection, especially as Kraus has much of value to impart—verifiable scholarship, wise deductions and helpful pointers forward to further research. He is an honestly engaging writer and researcher—a veritable terrier! The articles are on documentary papyri, literacy, the lending of books and 'slow writers'. He also writes on the notorious 7Q5, on Biblical texts and on apocrypha like the Fayûm fragment and P.Oxy. 840. Some opportunities have been lost when referring to his published articles to indicate their reappearance in the present collection (see, for example, pp. 23, 43, 65f., 92). Some infelicities in the English ("on principle" p. 25; cf. also p. 21 "in principle" for "mainly") are excusable: but I was surprised to see the plural *apparati* (p. 91)!

J.K. Elliott

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Books Received

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Aejmelaeus, Lars and Antti Mustakallio (eds.), *The Nordic Paul* (London/ New York: Continuum) 0567033109

Allen, Joel S., *The Despoliation of Egypt* (Leiden: Brill) 9004167452

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Bauckham, Richard, *Jesus and the God of Israel* (Carlisle: Paternoster) 1842275382

Bauckham, Richard and Carl Mosser (eds.), *The Gospel of John and Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans) 0802827173

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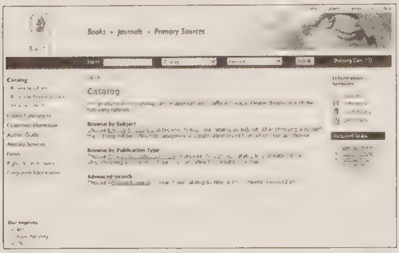
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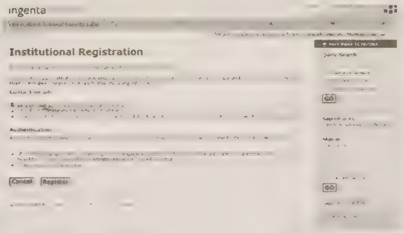

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Preface

On 28 July 2008 an *International Symposium on New Testament Studies* was held at the Conference Centre of Oslo University College in honour of Professor Peder Borgen on the occasion of his retirement as President of the Editorial Board of *Novum Testamentum.* The Editorial Board decided to publish in a single issue papers presented at this symposium that were selected in the course of our normal peer-review process. Because both Executive Editors participated in the symposium, two other Board members, Professors Margaret Mitchell and David Moessner, were invited to act as guest editors. We are grateful for their willingness to undertake this task. To complete the issue, the Executive Editors included an article by Professor Mitchell that had already been accepted for publication.

By means of this special issue we want to thank Professor Peder Borgen for his important contribution to the Journal. We wish him well for the years to come.

Cilliers Breytenbach
Johan Thom
Executive Editors

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Justice in the Sermon on the Mount

An Aristotelian Reading

Johan C. Thom
Stellenbosch

Abstract
The frequent occurrence of the term δικαιοσύνη ("righteousness, justice") in the Sermon of the Mount (Matt 5-7) (SM) indicates one of the main themes of the text. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the term is found in strategically important locations in the composition of the SM. This article does not, however, focus on the meaning and use of δικαιοσύνη as such. Instead, I discuss the role justice, an important component of δικαιοσύνη, plays in the SM. To help us gain perspective on how justice was popularly conceived, a brief survey of one of the most influential ancient analyses of justice, that by Aristotle in bk. 5 of his *Nicomachean Ethics*, is provided. Against this background, the way the notion of justice operates in selected passages of the SM is investigated. I try to show that the text frequently manipulates and overturns conventional conceptions of justice and that this reinforces the SM's demand for a δικαιοσύνη exceeding popular expectations.

Keywords
Sermon on the Mount; justice; righteousness; Aristotle; equity; Golden Rule; δικαιοσύνη; ἐπιείκεια

It is generally accepted that δικαιοσύνη ("righteousness," "justice") plays a crucial role in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5-7) (henceforth SM). Five of the seven occurrences of δικαιοσύνη in Matthew are found in the SM, namely, in 5:6, 10, 20; 6:1, and 33. (The other two instances are in Matt 3:15 and 21:32.) In the other canonical gospels, there are altogether only three instances (Luke 1:75; John 16:8, 10). The remarkable concentration of the term in the SM indicates an important theme of the SM.[1]

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[1] See, e.g., W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew I: Introduction and Commentary on Matthew I-VII* (ICC; London: T&T Clark, 1988) 499: "The word 'righteousness'... expresses the essence of the sermon on the mount"; H.D. Betz,

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This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the term occurs in strategically important locations in the composition of the SM. Let us therefore first briefly review the composition of the SM.

Scholars are in relative agreement about the lower level units of the SM, although there is difference of opinion about the way these units are connected to one another on a macrolevel or about the overall rationale of the composition.[2] My own proposal (offered here as a working hypothesis without detailed argument) is that the composition of the SM may be analysed roughly in terms of the parts of an ancient speech.[3] The outline of the composition is then as follows:

I. **Exordium** (Introduction)—Defining the righteous disciple: 5:3-16
    A. Beatitudes (5:3-12)
    B. Metaphors of salt and light (5:13-16)
II. **Propositio** (Summary statement of theme)—The exceeding righteousness: 5:17-20
    A. True fulfilment of the law (17-18)
    B. The exceeding righteousness (19-20)
III. **Probatio** (Argument)—Understanding and practising the righteous life: 5:21-7:12
    A. δικαιοσύνη and the interpretation of the law (5:21-48)
        1. Murder (21-26)
        2. Adultery (27-30)

The Sermon on the Mount: A Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, Including the Sermon on the Plain (Matthew 5:3-7:27 and Luke 6:20-49) (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995) 130: "Within the SM, the term δικαιοσύνη occupies a place of central importance"; U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus. 1. Teilband: Mt 1-7* (5th ed.; EKKNT 1/1; Zürich: Benziger/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2002) 259: "das… Wort δικαιοσύνη [ist] eines der grundlegenden Leitworte der Rede." No attempt is made to engage fully with the vast scholarship on the SM; the literature cited in this article is therefore intended to be representative rather than exhaustive.

2) See the very helpful brief overview by C.H. Talbert, *Reading the Sermon on the Mount: Character Formation and Decision Making in Matthew 5-7* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004) 21-26.

3) This was first suggested by G.A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press/London: Croom Helm, 1980) 39-63; see also B.L. Mack, *Rhetoric and the New Testament* (GBS.NT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 82-85. The details of my own analysis, however, differ from both Kennedy's and Mack's. My outline of the composition combines a rhetorical and a thematic approach.

        3. Divorce (31-32)
        4. Taking an oath (33-37)
        5. Retaliation (38-42)
        6. Love and hate (43-48)
    B. δικαιοσύνη and piety (6:1-18)
        1. Principle (1)
        2. Alms (2-4)
        3. Prayer (5-15)
        4. Fasting (16-18)
    C. δικαιοσύνη and priorities (6:19-34)
        1. Correct focus: God vs. possessions (19-24)
            a. Treasure in heaven (19-21)
            b. Lamp of the body (22-23)
            c. Two lords (24)
        2. Anxiety vs. trust and obedience (25-34)
            a. Principle (25)
            b. Food (26-27)
            c. Clothes (28-30)
            d. Conclusion: correct priorities (31-34)
    D. Judgement and discrimination, actions and consequences (7:1-11)
        1. Judgement (1-5)
        2. Discrimination (6)
        3. Seeking and finding (7:7-11)
    E. Golden Rule: moral imagination (7:12)

IV. **Peroratio** (Conclusion)—Warnings regarding words and actions: 7:13-27
    A. Difficulty of the righteous life (13-14)
    B. False prophets (15-20)
    C. Claims and obedience (saying and doing) (21-23)
    D. Parable regarding hearing and doing (24-27)
        1. Hearing and doing (24-25)
        2. Hearing and not doing (26-27)

The most significant implication of the proposed view of the composition is that the *propositio* in 5:17-20 gives an indication of the theme of the SM as a whole.[4] Most scholars recognize its function as an introduction,[5] but they differ as to whether it is intended as introduction to 5:21-48, 5:21-7:12, or 5:21-7:27.[6] As *propositio*, vv. 17-20 in fact do all of these by moving from the specific to the general: the reference to the topos of upholding and interpreting the law (5:17-19)[7] prepares the way for what follows immediately in 5:21-48, but v. 20 then broadens the scope of the theme by demanding of the disciples a δικαιοσύνη exceeding that of the religious leaders who interpreted and exemplified this law.[8] This theme is developed in the body of the SM as a whole (5:21-7:12), as can be seen from the references to δικαιοσύνη in 6:1 and 6:33, and from the fact that the Golden Rule in 7:12, generally recognized as the closing statement of the body, refers back to these verses.[9] Verses 17-19 thus link directly to the first part of the body of the SM (5:21-48), which has as its theme the interpretation of the law, while v. 20 points to an exceeding δικαιοσύνη as the overarching theme of the SM.

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[4] For the function of the *propositio* see H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study* (Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 1998) 136, §289.

In addition to being a crucial element of the closing summary of the *propositio* in 5:20, the term δικαιοσύνη also occurs in other strategically important locations. It is found at the very beginning, the *exordium* of the SM, in 5:6 and 10, important central and closing positions of the primary series of Beatitudes. The next occurrence of δικαιοσύνη after 5:20 is in 6:1, which summarizes the principle of the second part of the body of the SM (6:1-18), namely, that δικαιοσύνη should not be practised in order to be honoured by people. If 6:1 serves as introduction to the second part, 6:33 provides a closing statement to the third part. Like 6:1 it also functions beyond its immediate context and formulates a basic principle of the SM, namely, that seeking δικαιοσύνη should be the disciples' first priority.[10]

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5) One of the few exceptions among recent scholars is R. Deines, *Die Gerechtigkeit der Tora im Reich des Messias: Mt 5,13-20 als Schlüsseltext der matthäischen Theologie* (WUNT 2/177; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004) 429, who considers 5:20 a summary and conclusion to 5:3-19, which then also functions as a transition to the antitheses. See, however, already G. Strecker, *Die Bergpredigt: Ein exegetischer Kommentar* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 12.

6) See Talbert, *Reading the Sermon on the Mount*, 25.

7) See on the topos D.L. Balch, "The Greek Political Topos περὶ νόμων and Matthew 5:17, 19, and 16:19," in *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches* (ed. D.L. Balch; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 68-84.

8) The *propositio* often has such a twofold function of introducing what follows immediately in the first part of a speech, and of indicating the overarching theme of the speech. See Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 160, §346.

9) Cf. e.g. G.N. Stanton, "Sermon on the Mount/Plain," *DJG* (1992) 741, 743.

10) Cf. Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 481: "This most important statement is the culmina-

δικαιοσύνη is thus clearly a central theme in the SM. The term occurs in strategic locations throughout the composition, often in formulations expressing general principles of the SM. In this article I do not, however, intend to focus on the meaning of δικαιοσύνη as such.[11] Instead, I want to consider the way justice, as an important component of δικαιοσύνη, functions within the logic of the argumentation of the SM, and to show how this, in conjunction with δικαιοσύνη, contributes to the overall meaning of the SM.

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tion of the argument. Indeed, it is not an overstatement to say that the sentence has a significance beyond the present context in which it serves as a kind of *telos*-formula ('goal'-formula)." Similarly, Deines, *Gerechtigkeit der Tora*, 441: 6:33 is a kind of summary of the message of the SM. He however understands the sentence as an exhortation to a missionary existence; ζητεῖτε should be understood "als *sich bemühen um die Ausbreitung und Geltung der Basileia in der Welt*, d.h. er ist Aufruf zu einer missionarischen Existenz" (*Gerechtigkeit der Tora*, 446).

[11] In view of Matthew and the SM's undoubted indebtedness to Judaism, most modern exegetes focus their discussion on the meaning of the *word* or *concept* δικαιοσύνη within a Jewish context. Key issues in current scholarship include whether δικαιοσύνη should be considered a Matthean redactional addition or whether it was already present in Matthew's source; whether δικαιοσύνη has more than one meaning in the SM; whether δικαιοσύνη should be understood as God's demand to live according to his requirements, as God's eschatological gift of a state of righteousness, as a just social order now or in the eschatological future, or as a combination of these; to what extent δικαιοσύνη should be understood in terms of underlying Hebrew or Aramaic terms such as צֶדֶק, צְדָקָה, זָכוּת or זָכוּ; and to what extent the first-century Palestinian context influenced the meaning of the word. Important studies for δικαιοσύνη in the SM, all of which emphasize its Jewish background, include B. Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew and His World of Thought* (SNTSMS 41; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); H. Giesen, *Christliches Handeln: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum δικαιοσύνη-Begriff im Matthäusevangelium* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 23/181; Frankfurt/Bern: Lang, 1982); Martin Hengel, "Zur matthäischen Bergpredigt und ihrem jüdischen Hintergrund," *TRu* 52 (1987) 327-400; and recently Deines, *Gerechtigkeit der Tora*. I have not been able to consult M.J. Fiedler, "Der Begriff δικαιοσύνη im Matthäus-Evangelium, auf seine Grundlagen untersucht" (Diss. theol., Halle, 1957). See also G. Schrenk, "δικαιοσύνη," *TDNT* 2 (1964), esp. 198-199; A. Dihle, "Gerechtigkeit," *RAC* 10 (1978) 306-308; K. Kertelge, "δικαιοσύνη," *EDNT* 1 (1990-1993) 328-329; C. Spicq, "δίκαιος κτλ.," *TLNT* 1 (1994) 318-347; D. Lührmann, "Gerechtigkeit III: Neues Testament," *TRE* 12 (1984), esp. 415; U. Luz, "Bergpredigt I: Neues Testament," *RGG* 1 (1998), esp. 1311; W. Klaiber, "Gerechtigkeit I: Biblisch 2. Neues Testament," *RGG* 3 (2000) 704-705. Betz is the only modern scholar who in his commentary systematically considers the Greco-Roman background of δικαιοσύνη, although he also emphasizes the "Jewish sense of the term" (*Sermon on the Mount*, esp. 130).

To gain some perspective on the SM's treatment of justice, let us first look at one of the most influential ancient analyses of δικαιοσύνη, namely, that offered in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* bk. 5.

Aristotle's Analysis of δικαιοσύνη

Although Aristotle's ethics does not simply reflect popular morality,[12] he certainly takes his point of departure in common notions of justice.[13] Aristotle observes that there is a twofold understanding of δικαιοσύνη, namely, δικαιοσύνη as a general virtue and as a more specific virtue (*Eth. Nic.* 5.1).[14] In popular thought δικαιοσύνη was often considered the all-encompassing virtue, a view already formulated by Theognis (6th cent. BCE): ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετή 'στι ("In justice all virtue is subsumed").[15] Plato, in particular, applied the evaluation "just" in relation to virtuous

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12) Cf. K.J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974) 1-2: "If we imagined that either Plato's work or Aristotle's represented an intellectual systematization of the principles which were manifested in the moral choices and judgments of the ordinary unphilosophical Greek, it is possible that we might go badly astray." In her recent book, T. Morgan also contends that "despite some similarities, overlaps and even some shared material, the relationship between high philosophy, expressed as systematic doctrines, and popular morality is tenuous at best" (*Popular Morality in the Early Roman Empire* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007] 333-340; quotation from p. 337). Some of the shared material is clearly an interest in justice; cf. ibid., Index, s.v. "justice."

13) Aristotle's method generally is to start his investigation with "what seems to be the case" (τὰ φαινόμενα) and to attempt to prove the "reputable opinions" (ἔνδοξα) (*Eth. Nic.* 7.1.1145b2-7), that is, views held by all, or most people, or at least by people with a reputation for wisdom (*Top.* 1.1.100b21-23). See R. Kraut, "How to Justify Ethical Propositions: Aristotle's Method," in *The Blackwell Guide to Aristotle's* Nicomachean Ethics (ed. R. Kraut; Blackwell Guides to Great Works; Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006) 77-80.

14) Aristotle's distinction became the norm for later authors; see R. Hauser et al., "Gerechtigkeit," *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* 3 (ed. J. Ritter and K. Gründer; Basel: Schwabe, 1974) 330.

15) Theognis 147 (= Phocylides frg. 10 Diehl), quoted by Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.1.1129b30. Cf. also ibid., 1129b27: πολλάκις κρατίστη τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἡ δικαιοσύνη. Centuries later Cicero stills expresses the same sentiment: *iustitia, in qua virtutis splendor est maximus, ex qua viri boni nominantur* (*Off.* 1.20). For a comprehensive and relatively detailed discussion of ancient views of justice see Dihle, "Gerechtigkeit"; see also idem, *Der Kanon der zwei Tugenden* (Köln/Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1968), esp. 10-14. The article on justice by Ada Neschke in the *DNP* is disappointingly brief ("Gerechtigkeit/Recht," *DNP* 4 [1998] 951-953). Cf. also Schrenk, "δικαιοσύνη"; O. Höffe, "Gerechtigkeit II: Philosophisch," *RGG* 3 (2000) 705-709.

conduct in general, that is, someone may be described as "just" if he lives a principled life.[16] Justice as a relational concept indicating the appropriate relationship or proportionality between two entities[17] was therefore considered the norm for all behaviour and for all relationships.[18] Aristotle accepts this broad view of δικαιοσύνη as a comprehensive virtue, although he qualifies it as "the perfect virtue in relation to the other" (τελεία ἀρετὴ πρὸς ἕτερον; *Eth. Nic.* 5.1.1129b26-27), that is, the social virtue *par excellence*. In this sense, δικαιοσύνη has the wider meaning of "righteousness."[19]

In the *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle is however more interested in "particular" justice, that it, justice that is not identical with virtue, but that forms part of it (*Eth. Nic.* 5.2.1130a14-b29). Particular justice is concerned with the equal distribution of goods which constitute good or bad fortune (ὅσα εὐτυχία καὶ ἀτυχία; *Eth. Nic.* 5.1.1129b3), that is, goods such as honour, wealth and security (τιμή, χρήματα, σωτηρία; 5.2.1130b2; cf. 1130b31-32).[20] As we shall see in a moment, Aristotle divides particular justice in two further forms, but once again it is clear that his analysis is based on popular conceptions. Justice was popularly defined as "to render to each his due."[21] In the wisdom tradition justice was also seen to be at work in the appropriate correlation between one's actions and their consequences (as rewards or as punishments), with the deity as the ultimate guarantor of such justice.[22]

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[16] See M. Pakaluk, *Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics: An Introduction* (Cambridge Introductions to Key Philosophical Texts; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 182-186, 188-192.

[17] See Neschke, "Gerechtigkeit/Recht," 951: "'G[erechtigkeit]' ist ein relationaler Begriff: er stellt die Angemessenheit bzw. Verhältnismäßigkeit zw. zwei Größen fest." Cf. Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 5.3.1131a29-30; *Magn. Mor.* 1.23.1193b34-39.

[18] On the basis of this relational view of justice, Plato, e.g., was able to extend by analogy the notion of an all-encompassing justice providing order in the social community between different groups of people to the human soul: the virtue of justice ensures harmony between the parts of the soul (λογιστικόν, θυμοειδές, ἐπιθυμητικόν) and the virtues associated with them (φρόνησις, σοφία; ἀνδρεία; σωφροσύνη). In this way δικαιοσύνη acquires a coordinating role among the cardinal virtues. See Dihle, "Gerechtigkeit," 255-258.

[19] See H. Rackham, trans., *Aristotle: The Nicomachean Ethics* (rev. ed.; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1934) 252-253n on the problem of translating δικαιοσύνη and cognate terms in bk. 5.

[20] See the definition given at *Eth. Nic.* 5.5.1134a1-6: καὶ ἡ μὲν δικαιοσύνη ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν ὁ δίκαιος λέγεται πρακτικὸς κατὰ προαίρεσιν τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ διανεμητικὸς καὶ αὑτῷ πρὸς ἄλλον καὶ ἑτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον οὐχ οὕτως ὥστε τοῦ μὲν αἱρετοῦ πλέον αὑτῷ ἔλαττον δὲ τῷ πλησίον, τοῦ βλαβεροῦ δ' ἀνάπαλιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἴσου τοῦ κατ' ἀναλογίαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ πρὸς ἄλλον ("Also, Justice is that quality in virtue of which a man is said to be disposed to do by deliberate choice that which is just, and, when distributing things between himself and another, or between two others, not to give too much to himself and too little to his neighbor of what is desirable, and too little to himself and too much to his neighbor of what is harmful, but to each what is proportionately equal; and similarly when he is distributing between two other persons"; trans. H. Rackham in LCL). For a discussion of this definition see Pakaluk, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 181-182. For the scope of the goods with which justice is concerned, see also C.M. Young, "Aristotle's Justice," in

Aristotle divides particular justice into "distributive" (διανεμητικόν) and "corrective" (διορθωτικόν, ἐπανορθωτικόν) justice (5.2.1130b30-1131a1; 5.4.1132a18).[23] Distributive justice ensures the equal distribution of goods in a common enterprise, such as a business transaction.[24] Aristotle takes

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The Blackwell Guide to Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics (ed. R. Kraut; Blackwell Guides to Great Works; Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006) 183.

[21] Cf. Plato, *Resp.* 331E: τὸ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἑκάστῳ ἀποδιδόναι δίκαιόν ἐστι (citing a saying by Simonides); Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1366b: ἔστι δὲ δικαιοσύνη μὲν ἀρετὴ δι᾽ ἣν τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι ἔχουσι, καὶ ὡς νόμος. (Jesus' statement in Mark 12:17||Matt 22:21||Luke 20:25 is based on this concept of justice.) See also *Rhet. Her.* 3.3: *iustitia est aequitas ius unicuique retribuens pro dignitate cuiusque*; Cicero, *Inv.* 2.160: *iustitia est habitus animi communi utilitate conservata suam cuique tribuens dignitatem.* This notion also endured in later legal definitions such as that in Ulpian (ca. 200 CE), *Dig.* 1.1.10: *iustitia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuendi. iuris praecepta sunt haec: honeste vivere, alterum non laedere, suum cuique tribuere* ("Justice is a steady and enduring will to render unto everyone his right. The basic principles of what is right are: to live honourably, not to harm any other person, to render to each his own"). See the discussion by Dihle, "Gerechtigkeit," 284-289.

[22] See Dihle, "Gerechtigkeit," 243-246; and for the OT, E. Otto, "Gerechtigkeit I: Biblisch 1. Alter Orient und Altes Testament," *RGG* 3 (2000) 703: "In der Weisheit wird das gemeinschaftsgemäße Tun und das daraus resultierende positive Ergehen sowie die Konkordanz von Tat und Ergehen als G. bez[eichnet]. Der Tun-Ergehens-Zusammenhang wird durch das soziale Gedächtnis der Gemeinschaft hergestellt.... JHWH sorgt dafür, daß so die Taten auf das Haupt des Täters zurückfallen, und greift strafend dort ein, wo sich der Zusammenhang von Tat und Ergehen nicht einstellt"; J. Scharbert, "Gerechtigkeit I: Altes Testament," *TRE* 12 (1984) 407-410; Bible in general: A. Grund, "Tun-Ergehens-Zusammenhang I: Biblisch," *RGG* 8 (2005) 654-656. In ancient Greek thought, "the protection of justice must have been one of Zeus' attributes from the earliest times" (H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* [Sather Classical Lectures 41; Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971] 8 and passim).

[23] A similar distinction is still used by Cicero, *Off.* 1.20(7): *Sed iustitiae primum munus est, ut ne cui quis noceat, nisi lacessitus iniuria, deinde ut communibus pro communibus utatur, privatis ut suis* ("The first office of justice is to keep one man from doing harm to another, unless provoked by wrong; and the next is to lead men to use common possessions for the common interests, private property for their own"; trans. W. Miller in LCL).

[24] D.S. Hutchinson, "Ethics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Aristotle* (ed. J. Barnes; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 222.

great pains to argue that the equality (ἰσότης) entailed in distributive justice is not a simple equality between terms (i.e., x equals y), but rather a proportionate equality between the goods and the persons involved (i.e., person A : person B :: benefit x : benefit y; or person A : benefit x :: person B : benefit y) (5.3.1131a15-b24; 5.5.1133a31-b6). A business transaction, for example, will be considered just if both persons A and B consider the goods x and y that they exchange to be equal *in value* (but not of course exactly the same, which would simply mean that they give one another the exact same items). Corrective justice entails the corrections of an inequality created through an act of injustice; it attempts to restore the "mean" (τὸ μέσον) or balance disturbed by the unjust act (5.4). This kind of justice is therefore concerned with the preservation and restoration of equality.[25] Aristotle argues against the notion that corrective justice simply consists in "repayment" (τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός), that is, the principle of retaliation (the *ius talionis*) (5.5.1132b21-1133a2).[26] Justice requires proportionate punishment, instead, just as we have a commensurable rather than an exact exchange of goods.[27]

Proportionate equality in both forms of particular justice implies that someone should be treated according to merit (κατ' ἀξίαν, 5.3.1131a24-29).[28] The principle of merit or worth entails, amongst other things, that who one is and what one does be taken into account when justice is administered. In the Athenian democracy, for example, a free-born citizen would be treated differently from a foreigner or a slave.

Aristotle qualifies his treatment of δικαιοσύνη in a significant manner by introducing the notion of equity, that is, ἐπιείκεια (also translated "reasonableness" or "fairness").[29] According to Aristotle, equity is a "superior" form of justice correcting and transcending a "strict justice" based on a literal interpretation of the law.[30] Aristotle refers to equity from two perspectives. The first is from the perspective of the person interpreting the law: Because a law is always a general statement intended to cover a wide variety of situations, it cannot provide for every specific case (5.10.1137b11-19). In some instances it is therefore necessary to "correct" a law in order to ensure that justice prevails. Instead of following the law to the letter, equity tries to take the purpose of the law or the intention of the lawgiver into account as it applies to specific cases (5.10.1137b19-27).[31] An ancient commentator on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* therefore describes ἐπιείκεια as a form of δικαιοσύνη "*aiming at* [or *trying to reach*; στοχαστική] what is just."[32]

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[25] See Hutchinson, "Ethics," 222-223; also Pakaluk, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 195-199.

[26] According to Aristotle, this was the Pythagorean view of justice, but it represents a common conception in antiquity; see the discussion below on Matt 5:38-42.

[27] See Pakaluk, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 193-194. Aristotle also attempts to express corrective justice as a mathematical proportion, but without much success; see Hutchinson, "Ethics," 223 n. 9.

[28] This becomes a standard feature in later abbreviated definitions of justice; cf. [Aristotle] *Virt.* 1250a12: δικαιοσύνη δ' ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ ψυχῆς διανεμητικὴ τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν; [Plato] *Def.* 411D-E: ἕξις διανεμητικὴ τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ.

[29] LSJ, s.v. Despite its importance in Aristotle's thought on how justice should be administered, his discussion of the topic is not very explicit. He has a brief chapter on ἐπιείκεια in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (5.10.1137a31-1138a3); there are also paragraphs about equity in the *Rhetoric* (1.13.1374a26-1374b23; cf. also 1.15.1375a27-33) and in the *Magna Moralia* (2.1-2.1198b24-1199a3). See the admirable review of the evidence and of recent

The second perspective on equity is that of the person having a right to justice: the "equitable" or reasonable person often takes for himself less than he is rightly entitled to.[33] One of the reasons is perhaps that

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perspectives by J. Brunschwig, "Rule and Exception: On the Aristotelian Theory of Equity," in *Rationality in Greek Thought* (ed. M. Frede and G. Striker; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 115-155. For the problematic relationship of the *Magna Moralia* to Aristotle's other ethical works, see H. Flashar, "Aristoteles," in *Ältere Akademie, Aristoteles, Peripatos*, vol. 3 of *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie: Die Philosophie der Antike* (ed. Hellmut Flashar; 2nd ed.; Basel: Schwabe, 2004) 227.

[30] *Eth. Nic.* 5.10.1137b8-11: τό τε γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς δικαίου τινὸς ὂν βέλτιόν ἐστι δίκαιον, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἄλλο τι γένος ὂν βέλτιόν ἐστι τοῦ δικαίου. ταὐτὸν ἄρα δίκαιον καὶ ἐπιεικές, καὶ ἀμφοῖν σπουδαίοιν ὄντοιν κρεῖττον τὸ ἐπιεικές. ("For equity, while superior to one sort of justice, is itself just: it is not superior to justice as being generically different from it. Justice and equity are therefore the same thing, and both are good, though equity is the better"; trans. Rackham in LCL). For "strict justice" see ἀκριβοδίκαιος in n. 33 below. The notion that one form of δικαιοσύνη is "more" (πλεῖον) than another may be contrasted with the statement by Epictetus that there are no degrees of comparison in what is just: καθάπερ ὀρθοῦ οὐδὲν ὀρθότερον, οὕτως οὐδὲ δικαίου οὐδὲν δικαιότερον, "Just as nothing is more straight than straight, so nothing is more just than just" (*Gnomologium Epicteteum [e Stobaeo 3-4]* 56).

[31] Brunschwig, "Rule and Exception," 150-154, points out that the interpretation and application of the kind of justice that is the province of equity, cannot be encapsulated in a general principle, precisely because this kind of justice is concerned with the individual and the accidental, that is, a level of particularity that cannot be generalized. Equity therefore requires a keen sense of discrimination (εὐγνωμοσύνη) to determine what is just and appropiate under the circumstances. See Aristotle, *Magn. mor.* 2.2; also *Eth. Nic.* 6.11.1143a19-24.

[32] ἐπιείκεια, δικαιοσύνη τις οὖσα, τουτέστι τοῦ δικαίου στοχαστική; *Anonymus in Eth. Nic.* p. 250.39-40 ed. Heylbut.

[33] Cf. *Eth. Nic.* 5.10.1138a1-2: ὁ μὴ ἀκριβοδίκαιος ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀλλ᾽ ἐλαττωτικός,

the well-being of a social community depends on the benevolent involvement (φιλία) of its citizens in which the requirements of a strict justice are transcended.[34]

Discussion of δικαιοσύνη of course continued after Aristotle. Philosophers of the Stoa concentrate on distributive justice, but they also return to the idea of δικαιοσύνη as a general social virtue, which includes other virtues such as χρηστότης ("goodness"), εὐκοινωνησία ("good fellowship"), εὐσυναλλαξία ("fair dealing"), and εὐσέβεια ("piety").[35] In the philosophical syncretism characterizing the Greco-Roman period from the first century BCE onwards we find an eclectic combination of various definitions.[36] Clement of Alexandria is a good example among early Christian authors of such eclecticism: δικαιοσύνη is ἀπονεμητικὴ κατ' ἀξίαν (*Paed.* 1.8.64.1); it creates harmony (συμφωνία) between the various parts of the soul (*Strom.* 4.26.163.4); it expresses itself in not being greedy (μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν; ibid., 4.25.161.2); and it is the all-encompassing virtue (παντελὴς ἀρετή; ibid., 7.3.17.3).[37]

Justice in the Sermon on the Mount

When we now return to the SM, it has to be borne in mind that the concept of justice functions on two levels in the text, both as an explicit theme and as an implicit notion underlying much of the argumentation. I do not intend to present an exhaustive analysis of justice in the SM, but will confine my discussion to some prominent examples of how the notion of justice is used.

καίπερ ἔχων τὸν νόμον βοηθόν, ἐπιεικής ἐστι ("He who does not stand on his rights unduly, but is content to receive a smaller share although he has the law on his side is equitable"; trans. Rackham in LCL, slightly adapted); *Top.* 6.3.141a16: τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἐλάττωσιν τῶν συμφερόντων ("Equity is a lessening of what is to your advantage"); *Magn. mor.* 2.1. See Pakaluk, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 200.

[34] Cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 8.1.1155a22-24; also 8.14.1163b15-19. See also Dihle, "Gerechtigkeit," 260, 262-263; Pakaluk, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 201.

[35] *SVF* 3.264. See further Dihle, "Gerechtigkeit," 266-269.

[36] See in general Dihle, "Gerechtigkeit," 269-271. There are on the other hand still arguments about differing definitions of δικαιοσύνη in this period; cf., e.g., the critique of Peripatetic and Stoic definitions in the fragments from the middle-Platonist Hierax's Περὶ δικαιοσύνης in Stobaeus 3.9.53-55.

[37] See Dihle, "Gerechtigkeit," 328.

The Exordium *(Introduction): Matt 5:3-16*

As we have seen, δικαιοσύνη is mentioned twice in the Beatitudes, in 5:6, and again in 5:10. Although the composition of the Beatitudes is heavily debated,[38] the macarisms containing δικαιοσύνη are highlighted in several respects: (a) Verse 6a is the only macarism with two adjectives or participles (i.e. πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες) identifying the quality of the disciple, and 6a and 10a are in fact the longest of the eight macarisms in this series (5:3-10). The relative importance of a statement is often emphasized rhetorically by an increase in length.[39] (b) Verses 6 and 10 are the only two macarisms of this series referring to the same quality, namely, δικαιοσύνη. (c) The macarism in v. 10 receives further emphasis by the fact that its ὅτι clause is identical to that of v. 3. This clause differs both syntactically and as regards to the extent of its claim from the other ὅτι clauses in the Beatitudes. These verses therefore form a framing *inclusio* for the series, which appears to lift out being poor in spirit (v. 3a) and being persecuted because of δικαιοσύνη (v. 10a) as superordinate qualities to which the other qualities in vv. 4-5 and 7-9 are subordinated.

The fact that the term δικαιοσύνη occurs twice in the *exordium* is of particular importance because the introduction to the SM indicates the qualities required of a disciple. From 5:6 we learn that δικαιοσύνη is something that should continuously be desired,[40] while 5:10 refers to the vulnerability of those practising δικαιοσύνη. Here and elsewhere in the SM δικαιοσύνη in my view has to do with the right way of life expected of the disciples, rather than with a righteousness received as gift from God.[41] The *inclusio* connecting the final beatitude in 5:10 with the first beatitude in 5:3 suggests a close relationship between being persecuted for the sake of δικαιοσύνη and being conscious of one's spiritual need.[42]

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[38] The contentious issues include the relationship between 5:3-10 and 5:11-12, and the relationships between the various macarisms. See, e.g., H.D. Betz, "The Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:3-12): Observations on Their Literary Form and Theological Significance," in *Essays on the Sermon on the Mount* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 17-36; R.F. Collins, "Beatitudes," *ABD* 1 (1992) 629-631; H.B. Green, *Matthew, Poet of the Beatitudes* (JSNTSup 203; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), esp. 37-47, 252-256.

[39] This is the so-called rhetorical "law of augmenting parts"; see Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 213-214, §451.

[40] Note the use of the present participles. Cf. Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 453: "Righteousness, it is implied, must ever be sought, must always be a goal which lies ahead: it is never in the grasp."

[41] Thus also e.g. Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew*, 84, 87-89, 96-99; Spicq, "δίκαιος," 331-332; Lührmann, "Gerechtigkeit," 415; U. Luz, *Matthew 1-7: A Continental Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 237-238 = *Matthäus I*, 283-284 (who also refers to

In addition to the explicit mention of the theme of δικαιοσύνη in vv. 6 and 10, the notion of justice is also implicitly present in the relationship between the qualities praised in the various macarisms and the rewards promised for these qualities. The Greek term for "reward," μισθός, is indeed explicitly used in this context (5:12). It is an important term closely related to δικαιοσύνη.[43] Six of the fourteen occurrences of this term in the gospels are found in the SM (5:12, 46; 6:1, 2, 5, 16).[44] What is remarkable in the Beatitudes, however, is the way the correlation between quality and reward often contradicts popular conceptions of justice, which require a just relationship between one's actions or qualities and the reward or punishment that follows, that is, that one should be treated κατ' ἀξίαν.[45] Although a just correlation appears to exist in, for example, 5:7 (it is only fair that those who are compassionate should also receive compassion) and in 5:8 (the pure in heart is similar to God and therefore deserve to enter into his presence), in other macarisms the normal just relationship between achievement and reward is inverted: in vv. 3, 4, and 5 it is not the meritorious that are awarded, but the needy and the vulnerable.[46] Need, instead of merit, provides the basis for a reward.

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early patristic interpretation); Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 452-453; Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 190 (on Matt 5:20): "The expression 'your righteousness' (ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη) leaves little doubt that the SM, in conformity with Jewish theology, speaks of a righteousness achieved by human action, rather than a righteousness imputed by God as a gift to the faithful." For the opposite position, cf., e.g., Deines, *Gerechtigkeit der Tora*, 148-154, 424-428, 434-441, 441-446 (with a summary of previous scholars' positions on p. 154). Some scholars, as e.g., Giesen, *Christliches Handeln*, 100, understand δικαιοσύνη as both gift and demand ("Gabe und Aufgabe"). See also Kertelge, "δικαιοσύνη," 328-329.

[42] Cf. R.A. Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Foundation for Understanding* (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1982) 75.

[43] For the relationship between δικαιοσύνη and μισθός, cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.5.1134b6-7.

[44] The others are Matt 10:41, 42; 20:8; Mark 9:41; Luke 6:23, 35; 10:7; John 4:36. See for the NT in general C. Spicq, "μισθός," *TLNT* 2 (1994) 502-515.

[45] Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.3.1131a24-29.

[46] The disjunction between quality and reward we find in these sayings goes far beyond that found in the so-called "macarism of the wise man" to which Betz, "Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount, 25-36, refers. He cites in particular B. Gladigow, "Zum Makarismos des Weisen," *Hermes* 95 (1967) 404-433.

The Propositio *(Statement of the Theme): 5:17-20*

The *propositio*, as we have seen, refers to the interpretation of the law that we find in the first part of the body of the SM, but it also indicates the theme of the SM in general. The rather terse statements in 5:17-19 may be interpreted as demanding an acribic adherence to the letter of the law,[47] but in view of what follows it is more probable that the *propositio* refers to a *qualitatively* rather than *quantitatively* different approach to δικαιοσύνη.[48] Jesus's affirmation that he came to fulfil the law (v. 17a) would then refer to the interpretation and application of the law, rather than to just keeping its commandments. From the examples that follow in 5:21-48 it appears that such an interpretation of the law, going far beyond its literal meaning, requires the same kind of insight and discrimination Aristotle required of equity.[49]

The important summary statement in 5:20 provides a challenge to the disciples to apply δικαιοσύνη,[50] but little information on how to do so. Although the SM gives a negative point of comparison (the δικαιοσύνη of the scribes and Pharisees), it does not specify what an exceeding δικαιοσύνη entails:[51] the latter remains an open-ended goal, although the SM is presumably intended to provide some insight into what it entails.[52]

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[47] Cf., e.g., Luz, *Matthew I*, 268-269 = *Matthäus I*, 318-319: Matthew follows a "Jewish-Christian tradition which demands the keeping of *all* individual commandments of the Torah"; Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 490-491; Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 182: "the text was considered binding down to its smallest letter."

[48] See e.g. Spicq, "δίκαιος," 332; *pace* Luz, *Matthew I*, 269-270 = *Matthäus I*, 319-320, who emphasizes the quantitative difference.

[49] Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 195, suggests that Aristotle's notion of equity as a "higher" justice may have influenced "contemporary debates [on the nature of justice] within which the SM takes a position." It is not however necessary to assume some form of influence by Aristotle, however indirect, to recognize that the SM engages with common conceptions of justice also found in Aristotle's analysis.

[50] Cf. ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ in v. 19.

[51] The idea that one form of δικαιοσύνη may be greater than another is also found in Aristotle's notion of equity (ἐπιείκεια); see nn. 30 and 49 above.

[52] Contra, e.g., Deines, for whom Jesus himself embodies and thus defines the surpassing δικαιοσύνη: "Er [sc. Matthäus] stellt keine andere Bedingung für die Zugehorigkeit zum Reich Gottes als den Besitz, d.h. die Teilhabe an der eschatologisch-überfließenden Gerechtigkeit, die Jesus verkörpert" (*Gerechtigkeit der Tora*, 430). The SM itself nowhere claims that Jesus represents the true δικαιοσύνη.

The Argumentatio *(Body): 5:21-7:12*

δικαιοσύνη and the Interpretation of the Law (5:21-48)

The first part of the Body of the SM (5:21-48) focuses on the relationship between δικαιοσύνη and the interpretation of the law. It consists of six sections, the so-called antitheses. In each antithesis a traditional commandment or precept is first cited and then interpreted in a way that is apparently in contrast to the traditional interpretation.[53] From the preceding statement in 5:20 the contrasting interpretation in each antithesis is obviously intended as an indication of what is meant by the exceeding δικαιοσύνη. It is not apparent why these six commandments have been selected, or why they are presented in the sequence we find in the SM. All six antitheses do however appear to deal with examples of conflict and broken relationships and the final antithesis (5:43-48) clearly forms the climax of the series.[54]

Because of the legal context of the antitheses, the notion of justice plays an important role in all of them. Here we will only look at the way justice functions in some antitheses.

The first antithesis, Matt 5:21-26, begins with a reference to the ultimate consequence of a broken relationship, that is, killing someone. The tradition cited in v. 21, that someone who kills will have to give an account in court, is based on conventional corrective justice: every crime should receive an appropriate punishment. The contrasting interpretation suggests that the moral problem underlying violence cannot be solved by a casuistic interpretation of the law which attempts to prescribe a suitable punishment for every transgression; the solution rather lies in healing and restoring the broken relationships that lead to violence. This is done by referring to three different contexts.[55]

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[53] The contrast is clearly marked by the repetitive use of the formulae ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις and ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν to introduce the traditional commandment and the interpretation in each antithesis. The first formula is variously abbreviated for the sake of rhetorical *variatio* in 5:27, 31, 38, 43.

[54] See the discussion in Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 201-205.

[55] The triadic structure of the composistion of Matt 5:21-26 is treated at more length in J.C. Thom, "Dyads, Triads and Other Compositional Beasts in the Sermon on the Mount," in *The New Testament Interpreted: Essays in Honour of Bernard C. Lategan* (ed. C. Breytenbach, J.C. Thom, and J. Punt; NovTSup 124; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 300-307.

In the first of these (5:22) we find a rhetorical elaboration based on the formulation of the tradition itself. The latter first identifies the transgression (murder) and then the appropriate judicial response, namely, that one should give an account in court. In the rhetorical elaboration three "transgressions" are listed, each with the court to which the transgressor will be accountable. The three courts are listed in an order of increasing importance:[56] the first refers to a local court,[57] the second to the highest Jewish court,[58] and the third to the place of eternal punishment.[59] It is more problematic to determine the relationship between the different transgressions, that is, becoming angry with someone, calling someone "*raka*", and calling someone an idiot. With the information available to us it is not possible to make a qualitative distinction between the use of the Aramaic term *raka* and the Greek term μωρός.[60] There is, however, clearly a great qualitative difference between the transgression of murder referred to in the tradition, and anger. Likewise, the use of pejorative terms are clearly subordinate to anger as a more comprehensive category. We thus encounter the absurd situation in v. 22 that one has to give an account of increasingly lesser transgressions in increasingly more important courts, with potentially greater punishments. Here the principle of a just relationship between transgression and punishment is deliberately overturned. By means of this paradoxical depiction of events the SM emphasizes in a hyperbolical manner that any form of aggression against another, no matter how small, is as good as murder. In terms of an exceeding δικαιοσύνη violence should therefore not be handled by "correcting" the crime by means of an appropriate punishment; one should rather attend to the conflict that leads to violence.

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[56] Cf. J. Jeremias, "ῥακά," *TDNT* 6 (1968) 975 (although he does not think the three phrases refers to different courts); Guelich, *Sermon on the Mount*, 187-188; D.A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13* (WBC 33A; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1993) 116.

[57] See R.A. Guelich, "Mt 5 22: Its Meaning and Integrity," *ZNW* 64 (1973): 44-47; *Sermon on the Mount*, 183-184; L&N §56.1 n. 3; BDAG, s.v., 2; also Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 509, 511; Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 218.

[58] See BDAG, s.v. συνέδριον 1c; Luz, *Matthew I*, 282 = *Matthäus I*, 337.

[59] See BDAG, s.v. γέεννα; L&N §1.21; Luz, *Matthew I*, 282 = *Matthäus I*, 337. The increasing series follows the so-called rhetorical "law of increasing members"; see Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 213-214, §451.

[60] Cf. G. Bertram, "μωρός κτλ.," *TDNT* 4 (1967) 841-842; and P. Fiedler, "μωρός," *EDNT* 2 (1991) 450, who warn against trying to distinguish between the seriousness of the offences. For conflicting views see further Str-B 1:279; BDAG s.vv. μωρός c; ῥακά; Jeremias, "ῥακά," 974; H.P. Rüger, "Aramäisch II: Im Neuen Testament," *TRE* 3 (1978) 602-610; J. Lambrecht, *Maar ik zeg u: De programmatische rede van Jesus (Mt. 5-7; Lc. 6,20-49)* (Leuven: Acco, 1983) 113; G. Mussies, "The Use of Hebrew and Aramaic in the Greek New Testament," *NTS* 30 (1984) 424; Luz, *Matthew I*, 282-283 = *Matthäus I*, 336-337; M. Wilcox, "Raca," *ABD* 5 (1992) 605; Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 116-117; Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 222.

In the second passage, 5:23-24, conflict is considered from a different perspective. The situation is once again depicted in hyperbolic terms: it is not intended as an example from real life[61] that has to be followed literally. How likely is it that someone who probably had to travel several days to get to the temple in Jerusalem and who bought a sacrificial animal there, would be able to leave the animal with a temple official, go all the way back home in order to be reconciled with his brother, before returning to the temple to offer the sacrifice? The logistics required makes this scenario improbable.[62] The SM once again uses hyperbolical language to emphasize that reconciliation with one's brother, that is, removing conflict between people, deserves priority above even important cult acts. The key concept in this passage is therefore "first be reconciled" (πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι).

The third passage, 5:25-26, again has an unreal, hyperbolical character. Too little information is given to determine who the guilty party is in the legal conflict and whether the opponent really has sufficient grounds to take the addressee to court. The rhetorical composition of the passage with the climax figure at the end suggests that any legal conflict may have very serious consequences. The essence of the passage is that one should deal with conflict while one still has the opportunity to do so, no matter whether one is responsible for the conflict or not. The key phrase in this case, ἴσθι εὐνοῶν, "be well-disposed", indeed covers much more than required by the circumstances: it not only refers to the removal of a conflict, but to a general attitude of goodwill towards others, even those who oppose you.

We thus find a noteworthy progression between the three parts of the contrasting interpretation of the first antithesis. In the first, the addressee is angry with his brother; the brother is therefore considered the cause of the conflict. In the second, it is the brother who thinks that the addressee has done him wrong. In the third part we have a legal wrangle in which any of the two parties could be responsible for the conflict.

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[61] *Pace* Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 222.

[62] Luz, *Matthew I*, 289 = *Matthäus I*, 344, also emphasizes the unrealistic and hyperbolical character of these verses. See also Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 518: "[O]ne cannot really imagine someone doing it."

There is an implicit warning against anger and conflict in the first part, an emphasis on reconciliation in the second, and the requirement of a general goodwill in the last. In all three passages the issue of conventional justice or fairness is indeed suspended: it does not seem to matter whether one has just cause to be angry with one's brother in v. 22, whether one's brother has reason to have something against one in vv. 23-24, or who the guilty party is in the legal conflict of vv. 25-26. The exaggerations in all three passages contribute to an overturning of traditional principles of fairness.

The same overturning of conventional justice is also at work in the fifth antithesis (5:38-42). The section starts with a classical formulation of corrective justice, "an eye for an eye," the so-called *ius talionis* or law of retaliation requiring that there be a direct relationship between crime and punishment. The original intention of the *ius talionis* was to keep a punishment in proportion to the transgression. We have seen that Aristotle disapproved of a direct form of retaliation, but other ancient authors like Philo of Alexandria insisted upon it, because the application of this principle was the only way to ensure the equality (ἰσότης) required by justice (*Spec. leg.* 3.181-204, esp. 181-182).[63]

The contrasting interpretation in 5:39-42 again consists of three subsections. The first (5:39) responds directly to the principle of retaliation, but shifts the argument from a legal principle to a moral principle. Against a person's right to retaliation, the principle of non-retaliation is emphasized.[64] The verb ἀνθίστημι should here probably be interpreted as "taking a position against."[65] The command μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ thus implies that one should not take up a position balancing that of the one doing evil,[66] that is, one should not act towards him as he does towards you. Instead of retaliating one should give the opponent the opportunity to do you even more injustice (5:39b). Here the text refers to the way one should respond to the *unjustified* aggression of a malicious person.

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[63] See the discussion by Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 279-280.

[64] For arguments why this is the only possible interpretation in the context of the SM, see Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 280-293.

[65] Cf. LSJ, s.v., II.1: "*stand against*, esp. in battle, *withstand*"; Bauer^6, s.v.: "d. in uns. Lit. vorkommenden Formen haben med. Sinn *sich entgegenstellen, entgegentreten, sich widersetzen*"; BDAG, s.v., 1: "be in opposition to, *set oneself against, oppose*"; L&N §39.1: "to oppose someone, involving not only a psychological attitude but also corresponding behavior—'to oppose, to be hostile toward, to show hostility'"; *EDNT* s.v.: "set oneself against, oppose, resist.... The vb.... is also used with reference to evil that one is not to *resist* (in the sense of defense, counteraction; e.g., Matt 5:39)."

[66] Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 280 n. 653, refers with approval to the translation of the *NEB*: "Do not set yourself against the man who wrongs you."

In the second part (5:40-41) the text focuses on *justified* claims, but the distributive justice on which they are based is again disturbed: in addition to the shirt one *owes* someone because of an unpaid pledge,[67] one should give him the more valuable cloak as well (5:40), and in addition to a soldier's *right* to compel one to carry or transport his pack for one mile,[68] one should allow him still another mile (5:41).

The third part (5:42) goes even further and refers to claims *in general*: one should not at all insist on either corrective or distributive rights, but freely give to anyone who requests it of one without any guarantee of repayment.

We thus find in this antithesis a radical interpretation of the law of retaliation that seems to turn it on its head. Not only should one not insist on the protection the law of retaliation provides against the aggression and unjustified claims of malicious people, one should even actively expose oneself to further aggression, offer more than may justifiably be required of one, and indeed respond positively to any demands on one's property. Both corrective and distributive justice are transcended in the process. An explicit rationale for this radical interpretation is not provided in the text.[69] Betz may well be correct in suggesting that the Golden Rule provides the hermeneutical key to this passage: the ethical thinking underlying the fifth antithesis attempts to anticipate violence and injustice and to prevent it from being repeated. The sort of behaviour required in this passage could contribute to breaking the vicious cycle of violence and to persuade the person committing violence to stop. The person acting in a non-retaliatory manner thus accepts the ethical responsibility for the other demanded by the Golden Rule.[70] Not insisting on one's rights for the sake of a higher righteousness reminds us of Aristotle's notion of equity (ἐπιείκεια), although equity in Aristotle's analysis does not goes so far as to entail opening oneself to further abuse.

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[67] See Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 546; Luz, *Matthew I*, 325-326 = *Matthäus I*, 386.

[68] This is the most probable connotation of ἀγγαρεύω in this context; see Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 547. The verb could refer to any form of compulsory service required by a government official or the army, however; see Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 291; Luz, *Matthew I*, 326 = *Matthäus I*, 386.

[69] Thus also Luz, *Matthew I*, 326 = *Matthäus I*, 387.

[70] See Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 293. However, Betz's thoughtful analysis assumes much more than may be deduced from the text.

The final antithesis (5:43-48) forms the climax of the series. The passage takes as point of departure the conventional view that people should be treated according to merit (cf. κατ' ἀξίαν in Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.3. 1131a24-29): friends as friends and enemies as enemies (5:43).[71] In the contrasting interpretation the balance of conventional justice is again disturbed: to treat people as they deserve, that is, in relation to how they treat you, is characteristic of humanity in general (5:46-47). One should however ignore the claims of conventional justice and follow God's example by treating all people (the good and the bad, the just and the unjust) as friends and family, regardless of their actions (5:44-45, 48).

The passage also resumes the idea of a comparative δικαιοσύνη that we found in 5:19-20 (cf. esp. περισσεύσῃ, 5:20; περισσόν, 5:47), but here the points of comparison are not the scribes and Pharisees, but the tax collectors and Gentiles. The implication is that the former's δικαιοσύνη is no more to be emulated than that of the latter. What should be emulated instead is God's perfect justice (5:48) that cares for people and provides for their needs regardless of who they are or what they do.[72]

We should furthermore note the expectation that such exceptional behaviour (περισσόν, 5:47) will receive a reward (μισθόν, 5:46).[73] This expectation is in line with a common conception of justice that entails that a good deed deserves a reward to restore the moral balance. The notion of reward is continued in the next part and indeed constitutes an important link between the two passages.

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[71] For the identification of "neighbour" (τὸν πλησίον) as friend, see Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 304-305. The maxim to love friends and harm enemies was widely held in antiquity, although criticized by ancient philosophers such as Plato; cf. *Resp.* 332E; 334C; *Meno* 71E; *Gorg.* 507B. See Albrecht Dihle, *Die Goldene Regel: Eine Einführung in die Geschichte der antiken und frühchristlichen Vulgärethik* (Studienhefte zur Altertumswissenschaft 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962) 32-33; Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 305-308. Cf. J.C. Thom, "'Harmonious Equality': The *Topos* of Friendship in Neopythagorean Writings," in *Greco-Roman Perspectives on Friendship* (ed. John T. Fitzgerald; SBLRBS 34; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars, 1997) 85, 92-93, 96.

[72] See on God's justice in this context Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 317-318, 323-324. There is a similar example of God's providential care even though it is not deserved in 6:26, 28-30: the birds and the flowers do not work, but are still fed and clothed; the grass is insignificant, but this is not taken into account in God's caring.

[73] The connection between περισσόν and μισθόν is emphasized by the very strong parallelism between vv. 46 and 47.

δικαιοσύνη and Piety (6:1-18)

The second part of the body of the SM (6:1-18) explicitly deals with *practising* δικαιοσύνη. The basic principle informing this part is given in 6:1, and then illustrated by three examples taken from religious practice (i.e., δικαιοσύνη understood as piety).[74]

The three religious duties in which the principle is applied are performing charity (6:2-4), prayer (6:5-6), and fasting (6:16-18). These religious acts are typical expressions of piety in Second Temple Judaism and often closely connected with δικαιοσύνη.[75] Compared to the previous sections of the SM the notion of a proportionately balanced justice is applied in a surprisingly positive manner in these pericopes. The underlying idea in each of the three sections is the same: a good deed deserves a reward (μισθός). This view is explicitly formulated by Aristotle: δικαιοσύνη as "that which is good for others" (ἀλλότριον… ἀγαθόν) should receive a reward (μισθός) in the form of "honour and dignity" (τιμὴ καὶ γέρας).[76] The argument in the SM is based on distributive justice: if one receives honour from other people, one has received one's reward in full, and the requirements of distributive justice have been met.[77] If, however, one avoids the honour of people by acting "in secret" (ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ, 6:4, 6; ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ, 6:18), God will see to it that one receives the reward owed to one (ἀποδώσει, 6:4, 6, 18). The object should therefore be to seek one's reward from God rather than from other people. What this reward entails is not specified, but from other statements in the SM it may be inferred that it has to do with participation in the kingdom of heaven.[78]

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[74] Deines wrongly considers δικαιοσύνη in 6:1 as something that the disciples have *received*; it is for him evident "dass auch die Logik dieses Satzes wie 5,20 den Besitz der Gerechtigkeit bei den Jüngern *bereits voraussetzt*" (*Gerechtigkeit der Tora*, 434-441, esp. 437). For δικαιοσύνη as piety (εὐσέβεια) see Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 351; also Luz, *Matthäus I*, 421.

[75] Cf. Tob 12:7b-8: "Prayer with fasting is good, but better than both is almsgiving with righteousness. A little with righteousness is better than wealth with wrongdoing. It is better to give alms than to lay up gold" (ἀγαθὸν προσευχὴ μετὰ νηστείας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ἀγαθὸν τὸ ὀλίγον μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ἢ πολὺ μετὰ ἀδικίας· καλὸν ποιῆσαι ἐλεημοσύνην ἢ θησαυρίσαι χρυσίον). See also Str-B 1:454; 4:553-554; Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 338; Luz, *Matthew I*, 356; *Matthäus I*, 420 n. 17, 421; A. Finkel, "Gerechtigkeit II: Judentum," *TRE* 12 (1984) 412.

[76] *Eth. Nic.* 5.5.1134b6-7.

[77] Cf. the emphatic repetition of the formula ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν in 6:2d, 5e, 16e, and esp. the use of the technical terms ἀπέχω and μισθός. Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 346, gives a somewhat different interpretation, arguing that the principle of justice at work here is that a good deed can be rewarded only once.

We find a further reference to a proportionate justice in the second passage on prayer (6:7-15): God is requested to cancel our debts (ὀφειλήματα, a term from distributive justice),[79] just as we do to our debtors (6:12). In the explanation that follows it is explicitly stated that God's forgiveness is proportionate to our willingness to forgive (6:14-15).[80]

δικαιοσύνη and Priorities (6:19-34)

The third part of the body of the SM (6:19-34) looks at δικαιοσύνη from the perspective of one's priorities: one should make the right choices, have the right focus, the right goals in life. It concludes with the command to seek God's kingdom and his δικαιοσύνη as one's first priority (πρῶτον).[81] It is not clear whether "God's δικαιοσύνη" in v. 33 refers to the righteousness *exercized* by him,[82] or the δικαιοσύνη *required* by him.[83] Verse 33 again formulates a general principle of the SM:[84] δικαιοσύνη has to be sought continuously.[85] The motif of seeking returns in the next part.

Judgement and Discrimination, Actions and Consequences (7:1-11)

The final part of the body of the SM loosely consists of two sections. The first has to do with judgement and discrimination (7:1-6), the second with actions and consequences (7:7-11). The first verses of chap. 7 provide a further example of conventional justice: one will be judged according to the way one judges. Despite the danger of being overly censorious, corrective judgment is nevertheless important in order to benefit others (7:5). One should at the same time use discrimination in dealing with people; the wrong benefit to the wrong person could have dire consequences (7:6). This maxim seems to be related to the popular notion of treating people according to merit.

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[78] Cf. Matt 5:10, 11, 20; 6:33; 7:21.

[79] Cf. also Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 400, 402-404.

[80] Cf. Luz, *Matthew I*, 383-384 = *Matthäus I*, 452-453, with references to other Jewish texts in which this idea is found.

[81] See n. 85 below.

[82] Cf. Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew*, 89-91; Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 661: "God's righteousness is here the norm for human righteousness."

[83] Cf. also Luz, *Matthew I*, 407; *Matthäus I*, 481: "Δικαιοσύνη meint wohl… die vom Menschen geforderte Gerechtigkeit, also dasjenige Handeln, das Gott will und das seinem Reicht entspricht."

[84] See n. 10 above.

[85] Note the use of the present imperative. If the text only wanted to say, "*First* seek…, *and then* everything will be added", an aorist imperative would have been used. Cf. also the use of the present participles in 5:6, with n. 40 above.

A more unusual application of the principle of a just relationship between action and consequence follows in 7:7-11. The mere fact of asking, seeking, knocking, that is, the willingness to express one's need, seems to be rewarded: God gives good things (δόματα ἀγαθά) to those who ask. It is the *needy*, those that seek, that are rewarded, not the *deserving*. We are reminded of the very first sentence of the SM (5:3): "Blessed are the *poor in spirit*, for *theirs* is the kingdom of heaven."

The Golden Rule (7:12)

In 7:12, the so-called Golden Rule, we find a final example of what may be called the δικαιοσύνη calculus. The second sentence of v. 12 ("This is the law and the prophets") refers back to 5:17 and thus forms an inclusio which concludes the body of the SM. By referring back to the *propositio*, the inclusio at the same time reminds us of the exceeding δικαιοσύνη of 5:20. The Golden Rule thus provides a further indication of what an exceeding δικαιοσύνη entails.

At first glance 7:12 appears to be a straightforward application of the principle of proportionate justice: one should treat others as one expects to be treated oneself. By itself, this maxim could be interpreted to mean that one should ensure one's own future interest by acting in a way one hopes will later rebound in one's favour. Bultmann, for example, refers to the Golden Rule as "Moral eines naiven Egoismus."[86] In his classic study of the Golden Rule Albrecht Dihle contends that the rule is ultimately based on the positive aspect of the law of retaliation, the *ius talionis*.[87] From this perspective, the principle of retaliation serves to maintain the equilibrium between good and evil in the world.[88] According to Dihle's interpretation of the Golden Rule, human behaviour is based on the expectation that the other will react in an appropriate manner to restore the moral balance.[89] More recently, scholars have however pointed out that the Golden Rule does not have one fixed meaning, but should in every case be interpreted within its context.[90] Within the context of the SM, especially in view of the exhortation in 5:43-48 to follow God's example in caring for people without expecting a corresponding response, the Golden Rule must have a more altruistic meaning.[91] The moral calculation involved here does not therefore entail finding a balance between one's present conduct and future benefit (i.e., a form of enlightened self-interest). One's conduct should rather be measured against how one compassionately imagines others would want to be treated.[92] Our understanding of what others *need* becomes the yardstick of our behaviour, rather than our own rights. Popular notions of justice are thus once again inverted. Focusing on the needs of others also goes far beyond Aristotle's idea of equity that does not insist on one's own rights.

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[86] R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (4th ed.; FRLANT 29; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 107.

[87] Dihle, *Goldene Regel*, 30-40.

[88] Dihle, *Goldene Regel*, 30-31.

[89] Dihle, *Goldene Regel*, 110. See for Matt 7:12 also Dihle, *Goldene Regel*, 109, 112; idem, "Goldene Regel," *RAC* 11 (1981) 937-938.

The Peroratio *(Conclusion): 7:13-27*

The SM concludes in the *peroratio* with various forms of warnings and exhortations. The need for a just correlation between words and actions, appearing and being, between who one is and what one does, is emphasized throughout. The way to life is only found with the appropriate effort (7:14). *Doing* the will of God (7:21)[93] and obeying the message of the SM (7:24) is the criterion of what is right, and leads to a secure life (7:25); everything else is "lawlessness" (τὴν ἀνομίαν, 7:23), and leads to ruin (7:27). Only the way of life demanded by the SM gives entry into the kingdom of heaven (cf. 7:21).

Conclusion: Justice and δικαιοσύνη

Despite the cursory and selective nature of the preceding discussion it does allow us to draw some significant conclusions.

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[90] See e.g. the various possibilities in J. Wattles, *The Golden Rule* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). See for Hellenistic Judaism also the recent study by K. Berthelot, *L'"Humanité de l'autre homme" dans la pensée juive ancienne* (JSJSup 87; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 88-96.

[91] See P. Ricoeur, "The Golden Rule: Exegetical and Theological Perplexities," *NTS* 36 (1990) 392-397; Betz, *Sermon on the Mount*, 518; Luz, *Matthew I*, 425-432 = *Matthäus I*, 505-514; J.C. Thom, "Goldene Regel II," *RGG* 3 (2000) 1077.

[92] Cf. Luz, *Matthäus I*, 512: the Golden Rule functions here "als Einfühlungsregel und nicht als Gegenseitigkeitsregel."

[93] Cf. also the repetition of ποιέω in 7:17, 18, 19, 24, 26.

Aristotle's analysis of δικαιοσύνη clearly has interesting implications for our understanding of justice in the SM. If Aristotle's analysis is based on popular conceptions of justice (as I submit it is), a remarkable feature of the SM is the way such popular conceptions is used in the argumentation of the text. A popular view of justice, namely that there should be an appropriate and fair correlation between what one does and what happens to one, between what one deserves and what one may expect—in short, that everyone should be given their due—informs not only the traditions to which the SM responds, for example, the requirement that murder should be answerable in court in 5:21, the *ius talionis* in 5:38, and the precept that one should treat friends and enemies according to merit in 5:43; it also provides the logic for some of the SM's own teachings, for example, on the reward to be expected for religious acts in 6:2-6, 16-18; on forgiveness in 6:12, 14-15; and on judging others in 7:1-5. On the other hand, the logic of popular justice is frequently overturned, for example, in the SM's teachings on avoiding and resolving conflict in 5:22-26; on non-retaliation in 5:39-42; on treating all people as friends and family in 5:44-48; and the Golden Rule in 7:12. Justice as it is commonly conceived is thus both accepted and rejected in the SM. Such manipulation of expectations means that conventional justice becomes suspect as a principle of conduct.

Aristotle's notion of equity as a superior form of justice that transcends a literal interpretation of legal demands and that relativizes justice as a proportionate equality of rights and merits indicates an awareness of the need for discretion in applying justice, a need for going beyond a strict justice for the sake of the greater good. In antiquity equity was therefore interpreted as δικαιοσύνη aiming to attain what is just.[94] The overturning of justice found in the SM is, however, of a radically different order than Aristotle's equity.

Instead of conventional justice, we find in the SM the notion of an open-ended δικαιοσύνη that exceeds what is expected (cf. 5:20, 47), a δικαιοσύνη that always has to be attained, that is, to be sought and desired (cf. 5:6; 6:33; also 7:7-11, 14). It cannot be captured in a definition or in legal principles, but requires a new way of thinking, a moral imagination (7:12) that orients itself on God's perfect righteousness (cf. 5:45, 48; 6:26, 30, 32; 7:11).

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[94] See the anonymous commentary cited in n. 32 above.

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The Septuagint Version of Isaiah 53 and the Early Christian Formula "He Was Delivered for Our Trespasses"

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Abstract
Did Isaiah 53 (LXX) and its παραδιδόναι-terminology influence the early Christian notion of Jesus being delivered "for our sins" (Rom 4:25 etc.)? And if so, is that to be understood as a specific Jewish backdrop for the interpretation of the death of Jesus? The way in which the Septuagint deviates from the Hebrew text suggests another view. To render various terms of his *Vorlage* the translator of the LXX made use of the widespread Greek notion of delivering somebody unto a hostile force. If early Christian explication of the death of Jesus drew on Isaiah 53, it was influenced by its Greek translation.

Keywords
Isa 53; Rom 4:25a; interpreting Jesus' death; to give life for someone

1. Introduction

The discussion of the early Christian prepositional formulae ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν or ἡμῶν has an impressive Scandinavian tradition. One of the most influential publications to the topic is surely Harald Riesenfelds article on ὑπέρ in Kittel's theological dictionary. In a note Riesenfeld stressed the importance of distinguishing between those cases where ὑπέρ stands with a personal object and those cases where it is followed by τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν.[1] In his interpretation of the ὑπέρ-phrases though, Riesenfeld did not distinguish between the verbs governing the prepositions. The verbs ἀποθνῄσκειν or (παρα)διδόναι were all to refer to an action of atonement (Sühne), as long as they were followed by the preposition ὑπέρ or in some cases by διά and the accusative. Interpreting the ὑπέρ-formulae in this way, Riesenfeld

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[1] Cf. H. Riesenfeld, "ὑπέρ," *TWNT* VIII (1969) 512 note 12.

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followed Joachim Jeremias, who in his article on παῖς θεοῦ in Kittel's dictionary, advocated the view that the ὑπέρ-formulae are all said to be understood against the backdrop of the tradition of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53, which is said to express the notion of an atoning sacrifice which takes away the consequences of sin.[2]

Although Riesenfeld was aware of the important differences between the MT and LXX texts of Isaiah 53 and that the παραδιδόναι-terminology in Isaiah 53:6 and 12 does not occur in the Hebrew, he meant to overcome this problem by claiming that the LXX followed a text tradition closer to that of the Isaiah-Targum. Keeping the date of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan in mind, which is an 8th century document, it is much more likely that the LXX-translation influenced the Targum.[3] It is also not possible to detach the prepositional phrase from the ruling verbs. Rather it is the ruling verb which signifies the broader frame which forms the backdrop of the prepositional phrase.

The phrase "dying for someone" has been scrutinized by scholars of the New Testament. It can be claimed that since the groundbreaking research of Klaus Wengst, Sam Williams and Martin Hengel and more recently Henk Versnel, it has been illustrated that the early Christian notion "dying for someone" has its roots in Greek tradition.[4] The notion of dying for someone else to avert evil from him/her ranges back to the tragedies of Euripides. This notion kept its influence until Roman times, as Henk Versnel illustrated.[5] In a new landmark investigation of the motif, Christina Eschner came up with additional evidence that Euripedian heroines like Alcestis and Macaria served as role models for women in Paul's times, expressing the highest level of dedication towards their spouses.[6]

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[2] Cf. J. Jeremias, "παῖς θεοῦ," *TWNT* V (1954) 676-713.

[3] Cf. G. Stemberger, "Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft," in *Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (ed. L. Doering, H.-G. Waubke and F. Wilk; FRLANT 226; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008) 15-31.

[4] Cf. K. Wengst, *Christologische Formeln und Lieder des Urchristentums* (SNT 7; 2nd ed.; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1973); S.K. Williams, *Jesus' Death as a Saving Event: The Background and Origin of a Concept* (HDR 2; Missoula: Scholars, 1975); M. Hengel, *The Atonement: A Study of the Origins of the Doctrine in the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1981).

[5] For his most recent contribution, cf. H.S. Versnel, "Making Sense of Jesus' Death: The Pagan Contribution," in *Deutungen des Todes Jesu im Neuen Testament* (ed. J. Frey and J. Schröter; WUNT I/181; Tübingen: Mohr, 2005) 213-294.

[6] Cf. C. Eschner, *Gestorben und hingegeben 'für' die Sünder: Die griechische Konzeption des Unheil abwendenden Sterbens und deren paulinische Aufnahme für die Deutung des Todes*

It was known that the motif found its way into Plato, Stoicism and 2 and 4 Maccabees, into sepulchral inscriptions and decorations.[7] Eschner showed us that the motif became popular not only through tragedy itself, but it also resounded in popular philosophy, in wall paintings in villas and in common proverbial speech in the Greek and Latin traditions during the early Roman Empire.[8] One can readily say that it became part of common culture.[9]

Paul and the early Christian tradition surely draw on this tradition when they formulate the saving effect of the death of the Messiah in the phrase, "Christ died for us/for our sins." To a certain extent, this tradition can explain the dying formulae,[10] but what is the underlying conception behind the traditional phrase that Jesus the Lord "was delivered because of our transgressions" (ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν—Rom 4:25a) or that God delivered his own Son "for us all" (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν—Rom 8:32). Are not these utterances to be understood against the backdrop of Isaiah 53:6, 12 as Riesenfeld claimed, thereby following Joachim Jeremias? Rom 4:25a seems to be the strongest case. Here the verb παρεδόθη is in the passive and rules the preposition διά, *as is the case* in the LXX Isaiah 53:12. And if Isaiah 53:12 forms the backdrop for Rom 4:25 this might as well be the case in Rom 8:32.[11]

Not every one however, agreed with the above mentioned position of Riesenfeld. One of his brightest students, Nils Dahl, who earned his doctoral honours in Oslo, came up with a fresh solution. Rather than the idea of cultic atonement, he suggested that the tradition of the binding of Isaac (*'aqedah*) forms the backdrop of the ὑπέρ-formulae. Especially the terminology of Rom 8:32a is said to allude to Gen 22:16-17: "The exegetical pattern can hardly have been other than one of correspondence: as

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Jesu Christi, Diss. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 2006 (forthcoming as WMANT 122; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2009).

[7] Cf. C. Breytenbach, "'Christus starb für uns': Zur Tradition und paulinischen Rezeption der sogenannten 'Sterbeformeln,'" *NTS* 49 (2003) 447-475, 463-464.

[8] This also applies to the tradition about the deaths of Menoiceus and Codrus.

[9] Cf. Eschner, *Gestorben und hingegeben*, B, II C 2.5.

[10] On the peculiarities of 1 Cor 15:3 cf. Breytenbach, "Christus starb für uns," and *infra* n. 39.

[11] Paul can even speak in the active voice about the Son of God who gave himself "for our sins" (τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν—Gal 1:4), or "for Paul" (παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ—Gal 2:20).

Abraham did not spare his son, so God did not spare his own Son."[12] But how is this correspondence to be understood? Drawing on later explanations by Irenaeus,[13] Dahl interpreted Rom 8:32 in the following way: "… the allusion to Genesis 22 in Romans 8:32a is best explained on the assumption that it is derived from an exposition in which the atonement was understood as an 'adequate reward' for the Akedah. Obviously, the adequacy should not be understood in terms of quantitative equivalency but as an exact correspondence of quality. In fact, this is how the rule 'measure for measure' was applied both in Judaism and in early Christianity. Some early Jewish adherent of the crucified Messiah may have taken Genesis 22 to imply that God, who judges those who judge and shows mercy upon those who act with mercy, rewarded Abraham's sacrifice by offering up his own Son."[14] Even though Dahl's tour de force to read all Pauline ὑπέρ-formulae, including Gal 3:13-14, against the backdrop of the ʿ*aqedah* could not convince the scholarly community,[15] his observation that Romans 8:30-35 forms a clear inclusion with Rom 5:1, 6-11 was followed by many interpreters of Romans.[16]

Another Norwegian scholar, Peder Borgen, rightly took another line on the interpretation of Gal 3:13. He enhanced the interpretation of this passage in the light of Deut 21:22-23: "When someone is convicted of a crime punishable by death and is executed, and you hang him on a tree…" Since in this passage of the Law it is unclear whether the person hung from a tree, had been killed beforehand or was killed by the hanging itself, Borgen turned to the Temple Scroll from Qumran (11QTemp 64:6-12). From the scroll it is clear that the hanging caused the death. But does it refer to death by crucifixion? Borgen was able to clarify this point by referring to Philo's exposition of Deut 21:22-23 in book three of the Special Laws: "Philo adds support to the understanding that crucifixion is meant. In *Spec.* 3.151-52 he defines the hanging in Deut 21:22-23 as to fix on a pole, impale (ἀνασκολοπίζω). When Philo uses this verb in *Somn.* 2.213 he explicitly says that the fixing is done by nailing (προσηλόω). Philo made this remark whilst discussing the implication of the commandment "Thou shalt not murder!"[17] The following section in his exposition of Deuteronomy is of particular interest for the question of the backdrop of the ὑπέρ-formulae in early Christian tradition.

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[12] N.A. Dahl, "The Atonement—An Adequate Reward for the Aqedah" (1969), in *The Crucified Messiah and Other Essays* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1974) 146-166, 184-189, 149.

[13] *Haer.* IV 5.4. Dahl also refers to the Armenian version.

[14] Dahl, "Atonement," 151.

[15] Cf. the discussion in Eschner, *Gestorben und hingegeben.*

[16] Cf. P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Römer 8 als Beispiel paulinischer Soteriologie* (FRLANT 112; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975) 57-60, and H. Paulsen, *Überlieferung und Auslegung in Römer 8* (WMANT 43; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1974) 14ff.

2. The Importance of Philo *Spec.* 3.153-154 for the Question under Discussion

> (153) Παγκάλως μέντοι κἀκεῖνο διατέτακται,
> πατέρας *ὑπὲρ* υἱῶν μὴ *ἀποθνῄσκειν*
> μηδ' υἱοὺς *ὑπὲρ* γονέων,
> ἀλλ'
> ἕκαστον τῶν ἄξια θανάτου δεδρακότων αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ μόνον ἀναιρεῖσθαι,
> διὰ τοὺς ἢ βίαν τοῦ δικαίου πρωτιμῶντας ἢ πάνυ φιλοστόργους.
> (154) Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ διὰ περιττὴν καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὔνοιαν
> ἐθελήσουσι πολλάκις ἄσμενοι *προαποθνῄσκειν*,
> αὑτοὺς *ἐπιδιδόντες* ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνόχων οἱ ἀνυπαίτιοι,
> μέγα κέδρος νομίζοντες τὸ μὴ *ἐπιδεῖν* κολαζομένους
> ἢ τοὺς γεννέσαντας υἱοὶ
> ἢ τοὺς παῖδας γονεῖς,
> ὡς ἀβίωτον καὶ παντὸς ἀργαλεώτερον θανάτου τὸν αὖθις
> χρόνον βιωσόμενοι. Πρὸς οὓς λεκτέον·

In the section immediately following upon the exposition of Deut 22:21-24, Philo discusses Deut 24:16: "Parents shall not be put to death for their children, nor shall children be put to death for their parents; only for their own crimes may persons be put to death." In his comment, Philo opposes the noble intentions of kinsmen. Compassion should not overcome reason. To deliver the guilty from punishment and to think that it is right that you should be punished in their place is wrong.[18] According to Jewish law, Philo says, "... fathers should not *die for* their sons, nor sons *for* their parents (πατέρας ὑπὲρ υἱῶν μὴ ἀποθνῄσκειν μηδ' υἱοὺς ὑπὲρ γονέων)."[19] Philo then continues to explain the need of the stipulation in Deut 24:16 he is commenting on. It becomes obvious that he uses the

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[17] P. Borgen, "Openly Portrayed as Crucified: Some Observations on Gal 3:1-14," in *Christology, Controversy and Community* (ed. D.G. Horrell and C.M. Tuckett; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000) 345-353, 348.

[18] Philo, *Spec.* 3.156.

[19] Philo, *Spec.* 3.153.

'dying for someone' and 'giving one's life up for someone' as alternative ways of referring to the same action. In *Spec.* 3.154 he says that those influenced by family affection, in their excessive and overwhelming devotion will often be glad to *die* (προαποθνῄσκειν), *giving themselves* (αὑτοὺς ἐπιδιδόντες) as blameless persons (οἱ ἀνυπαίτιοι) *for* those who are guilty (ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνόχων).[20]

Philo is of course not alone in using the terminology ἀποθνῄσκειν ὑπέρ τινος and (ἐπι)διδόναι ὑπέρ τινος as stylistic alternatives referring to the death on behalf of other persons. Paul did and so did others! Almost a century after them, Aelius Aristides still applies the "dying for" and "being given for"-terminology as stylistic variants. "It is said that Erechtheus in the war against Eumolpus, because of the god's oracle gave his daughter on behalf of the polis (τὴν θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδοῦναι). In the war against the Dorians and the Peloponnesians Codrus died voluntarily on behalf of his land" (ἐθελοντὴς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας ἀποθανεῖν).[21] The so called "dying-for"- and "deliverance for"- "formulae" thus both draw by implication on the same Greek tradition, as Eschner has illustrated with reference to the abovementioned and numerous other contemporary texts.[22]

3. The "Dying for" and "Deliverance" Formulae and the LXX Version of Isaiah 53:6, 12

Now that the common Greek background of the (παρα)διδόναι ὑπέρ τινος- and the ἀποθνῄσκειν ὑπέρ τινος-phrases has been confirmed,[23] the relationship between LXX Isaiah 53:6 and 12 and the "pre"-Pauline tradition in Rom 4:25 should be revisited. As has been noted, the Greek translation of the LXX does use the passive form of the verb παραδιδόναι to express that the servant was delivered to suffer and to be martyred. This is said in the context where it is stated that he carries the transgressions of many.[24]

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[20] Philo, *Spec.* 3.154.

[21] Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaicus*, 118-119 [I 87].

[22] Cf. C. Eschner, "Die Hingabe des einzigen Sohnes 'für' uns alle: Zur Wiederaufnahme des Sterben-'für'-Motivs aus Röm 5,6-8 in Röm 8,32," forthcoming in *The Letter to the Romans* (ed. U. Schnelle; BETL 226; Leuven: Peeters, 2009).

[23] Cf. Eschner, *Gestorben und hingegeben*, II D.

[24] Cf. C. Breytenbach, "Jes$^{\text{LXX}}$ 53,6.12 und die urchristliche Hingabeformeln," forthcoming in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Theologien und Einflüsse* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; WUNT; Tübingen: Mohr, 2009).

Rom 4:25a is commonly regarded to be a traditional parallelism and the use of the verb (παρα)διδόναι is taken as an allusion to LXX Isaiah 53:12.[25] When comparing Rom 4:25 to LXX Isaiah 53:12 it should however be kept in mind that the Greek text of Isaiah 53 is formulated in such a way that it deviates considerably from the Hebrew original.

(5a) αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτραυματίσθη
διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν
והוא מחלל מפשׁענו
(5b) καὶ μεμαλάκισται
διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν
מדכא מעונתינו
(5c) παιδεία εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν,
מוסר שׁלומנו עליו
(5d) τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν.
ובחברתו נרפא לנו:

(6a) πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν,
כלנו כצאן תעינו
(6b) ἄνθρωπος τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπλανήθη·
אישׁ לדרכו פנינו
(6c) καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν
ויהוה הפגיע בו את עון כלנו:

[. . .]

(12a) διὰ τοῦτο
לכן
(12b) αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς
אחלק לו ברבים
(12c) καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ σκῦλα,
ואת עצומים יחלק שׁלל
(12d) ἀνθ᾽ ὧν
παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ,
תחת אשׁר הערה למות נפשׁו
(12e) καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη·
ואת פשׁעים נמנה
(12f) καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν
ἀνήνεγκεν
והוא חטא רבים נשׂא
(12g) καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν
παρεδόθη.
ולפשׁעים יפגיע:

The use of the Greek verb παραδιδόναι to translate פגע is introduced in Isaiah 47:3.[26] In Isaiah 53:12d, "because he has 'poured out' (הֶעֱרָה *hiphil* of ערה)[27] his life to death," is translated by "his psyche was 'delivered unto' (παρεδόθη) death." In verse 12g the last phrase "and he 'will intercede'

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[25] Cf. C. Breytenbach, "The 'for us' Phrases in Pauline Soteriology: Considering Their Background and Use," in *Salvation in the New Testament: Perspectives on Soteriology* (ed. J.G. van der Watt; NovTSup 121; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005) 162-185, 174-175. The verb could also allude to early Christian tradition. Jesus was betrayed (παραδιδόναι) by Judas (1 Cor 11:23; Mark 14:11, 18, 21, 41) and handed over (παραδιδόναι) to the Romans for punishment (Mark 15:1, 10, 15; Acts 3:13).

[26] The meaning of the Hebrew text is unclear. It has been suggested to read אפגע as *qal, niphal* or *hiphil*; cf. L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner and J.J. Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament. Volume II* (= KB) (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000) *s.v.* The Greek translator wrote τὸ δίκαιον ἐκ σοῦ λήμψομαι, οὐκέτι μὴ παραδῶ ἀνθρώποις ("What is lawful I will seize from you, never will I surrender to men").

[27] Cf. KB, *s.v.*

(יַפְגִּיעַ *hiphil* of פגע)[28] for rebels" is rendered by "and because of their sins 'he was handed over' (διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη)." The servant is counted amongst the lawless and handed over διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν. The function of the διά in the Greek translation in verse 12g can be inferred from the preceding context. The phrase in verse 6c, καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν, needs special attention. Following the use of the verb,[29] the dative expresses the hostile force unto which the Lord delivers the servant. The role of the sins has to be interpreted in the light of the διά-phrases in preceding verses so that it ought to be translated: "But he was wounded on account of our sins, and was bruised because of our iniquities ... and the Lord handed him over to our sins." He suffered punishment for their sake.[30] The sins or the transgressions of the "us" are the reason why the servant was delivered or handed over. This has been called vicarious suffering.[31]

But why was the *hiphil* of פגע in verse 12g translated by παρεδόθη? Why does the translator move from the meaning of פגע with ל, "intercession" or "intervention on behalf of"[32] the rebels to παραδιδόναι in the sense of "being handed over" because of their sins? It is notable that in verse 6c a similar switch occurred. In this case the Hebrew verb פגע with ב means "to let something strike someone."[33] According to the Hebrew text, the "Lord caused the iniquity of us all to strike him." The Greek translator rendered the *hiphil* of פגע with παρέδωκεν, turning the servant into the direct object of the Lord's action: "The Lord 'delivered' him to our sins." In Isaiah 53:6c and 12g the translator seems to reformulate the relation between the servant and the "iniquity" (53:6c) or the "rebels" (53:12g). The reason appears to be that he takes the *hiphil* of פגע in the sense of "to cause someone to be struck by something" and he translates it and הערה in verse 12d consequently by a form of παραδιδόναι. New research has extended available lexicographic knowledge on the use of this Greek verb considerably. It is clear that the composite verb denotes the deliverance to a hostile force.[34]

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[28] The translator seems to understand it in this way. The verb can also mean "to make supplication"; cf. KB, *s.v.*

[29] Cf. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by H.G. Liddell and R. Scott. Revised and augmented throughout by Sir H.S. Jones with the assistance of R. McKenzie and with the co-operation of many scholars. With a supplement (= LSJM) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) *s.v.* I 2.

[30] Cf. my analysis of the text: "'Christus litt euretwegen': Zur Rezeption von Jesaja 53 LXX und anderen frühjüdischen Traditionen im 1. Petrusbrief," in *Deutungen des Todes Jesu im Neuen Testament* (ed. J. Frey and J. Schröter; WUNT I/181; Tübingen: Mohr, 2005) 437-454, 443.

[31] This applies for the Hebrew original (cf. B. Janowski, "He Bore Our Sins: Isaiah 53 and the Drama of Taking Another's Place," in *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* [ed. B. Janowski and P. Stuhlmacher; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004] 48-74, 69-70) and for the Greek translation (E.R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems According to the Septuagint: An Exegetical and Theological Study* [CBET 23; Leuven: Peeters, 1999] 266).

[32] Cf. KB, *s.v.*

[33] Cf. KB, *s.v.*

Since the research of Joseph Ziegler and Isac Seeligman on the Greek translation of the book of Isaiah,[35] it has become abundantly clear that, to put it in Seeligman's words, "...the translation of Isaiah is characterized in numerous places not only by a fairly considerable independence of the Hebrew text, but also by the fact that it evinces an equally marked influence from the surrounding cultural atmosphere, as well as expressing the author's personal views."[36] The considerable deviation of the Greek translation from the original Hebrew text suggests that in the case of Isaiah 53:6c, 12d and 12g the translator presupposed the well known Greek notion of someone being handed to a hostile power to be handled as his enemy pleases. The servant is delivered unto sin (53:6c), to death (53:12d). Clearly the notion in 53:12g that this deliverance is "because of their sins," is rooted in the Greek text of Isaiah 53, especially verses 4-6. According to the Isaiah text, the servant is not actively dying; the Lord delivered him (53:6c), thus the παραδιδόναι-terminology is used. But this formulation commended itself to the translator, since the notion that somebody is delivered unto a hostile force, is a well known notion in

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[34] Cf. LSJM, *s.v.* I 2; C. Spicq, *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament, Volume 3* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1994) 12-23. See now Eschner, *Gestorben und hingegeben*, II C 1.1.2.2.1 (b), esp. note 162. She refers to Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 68.5; *Marc.* 20.6; Arrian, *An.* III 21.5; Josephus, *A.J.* 13.4; Cassius Dio XVII *apud* Zon. IX 13.5; I 265.11 Boissevain; Thucydides III 59.2. This meaning, which holds for the LXX (Cf. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* [rev. ed.; compiled by J. Lust, E. Eynikel and K. Hauspie; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003] *s.v.*; G. Berényi, "Gal 2,20: A Pre-Pauline or a Pauline Text?," *Bib* 65 [1984] 490-537), is also presupposed by the translator of the book of Isaiah.

[35] Cf. J. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (ATA XII/3; Münster: Aschendorff, 1934) 57-58, and I.L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of its Problems* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948) (= id., *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies* [FAT 40; Tübingen: Mohr, 2004] 119-294).

[36] Seeligmann, *Version*, 3-4, 128.

Greek thought. And this deliverance is expressed by παραδιδόναι τινά τινι or τινὰ εἰς τινά,[37] in the same way in which LXX Isaiah 53:6c and 12d+g is formulated in deviation from the Hebrew. By using this verb to render the *hiphil* of פגע and ערה, and by depicting the servant as direct object (cf. *supra*), the translator of Isaiah 53 coherently superimposes upon the text the notion that someone (the Lord) delivered someone (the servant) to a hostile force.[38] That this is because of the iniquity of others is in accord with the Hebrew original (cf. also verses 4 and 5).

To return to the question: "It is then possible that Rom 4:25a was influenced by the Greek translation of Isaiah 53:12g?" Then Paul will have to imply that Christ was given up "*because* of our trespasses."[39] But even this unlikely causal interpretation of Rom 4:25a should not encourage anybody to postulate Isaiah 53:6c, 12d+g as an *alternative* "more Jewish" backdrop for the interpretation of the phrase that "he was delivered 'because of' our trespasses."[40] The LXX text of Isaiah 53:6c and 12d+g does not provide a backdrop entirely different from the Greco-Roman tradition for the (παρα)διδόναι διά phrase in Rom 4:25a. As was illustrated above by comparing the Hebrew original and the Greek translation, the use of the παραδιδόναι-terminology in the LXX translation of Isaiah 53:6, 12 itself is the result of the influence of the Greek tradition of delivering someone to a hostile force on the translator of the book of Isaiah.[41] In his use of the παραδιδόναι-terminology, the translator thus was led more by Greek idiom than by the Hebrew original. His *interpretatio Graeca* of the original surely influenced the way in which subsequent readers understood and applied the fate of the servant. If the "pre"-Pauline tradition behind Rom 4:25a alludes to LXX Isaiah 53:6, 12 then it takes up the very Greek way of expressing the deliverance unto a hostile force[42] and presupposes the use of a Greek translation and not of a Hebrew original. In its LXX form, however, it cannot be regarded as an independent, non-Greek Israelite or Jewish tradition. It illustrates the influence of Hellenised Alexandrian Judaism on early Christian tradition.

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[37] Cf. the material in Eschner, *Gestorben und hingegeben*, II C 1.1.2.2.1 (b).

[38] Apart from פגע and ערה, in LXX Isaiah παραδιδόναι also translates the *pi'el* of סכר (19:4), the *hiphil* of שלם (38:13), and the *qal* of מנה (65:12). But more often it renders נתן.

[39] But even if one would understand Rom 4:25 in the light of Isaiah 53:4-6, 12 as having the sense of "being delivered *because* of our sins/trespasses," its affinity with 1 Cor 15:3 only emerges under the assumption that the ὑπέρ in 1 Cor 15:3 is taken to be causal too. Is it probable that the active expression of the death of Christ in 1 Cor 15:3 could be influenced by the notion of LXX Isaiah 53:6, 12 that the servant was handed over because of "our/their sins"? 1 Cor 15:3 expresses the death of Christ as his own action and thus used the ἀποθνῄσκειν-terminology. But should this not be regarded as a variant of the παραδιδόναι ὑπέρ τινος-phrase expressing the action to give oneself up actively? This is very unlikely. Apart from the absence of the verb ἀποθνῄσκειν in Isaiah 53, there is another essential difference between 1 Cor 15:3 on the one and Isaiah 53 on the other hand. According to LXX Isaiah 53:12, the ψυχή of the servant was delivered unto death (παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον). He was delivered because of the iniquities of the people (διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη). The sins of the community thus caused the death of the servant (cf. *infra*). In line with the Greek tradition of "dying for", the way in which Paul understands Christ's death "for" the sinners expresses the positive function of the death, not its cause. Because of this fundamental difference, there is little reason to suspect influence of LXX Isaiah 53:12 on the traditional formula in 1 Cor 15:3 (Cf. Breytenbach, "Christus starb für uns"). Nobody can deny that in 1 Cor 15:3 the Greek notion of "dying for" is firmly suggested by the syntagma ἀποθνῄσκειν ὑπέρ. One cannot separate the prepositional clauses from the reigning verb, neither in the interpretation, nor when drawing traditio-historical conclusions from the clauses. *Contra* J. Frey, "Die Deutung des Todes Jesu als Stellvertretung: Neutestamentliche Perspektiven," in *Stellvertretung: Theologische, philosophische und kulturelle Aspekte, Band 1. Interdisziplinäres Symposion Tübingen 2004* (ed. J.C. Janowski, B. Janowski and H.P. Lichtenberger with A. Krüger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2006) 87-121, 95-105, whose line of argument is bought at expense of this basic grammatical rule.

4. The Origin of the Christian Reception of the "Dying for" and "Deliverance" Formulae

If the earliest Christian interpretation of the death of Christ in terms of the "dying for" and "deliverance" formulae was not derived from the

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[40] *Pace* Frey, "Deutung," 98-99 (notes 55 and 60), 103-104 (with note 78).

[41] In the Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible, this use of the verb is not confined to the translation of Isaiah. It also occurs in Dan 3:28 and Jewish writers like Josephus made use of it in expressing the idea that someone gave up his life for others; cf. Josephus, *A.J.* 2.137, 148, 159; 10.230; *B.J.* 6.433.

[42] The natural reading of Rom 4:25 though, would rather be to interpret both prepositional phrases alike. The διά in Rom 4:25b (καὶ ἠγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν) cannot be interpreted causal. This hardly encourages one to take the διά in verse 25a in a causal sense. A coherent interpretation of both prepositional phrases is more plausible. Then—as in the case of the death of Christ in 1 Cor 15:3—the deliverance of Jesus the Lord was interpreted to be 'concerning sin,' thus taking away the effect of sin or trespasses. Cf. Breytenbach, "The 'for us' Phrases," 174-175. In the light of 1 Cor 15:3b; Gal 1:4 and Rom 8:3 the διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν phrase rather expresses that the consequences of sin will not take effect. The deliverance of Christ averts the judgement that follows on trespasses.

Hebrew text of Isaiah 53, how did it originate? This question takes us back to the initial stages of the Christian interpretation of Christ's death. It is, however, important to acknowledge the fact that those Jews who interpreted the death of Jesus had to give meaning to his crucifixion by the Romans. They had to give meaning to his execution as an upsurgent messianic King who was suspected to be a threat to the authority of the Empire. He was thus, as Dahl taught us, crucified as a political rebel under the charge "King of the Jews" (Mark 15:26).[43] Early followers of Jesus had to make sense of the crucifixion of "a said to be king." The first interpretation was made by those followers who had a dual experience. They knew the tradition about Jesus' last days in Jerusalem and they believed that God resurrected him from death. The interpretation of Jesus' death only began after Easter. Driven by the conviction that God resurrected him from the dead, meaning was ascribed to the crucifixion of the "King of the Jews," reconsidering the events preceding his death. Since, as we could see from Philo's exposition of Deut 24:16, it was not allowed in Jewish tradition that one person dies bearing the penalty for their next of kin. But Philo's comment on the law also illustrate that the terminology, "dying for" and "giving one's life for" can be applied to historical persons. A similar transfer is documented by Cassius Dio (A.D. 150-235).[44] He refers to an incident during the year of the three emperors A.D. 68. Addressing his army, the Roman emperor Otho, according to Dio's narration, says: "Surely it is far better and far more just that one should perish for all than many for one (πολὺ γάρ που καὶ κρεῖττον καὶ δικαιότερόν ἐστιν ἕνα ὑπὲρ πάντων ἢ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἀπολέσθαι), and that I should refuse on account of one man alone to embroil the Roman people in civil war and cause so great a multitude of human beings to perish." His soldiers are instructed to take leave. He shall free himself, "… that all men may learn from the event that you chose for your emperor one who would not give you up for himself, but rather himself for you (ὅστις οὐχ ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δέδωκε)."[45]

This incident helps us to understand the Greek language the first Christians utilized metaphorically to express the saving effect of the death of Jesus. He was crucified as "King of the Jews." Taking up this messianic notion, they formulated that "Christ died for our sins" (1 Cor 15:3) or that the Son was delivered because of our sins (Rom 4:25). But why did they choose such language?

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[43] Cf. N.A. Dahl, "The Crucified Messiah" (1960), in *The Crucified Messiah and Other Essays* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1974) 10-36.

[44] Cf. Eschner, *Gestorben und hingegeben*, II C 1.1.2.2.1 (b).

[45] Cassius Dio 63[64].13.1-3 *apud* Xiph. 192.6-18; III 111.6-20 and III 615 Boissevain.

The text from Dio also sheds light on the remark of the high priest in John 11:49-50:[46] "But one of them, Caiaphas, who was high priest that year, said to them, 'You know nothing at all! You do not understand that it is better for you to have one man die for the people (ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ) than to have the whole nation destroyed.'" The Evangelist interprets (11:51-52): "He did not say this on his own, but being high priest that year he prophesied that Jesus was about to die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but to gather into one the dispersed children of God." There can be little doubt that the Gospel uses the Greek notion of "dying for" to give meaning to the death of the Johannine Jesus. In fact in the beginning of his narration, in 3:16, he used the alternate terminology by formulating that God gave his own Son: "For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son (τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν)..."

The interesting question arises whether the remark the evangelist puts on the lips of the high priest is reminiscent of what happened during that particular Pesach. It is conceivable that the thoroughly Hellenized priestly families from whose ranks the high priest came were familiar with the Greek notion of "dying for" or being "delivered unto for." A few years ago, no one less than the great British historian Fergus Millar noted how much historical detail is transmitted through the Johannine passion narrative.[47] Should the remark of the high priest be taken as an historical reminiscence, his remark could have given the impetus why it was formulated that "Christ died for our sins" or was "delivered because of our transgressions." The seemingly similar notion in the Greek text of Isaiah 53:6, 12 might have facilitated the use of this Greek notion in early Christian soteriology. In its LXX-form, it cannot however be regarded as an independent Israelite or Jewish tradition.

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[46] Cf. Eschner, *Gestorben und hingegeben*, IIc Exkurs.

[47] Cf. F. Millar, "Reflections on the Trials of Jesus," in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (ed. P.R. Davies; JSOT.S 100; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 355-381.

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"Born of God" or "Begotten by God"?

A Translation Problem in the Johannine Writings*

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Abstract

How should the Johannine expression ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι be translated: as "to be born of God" or as "to be begotten by God"? The article starts with a look at the translation of the relevant Johannine passages in Bible translations and biblical studies, to get an idea of the spread and the influence of the two possible translations. Next, relevant lexical, grammatical and exegetical considerations are presented; these lead to the conclusion that the translation "to be begotten by God" has to be preferred. Finally, some further thoughts on the Johannine idea of divine begetting are developed.

Keywords

ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι; John; 1 John; Bible translation

According to the Gospel and the First Epistle of John,[1] believers find their spiritual origin in God. One of the ways in which this idea is worded, is by means of the expression ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι, which is, as we shall see in detail below, translated either as "to be born of God" or as "to be begotten by God." The expression occurs, with variations, in the following passages

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[*] In a slightly different form, this article was published earlier in R. Buitenwerf, H.W. Hollander and J. Tromp, eds., *Jesus, Paul, and Early Christianity* (FS H.J. de Jonge; NovTSup 130; Leiden: Brill, 2008) 329-347. Because its substance was read as a paper at the Oslo symposium in honour of Peder Borgen on July 28, 2008, my colleagues on the Editorial Board of *Novum Testamentum* decided to allow republication in this extraordinary case. I thank them for their decision. In the present version in honour of Peder Borgen, I added some lines on the rendering of the idiom in question in Norwegian Bible translations.

[1] I leave the precise relationship between these two writings aside. They are at any rate very close, and as far as the topic discussed in this article is concerned, so close that one can speak of "Johannine thought" or "Johannine theology."

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(I give the Greek text as printed in NA^{27}, and the two possible English translations):

John 1:13	…οἳ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ 0 ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν. …who were born/begotten not of/by blood or the will of the flesh or the will of man but of/by God.
1 John 2:29	πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται. Everyone who does justice has been born of/begotten by him.[2]
1 John 3:9	πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ, ὅτι σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μένει, καὶ οὐ δύναται ἁμαρτάνειν, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγέννηται. Everyone who has been born of/begotten by God does not do sin, because his seed abides in him, and he cannot sin, because he has been born of/begotten by God.
1 John 4:7	πᾶς ὁ ἀγαπῶν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγέννηται. Everyone who loves has been born of/begotten by God.
1 John 5:1	πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγέννηται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν γεννήσαντα ἀγαπᾷ [καὶ] τὸν γεγεννημένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Everyone who believes that Jesus is the Christ has been born of/begotten by God, and everyone who loves the one who begat also loves the one born of/begotten by him.[3]
1 John 5:4	πᾶν τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ νικᾷ τὸν κόσμον. Whatever has been born of/begotten by God conquers the world.
1 John 5:18	πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τηρεῖ αὐτόν. Everyone who has been born of/begotten by God does not sin, but the one who was born of/begotten by God, he protects him.[4]

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[2] In view of the other passages listed, "him" (αὐτοῦ) must refer to God.

[3] The second clause can be read either as an expression of general human knowledge (about parent and child) or as a theological statement (in which τὸν γεννήσαντα refers to God and τὸν γεγεννημένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ to the believer).

[4] The second clause can be translated and interpreted in various ways, depending upon, among other things, whether ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ refers to Christ or the believer (see R.E. Brown, *The Epistles of John* [AB 30; New York: Doubleday, 1982] 620-622). To my mind, it is very unlikely that it refers to Christ; that would be an inexplicable exception to an otherwise consistent Johannine usage. To me, the best solution is that ὁ γεννηθείς is a pendent nominative, and that God is the subject of τηρεῖ; see K. Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im Neuen Testament 1: Satzlehre Teil 1* (SUNT 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ^{2}1968; orig. 1962) 216-217; R. Schnackenburg, *Die Johannesbriefe* (HTKNT 13/3; Freiburg: Herder, ^{5}1975, orig. 1953) 280.

A series of related expressions, that should be taken into account as well, occurs in logia of Jesus in his dialogue with Nicodemus in John 3:3-8:

John 3:3	ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. Unless one is born/begotten from above,[5] one cannot see the kingdom of God.
John 3:5	ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. Unless one is born/begotten of water and Spirit, one cannot enter the kingdom of God.
John 3:6	τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς σάρξ ἐστιν, καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος πνεῦμά ἐστιν. What is born/begotten of the flesh is flesh, and what is born/begotten of the Spirit is spirit.
John 3:7	δεῖ ὑμᾶς γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν. You must be born/begotten from above.
John 3:8	οὕτως ἐστὶν πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος. So it is with everyone born/begotten of the Spirit.

The question is which translation of γεννᾶσθαι we should prefer in all these instances: should we translate "to be born" or "to be begotten"? It is evident that the expression ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι and the like derives from metaphorical use of human reproduction, and within this context, the two translations are not completely at variance or very divergent. Nevertheless, there are real differences between them as regards the sexual role (male of female) ascribed to God. The question is therefore important enough to give it some attention.

I shall start with a look at the translation of the relevant Johannine passages in a selection of Bible translations and biblical studies, to get an idea of the spread and the influence of the two possible translations. Next, I shall present relevant lexical, grammatical and exegetical considerations, and these will finally lead to a conclusion on the translation to be preferred and some further thoughts on it.

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[5] Because elsewhere in John ἄνωθεν always means "from above" (3:31; 19:11, 23), and because Johannine ambiguity always works with a physical and a spiritual understanding of one and the same meaning of a word, not with two different meanings of a word, there is no reason to assume that ἄνωθεν in 3:3, 7 could also mean "again"; see R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium 1* (HTKNT 4/1; Freiburg: Herder, ^{3}1972; orig. 1965) 381-382.

1. Extant Translations of the Relevant Johannine Passages

In this section, I shall limit myself to the most important ancient versions and a representative selection of modern translations and commentaries. I start with the Latin translations. Old Latin and Vulgate are unanimous in offering in the instances in John 1:13 and 1 John the translation *ex* (or *de*) *Deo* (*eo, ipso*) *nasci*, "to be born of God," and the verb *nasci* (or *renasci*) is used as well in John 3:3-8. There are two exceptions. In 1 John 5:1b, textual type T of the Old Latin has *genitus est ex eo*, "was begotten by him," probably because of the preceding reference to τὸν γεννήσαντα ("the one who begat"), translated here as *genitorem*. In 1 John 5:18b, Old Latin and Vulgate have *generatio* (or *nativitas*) *Dei*, "birth of God," for the Greek ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. This corresponds to the *lectio facilior* ἡ γέννησις θεοῦ found in some Greek minuscules.

Concerning the Syriac translations, I mention that in John 1:13 Curetonian Syriac and Peshitta use the verb *yld* etpeal, and that the same verb is used in John 3:3-8 in Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriac and Peshitta, in either etpeal or passive participle peal. These two forms of the verb are used as well in the Peshitta in the 1 John passages, with the exception of 2:29, where we find the simple wording *mnh 'twhy*, "is of him." The two main Coptic translations are also consistent: the Sahidic has in all passages under discussion, the verb *jpo*, and the Bohairic has the verb *mise* (except in John 3:6; 1 John 5:1a, 18b, where it has the substantive *misi*, "offspring," "generation"). The difficulty is, however, that the Syriac and Coptic verbs used in the translations are just as ambiguous as the Greek verb γεννᾶν: they can mean both "to give birth to" and "to beget."[6] So these ancient translations do not yield very much for our topic; only the Latin translations are unambiguous in preferring "to be born of God."

We turn to modern translations. In the English translations which I consulted, the rendering of γεννᾶσθαι ἐκ by "to be born of" is clearly dominant. The King James Version (1611) offers it in all passages under discussion, with the exception of 1 John 5:1b, 18b, where the translation "is begotten of" has been preferred. The Revised Standard Version (1946) and the New Revised Standard Version (1989) have "to be born of," except in 1 John 5:1, where the RSV has "child" twice, and the NRSV once only, in v. 1b. The New English Bible (1961) and its revision, the Revised English Bible (1989), tend to prefer the relatively free translation "to be God's child" and the like in 1 John, except in 5:18b, where we read "the Son of God." In the Gospel, "to be born of/from" is more or less standard, except that the NEB has in John 1:13 "the offspring of God himself."

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[6] See R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1879-1901; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1981) s.v. *yld*; W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1939) s.vv. *jpo* I and *mise* b. I am grateful to Dr Jaap van Amersfoort for help with the Coptic translations.

A look at some German and French translations yields the same picture. Martin Luther's translation (1522; see also the revised version of 1984) consistently has "geboren werden von/aus." The Einheitsübersetzung (1980) has this translation in John's Gospel, but in 1 John it prefers "stammen von," except in 5:18b, where it has "der von Gott gezeugte." The French translation of Louis Segond (1880), the Bible de Jérusalem (1956) and the Traduction Oecuménique de la Bible (1975-1976) always have "naître de," except that, in the latter two, "engendrer" is used in the instances where the expression ἐκ (τοῦ) θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι is supposed to concern Jesus. The translator of John's Gospel in the Bible de Jérusalem (D. Mollat) preferred in John 1:13 the singular reading ἐγεννήθη, and translated "lui que... Dieu a engendré."

The preference for "to be born of" is also visible in Norwegian and Dutch translations. Both the Norwegian Bibelen (1930) and Det nye testamente (2005) are consistent in translating γεννᾶσθαι ἐκ in the Johannine writings by "å være født av," "to be born of."[7] Dutch Bible translations almost universally render "geboren worden uit" ("to be born of"), so the Statenvertaling (1637), the Nieuwe Vertaling of the Netherlands Bible Society (1939), the revised Willibrordvertaling (1995) and the Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling (2004). The latter two prefer in 1 John 5:18b "de Zoon van God" ("the Son of God"), and "de Zoon, die uit God geboren werd" ("the Son, who was born from God") respectively. The Leidse Vertaling (1912) and the Petrus Canisiusvertaling (1929) also follow the general trend, but they show exceptions to the rule. They have in 1 John 5:1b the translations "door Dezen verwekt is" and "door Hem is verwekt" respectively (ET in both cases: "has been begotten by Him"). The capital shows in both cases that the clause has been read as a statement about God. The Leidse Vertaling has something comparable in John 1:13 ("verwekt zijn... uit God," ET: "have been begotten from God").

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[7] During the discussion of this paper at the Oslo Symposium on July 28, 2008, Prof. Hans Kvalbein, who was responsible and in charge of the 2005 Norwegian translation, remarked that he surmised that the translators had not even considered "to be begotten of" as an alternative. I thank Dr Per Jarle Bekken for his help with the Norwegian translations.

From this (very incomplete) survey of modern translations, a clear trend appears to translate γεννᾶσθαι in the Johannine passages under discussion as "to be born" (or its equivalent in Dutch, German or French). This suggests that the free translations of ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι as "to be a child of God" and the like, which we sometimes found in 1 John, are just paraphrases of the translation "to be born of God." The passages where sometimes the translation "to be begotten by God" has been preferred, are John 1:13; 1 John 5:1b, 18b. It is easily understood why these are the exceptions: in John 1:13 there is the contrast between "the will of man" and "God," in 1 John 5:1a the reference to τὸν γεννήσαντα ("the one who begat") makes the translation "the one begotten by him" obvious, and in 1 John 5:18b the need may have been felt to differentiate between the perfect participle γεγεννημένος and the aorist participle γεννηθείς (whether or not the latter is supposed to refer to Jesus).

While Bible translators strongly tend to interpret γεννᾶσθαι in this Johannine idiom as "to be born," modern commentators are not so unanimous. There are scholars who appear to assume, without much further reflection, that the translation "to be born" is the correct one.[8] Often, however, this translation is preferred, but it is said somewhere that γεννᾶσθαι can also be rendered, maybe even more literally, by "to be begotten."[9] Concerning 1 John, D. Rusam explicitly argues that the translation "to be born" is the correct one;[10] his position will be discussed below. In W. Bauer's commentary on John, both translations (and the exegesis that corresponds to them) are presented as equivalent, even connected possibilities.[11] In his study of the Johannine concept of divine sonship, M. Vellanickal argues that in his use of ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι, the author of John and 1 John "deliberately does not envisage the different moments of conception and birth." By consequence, the two translations "to be begotten by God" and "to be born of God" are interchangeable to him.[12]

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[8] So M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon saint Jean* (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, ^{5}1936; orig. 1925) 15, 74-78; F.J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John* (SP; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1998) 33, 38, 88, 91-94, 98-100; S.S. Smalley, *1, 2, 3 John* (WBC 51; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984) 91, 134-135, 151, 171-175, 233, 238, 266-267, 270, 292, 302-303; J.A. Trumbower, *Born from Above: The Anthropology of the Gospel of John* (HUT 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992) 66-69, 71-76, 138-140; J.G. van der Watt, *Family of the King: Dynamics of Metaphor in the Gospel according to John* (BIS 47; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 166-188.

[9] So E.C. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel* (ed. F.N. Davey; London: Faber & Faber, ^{2}1947; orig. 1940) 215, and further 146-147, 203-204, 211-215 (he uses the RV); M. de Jonge, *Johannes: Een praktische bijbelverklaring* (Tekst en toelichting; Kampen: Kok, 1996) 33, and further 30, 51-52, 53-54; idem, *De brieven van Johannes* (Prediking van het Nieuwe Testament; Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1968) 148-149 (in this commentary, he makes use of the Nieuwe Vertaling of the Netherlands Bible Society); B. Lindars, *The Gospel of John* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1972) 91, and further 92, 150-154 (he uses the RSV).

[10] D. Rusam, *Die Gemeinschaft der Kinder Gottes: Das Motiv der Gotteskindschaft und die Gemeinden der johanneischen Briefe* (BWANT 133; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1993) 111-118.

There are, however, also commentators, of both John's Gospel and 1 John (and not the least, I would say), who prefer for γεννᾶσθαι the translation "to be begotten." C.K. Barrett, for instance, writes on John 3:3: "γεννᾶν is commonly used of the father's act, 'to beget', and this is probably the right sense here; but it is occasionally used of the mother also, 'to bring forth', 'to bear'."[13] Barrett refers in passing to H. Odeberg, who considered "water and Spirit" together (John 3:5) as a kind of spiritual semen,[14] but Barrett thinks it is more likely that these words refer to Christian baptism as the means by which the believer receives the Spirit.[15] R. Bultmann is explicit on John 1:13 and the passages in 1 John: they speak of a "Zeugung aus Gott."[16] Concerning John 3:3-8, Bultmann thinks that John's source spoke of divine begetting, but the evangelist interpreted this in the sense of divine rebirth, for according to Bultmann, ἄνωθεν in John 3:3, 7 has to mean "again."[17] The latter assertion is, however, dubious, if we take into account John 3:31; 19:11, 23, where ἄνωθεν cannot have any other meaning than "from above" (cf. n. 5 above). In his commentary on the Johannine Epistles, R. Schnackenburg translates in all passages in 1 John "aus Gott gezeugt" or something similar, and presupposes this translation in his exegesis;[18] he even speaks of "die feste joh. Vorstellung von der 'Zeugung aus Gott'."[19] In his (later) commentary on John's Gospel, he is quite clear about 1:13: it concerns the "Zeugung aus Gott."[20] On John 3:3-8, he is less consistent: although in his translation, he renders γεννᾶσθαι as "geboren werden,"[21] he speaks in the explanation that follows of both "Geburt" and "Zeugung," gradually preferring the latter.[22]

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[11] W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium* (HNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, ^{3}1933) 50-54.

[12] M. Vellanickal, *The Divine Sonship of Christians in the Johannine Writings* (AnBib 72; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977); quotation from p. 100.

[13] C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John* (London: SPCK, ^{2}1978; orig. 1955) 206; see further 164, 205-211.

[14] See H. Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel Interpreted in Its Relation to Contemporaneous Religious Currents in Palestine and the Hellenistic-Oriental World* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1968, repr. of the ed. Uppsala 1929) 48-71.

[15] Barrett, *St John*, 208-209.

[16] R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (KEK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1941) 37-38; idem, *Die drei Johannesbriefe* (KEK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967) 49-50.

[17] Bultmann, *Evangelium des Johannes*, 95-96, with 95 nn. 2 and 5.

[18] Schnackenburg, *Johannesbriefe*, 163, 166-167, 184, 190-191, 228, 249, 251-253, 272, 279-281.

Other scholars consistently prefer "to be begotten" as the best translation. In his monograph on the Johannine concept of "life," F. Mussner states that "Zeugung" is a more adequate translation than "Geburt."[23] R.E. Brown offers the translation "to be begotten" in John 1:13; 3:3-8,[24] and in his notes he explains that although the rendering "to be born" is also possible, John's idea of divine agency favours "to be begotten."[25] All instances in 1 John are translated and interpreted by him as concerning divine begetting.[26] H.-J. Klauck is equally unambiguous concerning 1 John: "gezeugt werden" is the translation to be preferred.[27] L.E. Keck prefers the translation "to be begotten" to "to be born" in John 1:13; 3:3-8, with the argument that "the point concerns the origin of life rather than the birthing process itself."[28] In 1 John, J. Beutler translates "gezeugt werden," but sometimes, he varies by "stammen von."[29]

Two general remarks should be made at this point. First, almost all authors who prefer "to be begotten," refer at some point in their argument to 1 John 3:9, where it is said about the one begotten by God, that "his seed abides in him" (σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μένει). They take this phrase (to which I shall return below) to mean that God's seed abides in the believer, and consider such speaking of divine seed as a serious argument in favour of their translation. Secondly, the reason why several authors take a rather firm stand on "to be begotten" to be the preferable translation in John 1:13 and the 1 John passages, but are more hesitant about John 3:3-8, is probably that in 3:4, Nicodemus retorts to Jesus' words on "being begotten from above" as the condition to see the kingdom of God (3:3) by saying: "How can a man γεννηθῆναι once he is old? Can he enter a second time into the womb of his mother and γεννηθῆναι?" In Nicodemus's second question, γεννηθῆναι has to mean "to be born," as it temporally seems to follow "entering a second time into the womb of his mother." In his first question, its meaning is less obvious; it could even be there a global indication of the whole process from begetting to birth. The point is that when Nicodemus echoes Jesus' words, he omits the essential ἄνωθεν, "from above." His misunderstanding of Jesus is a misunderstanding by omission,[30] and because of the omission, the exact meaning of γεννηθῆναι becomes slightly vague. In any case, that γεννηθῆναι without any adjunct in 3:4 means "to be born,"[31] is not decisive for what it means in the rest of Jesus' dialogue with Nicodemus. Nicodemus misunderstands Jesus' saying on the necessity to be begotten from above, and in his misunderstanding he broadens the meaning of an essential concept used by the Johannine Jesus.[32]

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[19] Schnackenburg, *Johannesbriefe*, 166.

[20] Schnackenburg, *Johannesevangelium 1*, 208, 238-239.

[21] Schnackenburg, *Johannesevangelium 1*, 377-378.

[22] Schnackenburg, *Johannesevangelium 1*, 381-387.

[23] F. Mußner, *Ζωή: Die Anschauung vom "Leben" im vierten Evangelium unter Berücksichtigung der Johannesbriefe* (Münchener Theologische Studien 1/5; München: Zink, 1952) 118-127, esp. 120 n. 240.

[24] R.E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John (i-xii)* (AB 29; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966) 3, 128.

[25] Brown, *John (i-xii)*, 12, 130.

[26] Brown, *Epistles of John*, 378, 384-387, 421-422, 512-513, 607.

[27] H.-J. Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief* (EKKNT 23/1; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen/Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991) 172, 175-177, 189, 193-194, 246-247, 283-285, 333-334, 336-337.

[28] L.E. Keck, "Derivation as Destiny: 'Of-ness' in Johannine Christology, Anthropology, and Soteriology," in R.A. Culpepper and C.C. Black, eds., *Exploring the Gospel of John* (FS D.M. Smith; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996) 274-288, esp. 275-278; quotation from n. 6 (p. 285).

[29] J. Beutler, *Die Johannesbriefe* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 2000) 78, 81-82, 88, 107-109, 116, 118, 127, 131-132.

2. Lexical, Grammatical and Exegetical Considerations

The lexicon of H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones, and the one of W. Bauer, concur regarding the possible meanings of the verb γεννᾶν. As far as it refers to human procreation, it means with a male subject "to beget," and with a female subject "to bring forth," "to bear." In a more general sense, it can have the meaning "to produce," "to create," both in the physical and in the metaphorical sense.[33] If the verb is used with a male subject, ἔκ τινος can be added to refer to the female by whom the male begets the child (see, e.g., Matt 1:3, 5, 6). In the passive, ἔκ τινος can be added to indicate either the female that bears the subject of the verb (see, e.g., Matt 1:16), or the male that begets the subject of the verb. The latter construction is relevant to the use of ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι in the Johannine writings, if only for the fact that in these writings, God is called "Father" with great frequency (see, e.g., John 5:19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26; 10:29, 30, 32, 36, 38; 1 John 2:14, 15, 16, 22, 23, 24).[34]

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[30] See M.J.J. Menken, "Some Remarks on the Course of the Dialogue: John 6,25-34," *Bijdr* 48 (1987) 139-149, esp. 142-144.

[31] As is also the case elsewhere in John, see 9:2, 19, 20, 32, 34; 16:21; 18:37; cf. further 8:41: ἐκ πορνείας γεννᾶσθαι, "to be born of fornication."

[32] Brown's translation has twice "to be born" in John 3:4, and "to be begotten" in the rest of 3:3-8, see *John (i-xii)*, 128.

Nevertheless, Rusam has tried to demonstrate that in 1 John (and also in John's Gospel), ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι should be translated and interpreted as "to be born of God," and not as "to be begotten by God"; in his view, the Johannine God plays the roles of both father and mother, and the point of the expression under discussion is that God confers life. If I understand Rusam well, his main argument is that generally in Greek usage, in ἔκ τινος γεννᾶσθαι a noun indicating a female person follows the preposition ἐκ.[35] Such an assertion may be true as far as the NT is concerned,[36] but we should not forget then that the NT represents a very limited selection from ancient Greek literature. It is also quite possible that ἔκ τινος γεννᾶσθαι is more often said of birth than of begetting, but the question is how relevant such an observation is. It may well be that the passive construction is more easily used of the birth of a child, and the active one of the begetting of a child. So Rusam's reasoning should not be followed; instead, we should have a look at the use of ἔκ τινος γεννᾶσθαι with a male agent and thus with the meaning "to be begotten by" in Hellenistic Greek.

It may be true that, as Rusam states, ἔκ τινος γεννᾶσθαι with a male agent does not occur extremely often, but there are more than enough occurrences to show that it was a perfectly acceptable expression in Hellenistic Greek. Here are examples, mostly from the first centuries C.E. and presented, as far as possible, in what seems to be the most probable chronological order:

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[33] LSJ, s.v. γεννᾶν; W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur* (6th rev. ed. by K. and B. Aland; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), s.v. γεννᾶν. See also A. Kretzer, "γεννάω," *EWNT* 1 (1980) 584-586.

[34] In John's Gospel, πατήρ without any modifier is even considered to be a characteristic of Johannine style, see G. Van Belle, *Les parenthèses dans l'évangile de Jean: Aperçu historique et classification. Texte grec de Jean* (SNTA 11; Leuven: Leuven University Press—Peeters, 1985) 150.

[35] See Rusam, *Gemeinschaft der Kinder Gottes*, 111-118. Rusam assumes similar ideas in Philo (114-116).

[36] Emphasized by Rusam, *Gemeinschaft der Kinder Gottes*, 111-112.

1. In the Suda, we find a definition, ascribed to both Hyperides and Hecataeus: μοιχίδιον τὸν ἐκ μοιχοῦ γεγεννημένον, "an illegitimate child is the child begotten by an adulterer."
2. In *Virt.* 208, Philo says about Isaac and his sons: ἐκ τοῦ δοκιμασθέντος κληρονόμου δύο δίδυμοι γεννῶνται, "by the one approved as heir, two twins were begotten."
3. Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.7.2: Deucalion and Pyrrha had two sons, Ἕλλην μὲν πρῶτος, ὃν ἐκ Διὸς γεγεννῆσθαι <ἔνιοι> λέγουσιν, "the first was Hellen, whom some say to have been begotten by Zeus." Pseudo-Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca* provides other examples as well, such as 1.8.1: Μελέαγρον ὃν ἐξ Ἄρεος γεγεννῆσθαί φασι, "Meleager, whom they say to have been begotten by Ares"; 2.5.1, where the Nemean lion is said to be ἐκ Τυφῶνος γεγεννημένον, "begotten by Typho"; 3.91.6, where Callirhoe speaks of τοὺς γεγεννημένους ἐξ Ἀλκμαίωνος, "the ones begotten by Alcmaeon."
4. According to Memnon, frg. 14 Jac., Ptolemaeus Keraunos married his halfsister Arsinoe, τοὺς ἐκ Λυσιμάχου δὲ παῖδας αὐτῇ γεγεννημένους ἀναιρεῖ, "and he killed the sons begotten by her by Lysimachus."
5. Plutarch, *Def. orac.* 415E 4: thirty years is the period in which γεννῶντα παρέχει τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένον ὁ γεννήσας, "the begetter sees the one begotten by him begetting," that is, the period within which a son becomes a father himself.
6. Pseudo-Plutarch, *De fluviis* 13.3, speaks of Αἰγέσθιος ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Διός, "Aegesthius, who had been begotten by Zeus."
7. Chariton, *Chaer.* 2.11.5: when Callirhoe, pregnant by Chaereas, is going to marry Dionysius, she speaks of τὸ ἐξ ἄλλου γεννώμενον, "that what was begotten by another man." In 2.2.3, Dionysius speaks of τὸ ἐξ ἐμοῦ γεννώμενον, "that what is begotten by me."
8. In Lucian, *Dial. d.* 20.14, Aphrodite says to Paris about Leda's daughter Helena, that she is ἐκ κύκνου γεγεννημένην, "begotten by a swan" (which is Zeus in disguise).
9. According to Phlegon, *De mirabilibus* 2.6, the deceased Polycritus appears to a crowd that threatens to burn his hermaphrodite child and requires them to give him τὸ παιδίον τὸ ἐξ ἐμοῦ γεγεννημένον, "the child begotten by me."

10. Aelianus, *Nat. an.* 12.32, writes about Indian snakes who have killed a human being: οὔτε οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννώμενοι γνωρίζουσι τὸν πατέρα, "and the ones begotten by him do not recognize their father."
11. Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae* 16.57, tells that Scipio was supposed ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς ἐς δράκοντα ἐν τῇ <πρὸς τὴν> μητέρα αὐτοῦ συνουσίᾳ μεταβαλόντος γεγεννῆσθαι, "to have been begotten by Jupiter turned into a serpent during the intercourse with his mother."
12. According to the *Historia Alexandri Magni*, rec. α, 1.30.3-4, Alexander the Great remembers his mother saying ὡς ἐξ Ἄμμωνος ἐγεννήθη, "that he had been begotten by Ammon" (the Egyptian god Amon), and he says to the god: εἰ ἀληθεύει <ἡ> μήτηρ ἐκ σοῦ με γεγεννῆσθαι, χρησμῴδησόν μοι, "if my mother rightly says that I have been begotten by you, deliver me an oracle."
13. In *T. Sim.* 2:2, Simeon says of himself: ἐγὼ ἐγεννήθην ἐξ Ἰακὼβ τοῦ πατρός μου υἱὸς δεύτερος, "I was begotten by my father Jacob as his second son."
14. According to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.30, the Ebionites asserted about Jesus ἐξ Ἰωσὴφ αὐτὸν γεγεννῆσθαι, "that he had been begotten by Joseph." See also 3.33: τὸν δεύτερον Ἀδὰμ λέγειν αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἰωσὴφ γεγεννῆσθαι, "they say that the second Adam had been begotten by Joseph."
15. In the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 6.2, Pluto, devoured by his father Cronos, is called γεννηθὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ βρέφος, "the child begotten by him."
16. *Scholia in Aeschylum* (scholia vetera), sch. 1c on *Sept.*: ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἐγεννήθησαν ὁ Κάδμος καὶ ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ <ἡ> Εὐρώπη, "by Agenor were begotten Cadmus, Cilix and Europa."
17. *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem* (scholia vetera), on *Il.* 2.547: Erichthonius is said to be γεννηθέντος ἐκ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, "begotten by Hephaestus."

The examples of the above list (which is by no means complete) are spread in time and geographical area, and the begetters to which they refer, are gods and divine beings, human beings and animals. The passages quoted have not been influenced by the Johannine language of ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι. They clearly show that γεννᾶσθαι ἐκ with a male agent was a normal way of speaking, meaning "to be begotten by."

Of course variants of the expression occur as well. Both the male and female agents that together produce offspring can be mentioned after the preposition, so that the two primary meanings of γεννᾶν, "to beget" and "to give birth," are present at the same time.[37] Instead of the preposition ἐκ, we also find ἀπό or ὑπό with the genitive.[38] This is not surprising, given the fact that with the passive, ὑπό with the genitive is the most usual way to express the agent, but ἀπό is also fairly frequent in this role,[39] and ἐκ is found as well to indicate the agent with the passive.[40] The three prepositions that can be used for the male agent with the passive γεννᾶσθαι are apparently, to a certain extent, interchangeable, but in any case, ἐκ is quite normal in this context,[41] so that ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι in the Johannine writings should be translated as "to be begotten by God."

In addition to these lexical and grammatical considerations, there is also an exegetical argument (already hinted at above) for preferring this translation. In 1 John 3:9, we read: πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ, ὅτι σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μένει, "everyone who has been begotten by God does not do sin, because his seed abides in him." Before this statement can function in the argument, some obscurities in it have to be clarified. The possessive genitive αὐτοῦ can refer in theory to either God or the believer ("everyone who has been begotten by God"); but as the latter possibility does not make sense, we have to prefer the former. The questions are then: does σπέρμα αὐτοῦ mean "God's offspring" or "God's semen," and to whom does αὐτῷ refer?

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[37] See, e.g., Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. hist.* 1.23.7.5: ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Διὸς γεγεννῆσθαι τὸν Διονύσον, "Dionysus was born of Semele and Zeus"; Philo, *Spec.* 4.182: ὁ γεννηθείς... ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων, "the one born from the best parents."

[38] With ἀπό, e.g., the Greek version of *1 En.* 15:8: οἱ γίγαντες οἱ γεννηθέντες ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ σαρκός, "the giants, who have been born of spirits and flesh" (cf. Gen 6:4); Heb 11:12: ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐγεννήθησαν, "they were begotten by one person." With ὑπό, e.g., Isocrates, *Hel. enc.* 16: πλείστων γὰρ ἡμιθέων ὑπὸ Διὸς γεννηθέντων..., "for although a multitude of demigods had been begotten by Zeus..."; Josephus, *A.J.* 1.150: Ἕβερος... γεννηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Σέλου, "Heber...having been begotten himself by Seles" (cf. Gen 11:14).

[39] See F. Blass—A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (ed. F. Rehkopf; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ^{16}1984) §210.2; L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik: Das Griechisch des Neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache* (HNT 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1925) 139; E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik 2: Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik* (ed. A. Debrunner; Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 2/1.2; Munich: Beck, 1950) 446; M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek, Illustrated by Examples* (ed. J. Smith; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1963; orig. in Latin, 1955) no. 90; N. Turner, *Syntax*, vol. 3 of J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1963) 258.

[40] As in, e.g., Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.1.6; 2 Cor 1:11; 2:2; 7:9; Justin, *1 Apol.* 12.5; *Dial.* 18.3; for other examples, see LSJ, s.v. ἐκ III.5; Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. ἐκ 3.e.α; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik 2*, 463.

[41] The preposition ἐκ may retain here something of its local sense; this could explain the preference for this preposition with the passive of γεννᾶν.

In itself, σπέρμα may obviously mean "offspring"; that is the meaning of the word wherever it occurs in John's Gospel (7:42; 8:33, 37), and it is frequently found elsewhere (see in the NT, e.g., Mark 12:19-20; Gal 3:16; Rev 12:17). "God's offspring" could then refer either to Christ or to the Christians. If it refers to Christ, αὐτῷ has to refer to the Christian, and the resulting idea that Christ abides in the believer is certainly Johannine (see John 6:56; 15:4-5). The difficulty is, however, that Christ is called "offspring of David" or "offspring of Abraham" (e.g., in Rom 1:3; 2 Tim 2:8), but "he is never called the *sperma* of God."[42] If "God's offspring" refers to the Christians,[43] αὐτῷ has to refer to God, and again, the resulting idea of the believer abiding in God is Johannine (see, e.g., 1 John 2:6; 4:13). Here, however, we run once more into the problem that the terminology would be most unusual: Christians are called "offspring of Abraham" (Gal 3:29; Heb 2:16) or of the woman who gave birth to the Messiah (Rev 12:17), but not "offspring of God." If Christ or the Christians are described as the σπέρμα of somebody, this somebody is a human being, not God. Besides, apart from the passage under discussion Johannine language is consistent in calling Jesus the υἱός, "son," of God, and the Christians the τέκνα, "children," of God (see, e.g., in the immediate context of the passage under discussion: 1 John 3:1, 2, 8, 10, 23).

Interpreting σπέρμα αὐτοῦ as "God's offspring" in 1 John 3:9 apparently leads nowhere. We have to translate "God's seed," and we have to suppose that σπέρμα stands in some way for God's generative power. More specifically, it can stand for either God's word or God's Spirit. The former interpretation finds support in passages such as Jas 1:18 and 1 Pet 1:23, but in the Johannine writings, God's word and his begetting are not associated. The latter interpretation, that the seed stands for God's Spirit, fits in very well with John 3:5, 8, where the believer is said to be "begotten of the Spirit," and seems to be the preferable one.[44]

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[42] Brown, *Epistles of John*, 408.

[43] So A.W. Argyle, "1 John iii. 4f.," *ExpTim* 65 (1953-1954) 62-63; J. De Waal Dryden, "The Sense of σπέρμα in 1 John 3:9: In Light of Lexical Evidence," *Filología Neotestamentaria* 11 (1998) 85-100. Argyle argued for this interpretation on the basis of a presumed allusion, in 1 John 3:9, to Isa 53:10 LXX (ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ὄψεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον, "Your soul will see a long-lived offspring"); on the relation between 1 John 3:4-7 and Isaiah 53, see M.J.J. Menken, "'The Lamb of God' (John 1,29) in the Light of 1 John 3,4-7," in G. Van Belle, ed., *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel* (BETL 200; Leuven: Leuven University Press—Peeters, 2007) 581-590.

So the way in which 1 John 3:9 speaks of "God's seed," supports the translation of ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι as "to be begotten by God." This passage from 1 John also confronts us with the limits of the metaphor of procreation in its application to God and his Spirit, for in the human process of procreation the seed does not "abide," whereas the Spirit "abides" with those in whom God has generated life (cf. John 14:16-17). The metaphor is also, so to speak, transcended by the reality aimed at insofar as in the process of spiritual procreation, there is no female principle; there is only God, also called "Father," who begets, no mother is mentioned at the divine level. In this respect, Johannine thought shows some similarity to Philo's thinking. In *Her.* 62, Philo argues that Sarah, identified with "Virtue," is the motherless principle ἐκ πατρὸς τοῦ πάντων θεοῦ μόνου γεννηθεῖσα, "begotten by her father, the God of all, alone" (Philo does so on the basis of Abraham's words to Abimelech in Gen 20:12: "She is truly my sister from the father, not from the mother"). Later in the same treatise (216), he says that God ἑβδομάδα τὴν ἀμήτορα γεγέννηκεν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, "has begotten seven, the motherless one, from himself alone." Moses found, according to Philo (*Mos.* 2.210), that the holy seventh day was ἀμήτορα ... ἐκ μόνου πατρὸς σπαρεῖσαν ἄνευ σπορᾶς καὶ γεννηθεῖσαν ἄνευ κυήσεως, "motherless ... sown by the Father alone without seed and begotten without conception." In both the Johannine writings and Philo, there is on the divine level only one generating principle, represented as male and begetting. How the child that is begotten, comes into the world, is a question that is not asked and that is actually irrelevant, because God's life-giving activity is the point of the metaphor.

3. Conclusion

In spite of the almost universal tendency of Bible translators, both ancient and modern, to render the Johannine ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννᾶσθαι as "to be born of God," the evidence collected in the preceding section clearly points in the direction of the alternative rendering "to be begotten by God" as the correct one. The same can be said, *mutatis mutandis*, about ἄνωθεν γεννᾶσθαι and related expressions in John 3:3-8. We have seen that several modern commentators of John's Gospel and 1 John prefer to translate γεννᾶσθαι in all these Johannine instances by "to be begotten"; they are right. Future Bible translators should no longer slavishly follow the translation tradition, but instead take the evidence presented into account.

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[44] See Schnackenburg, *Johannesbriefe*, 190-191; Brown, *Epistles of John*, 408-411; Smalley, *1, 2, 3 John*, 172-174; Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief*, 193-194; Beutler, *Johannesbriefe*, 88.

Admittedly, the two translations "to be born" and "to be begotten" do not result in very divergent statements when the metaphor is transposed into direct language: in both, God is said to be the source of the believer's new life. However, either of the two translations involves other elements of the metaphorical field of human reproduction, and thus leads to another emphasis in direct statement. In contrast to "to be born," the translation "to be begotten" clearly ascribes a metaphorical male sexual role to God: he is compared to a father who begets children. Perhaps some will not like this male aspect in the representation of God very much, but it is simply the way the Johannine God is pictured. The male sexual role metaphorically ascribed to God emphasizes divine agency: God is the one who initiates the new life of the believer. A translation of John's Gospel or 1 John should leave the metaphor intact and pass on this side of the Johannine view of God to the reader or hearer. Only then hermeneutical questions can be asked.

A final issue concerns the origin of the Johannine metaphor of divine begetting. Old Testament and Judaism yield some materials that may have served as inspiration for it,[45] but the overall result is not impressive. There are a few parallels in the NT.[46] It has been observed more than once that Hellenistic thought, mystery cults and gnosticism insofar as they are more or less contemporary with the Johannine writings, display verbal similarities but no exact parallels.[47] Closest to Johannine thought in this respect is Philo, who in his allegorical explanation has Sarah, the patriarchs or the number seven be begotten by God.[48] The difference is obviously that in Philo's thought, God begets abstract entities and souls, while in Johannine thought, he begets people of flesh and blood to a new life. The Johannine author (or authors) apparently takes up an extant but not very widespread motif, and makes it into one of his fundamental images to describe the relationship between God and the believer. This relationship is "eternal life" (see esp. John 17:3), and eternal life starts with the Christian being "begotten by God" through the Spirit in baptism as the confirmation of his or her belief in Jesus (John 3:5).[49]

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[45] See Deut 32:18; Ps 2:7; Ps 110:3 LXX; Prov 8:25 LXX; Isa 1:2 LXX; 1QSa II 11-12.

[46] See 1 Pet 1:3, 23, with ἀναγεννᾶν. For another metaphorical use of "begetting" in the NT, see 1 Cor 4:15; Phlm 10, with γεννᾶν and Paul as subject.

[47] See Schnackenburg, *Johannesbriefe*, 175-183; Brown, *Epistles of John*, 384-387; Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief*, 175-176.

[48] See *Leg.* 2.47; 3.219; *Post.* 135; *Conf.* 145; *Migr.* 142; *Mut.* 137-138; *Somn.* 1.173, 181; further the Philonic passages quoted at the end of the preceding section. In all cases, the verb γεννᾶν is used with God as agent.

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[49] I thank Dr J.M. Court for checking my English.

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Le style, c'est l'homme

Aesthetics and Apologetics in the Stylistic Analysis of the New Testament[1]

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Abstract
This article, through a critical assessment of Marius Reiser's *Sprache und literarische Formen des Neuen Testaments*: *Eine Einführung*, seeks to raise larger questions about what is at stake in stylistic analysis of the New Testament writings and about what values and assumptions undergird and guide such studies.

Keywords
stylistic analysis; aesthetics; apologetics; rhetoric; Paul

How does analysis of the style of the New Testament get positioned between aesthetics and interpretation, educational pedigree and apologetics? Are we studying style for its technical acumen or its effect, for its function in a particular text or for what it can tell us about the author (in relation also to the other things he tells us about himself)? What is at stake in rendering a positive or negative judgment? Whose agenda (ancient or modern) drives the study of the style of this literature? What are the standards of each form of analysis, and what are its ends? How should they be integrated with one another? Is any form of analysis "neutral" or "disinterested"? Can we examine a text purely from its stylistic or linguistic point of view without attention to its genre or its context or contents? Can the NT be examined solely on literary grounds without simultaneous

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[1] A shorter version of this paper was presented at the 2008 SNTS meeting in Lund, Sweden, in the Graeco-Roman World of the NT seminar, at a panel chaired and organized by Lars Rydbeck, whom I thank for the invitation. It is my honor to include it among the papers in celebrating the leadership of Prof. Peder Borgen.

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attention also to its religious message, purposes and effects? What forms of engagement are we to recognize as legitimate, and on what grounds? Given the role of the style of the NT writings in the history of engagement between Christianity and classical culture—an engagement that begins (I would argue) already in the texts of the NT themselves—is it possible for modern treatments to rise above or beyond those polemics? Is it desirable? Is it necessary?

In this essay we focus on these questions through an assessment of a single test case: Marius Reiser's, *Sprache und literarische Formen des Neuen Testaments*: *Eine Einführung*.[2] The author lays out the case that the New Testament represents, with few exceptions, a simple Koine diction that does not aspire even to the literary Koine, let alone Attic or Atticizing prose. At the outset Reiser presents the NT as inhabiting the dual legacy of the Septuagint and Hellenism generally, but most prevailingly shaped by the former. At first he appears to argue for a mediating position between an exaggeration of the meanness of NT speech (he eschews the terms "vulgär" and "gewöhnliche Straßensprache" [p. 29]), on the one hand, and an overestimation of its closeness to classical or classicizing diction of the imperial period, such as we find in Plutarch, even for Luke (p. 30), on the other. But as the book proceeds it becomes clear that Reiser does not quite seek to maintain a delicate medial poise, but has a very strong pull to one side of what he presents as the Jewish/Greek binary options of literary inheritance. The diction, style and literary forms of the NT, he maintains, are not dependent upon "pagan" literary culture, but that of Hellenistic Judaism, which either innately bequeathed these speech patterns and forms to her legitimate offspring, or served as the mediator of any identifiably "pagan" influence that can be found in the NT (the list of exceptions Reiser cites is not short: some elements of the letter form, diatribe, paraenesis, virtue and vice or peristasis catalogues and other minor forms in Luke-Acts [p. 190]). From a literary point of view, he maintains, the documents of the NT represent "eigenwillige Formen der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur," indeed, given the demise of Hellenistic-Jewish literary culture (which he attributes to the catastrophes of 66-70, 115-117 and 132-134 [sic]) they are the "Höhepunkt und das einflußreichste Erbe der jüdisch-hellenistischen Kultur" (p. 194). This is the final sentence, the peroration, of the argument of the book.

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[2] UTB 2197 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001). The author is currently revising this book for republication.

From this conclusion we can recognize that Reiser's book is about more than style as an aesthetic or linguistic category, but as a way to make larger claims, not only about literary, but religious history, indeed, religious identities (autobiographies and apologetics). The underlying assumption of this argument is revealed in the preceding line: the Christians did not "appropriate" the speech forms of Jewish literature, but rather they had them naturally because *they were writing Jewish literature*. This is a claim which seems to have not only literary or stylistic, but also biographical requirements, an inference which is supported by Reiser's earlier article, "Hat Paulus Heiden bekehrt?" in which he essentially endorses Luke's apologetic historiography as fact: "Nicht nur das Judenchristentum, auch das Heidenchristentum kommt aus der Synagoge."[3] It is hard to know which comes first, the literary or sociological claims, because they are bound up with one another (as indeed they were for Luke). This determination that early Christian literature is Jewish literature means for Reiser that elements of "pagan" literary culture are viewed as foreign and would have required such a cultural borrowing (or perhaps "lifting") in Reiser's eyes. We see the contrasting approaches (native versus acquired literary influences) nicely, e.g., where Reiser in analyzing Paul's epistolary greeting χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη states "Darin erinnert χάρις an das χαίρειν des paganen Formulars; ob es wirklich damit zusammenhängt, ist zumindest fraglich. Hinter εἰρήνη steht das שלם des semitischen Formulars" (p. 122). The predilection is clear: diffidence in the first case (about "pagan" literary culture) is unevenly met by confident declaration in the second (about "semitic"). But why is χαίρειν "pagan"? Josephus uses it (e.g., *Vita* 217); and according to him and the LXX other Jews did, too (*AJ* 12.51; 13.166; *Vita* 365; 1 Macc 12:6, etc.)? And on what grounds is Reiser so sure that Paul had Hebrew "standing behind" his Greek? What, after all, does it mean to say that Paul stands on a Hebrew substrate?

For all of its value as a source book and convenient repository of valuable nuggets of information, then, this volume is no mere compendium or neutral analysis, but, as I am hereby suggesting, a rhetorical argument, a λόγος. Hence we are justified in analyzing it according to the three elements of the ἔργα τοῦ ῥήτορος that apply especially to written discourses: λέξις (style), τάξις (arrangement), and εὕρεσις (invention).[4] How the book seeks to persuade is naturally relevant to whether in fact it does.

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[3] *BZ*, ns 39 (1995) 76-91, quotation from p. 91.

[4] I am drawing, of course, on Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.1, and the development of this categorization

Reiser lays out his case in a manner that is both clear and concise (the back cover blurb rightly advertises these features of the volume: "Klare Begrifflichkeiten, eine verständliche Sprache"). In this he is emulating and indeed modeling two of the cardinal virtues of ancient stylistic criticism that figure in his own analysis of the NT. This style makes the book accessible even to those new to the field, and, further, gives the reader an impression that the author is handing over commonsensical and consensus judgments. And yet the brevity also allows him, even compels him, at times to move quickly over very difficult questions in NT scholarship, such as, e.g., whether the farewell discourse (Abschiedsrede) as found in the NT is only or predominantly a "Jewish tradition" (for 2 Tim; Acts 20:17-38; 22:24-38; and John 13-17), or, a more seriously problematic contention, that Paul's "weak reverberations of Stoic thought" ("die schwachen Nachklänge stoischer Gedanken bei Paulus" [p. 95]) were mediated to him through Hellenistic Judaism and writings like the book of Wisdom, but not direct contact with Stoic thought. While the scholar might see here rhetorical brevity that abbreviates known lines of argument, the student reading the book may be misled into thinking the case closed.[5]

Brevity as a rhetorical device can also work to front-load presuppositions in advance of proof without admitting of counter-statement. For instance, the student who is first introduced to Paul with the sweeping judgment: "Kein Autor des NTs redet so persönlich, *ungekünstelt* und leidenschaftlich wie Paulus" (p. 69, italics added) will hardly object when Paul is said on the next page to use terms that, while they are part of the vocabulary of ancient rhetorical training, only come to him "wohl indirekt" (p. 70; see also further on p. 69, where 2 Cor 11:16-30 is described in terms of "Die *ungekünstelte* Frische dieser Rede"). That Reiser's own dramatic statement about Paul's presumed lack of "artistry" or "crafted speech" is skillfully positioned below a pithy aphorism from Pascal's

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(from 3-5 such works or elements of rhetoric) into the imperial period (e.g., Quintilian, *Inst.* 3.3.1 [*inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria* and *pronuntiatio* or *actio*], or Diogenes Laertius 7.43, life of Zeno, on the Stoic scheme of invention, style, arrangement and delivery [εὕρεσις, φράσις, τάξις, ὑπόκρισις]).

[5] Hence, reference to scholarship like George L. Parsenios, *Departure and Consolation: The Johannine Farewell Discourses in Light of Greco-Roman Literature* (NovTSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2005), or Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2000), should at least be made. In other instances Reiser's notes signal debates more pointedly. One contribution of the second edition could be to be more evenhanded and consistent in this regard.

Pensées praising the "natural style" that reveals *a (real) man* rather than *an (affected) author*,[6] adds to the reasonableness, indeed, the deep desirability, of Reiser's as yet unproven claim about the first Christian author. The Reiser-Pascal duet communicates the earnest truth that rhetoric is not only alien, but inimical to Paul.[7]

This strategic use of epigrammatic statements about style, ancient and modern, in German, Greek, Latin, French, Spanish and English is a major feature of Reiser's own style in this book; these quotations serve to introduce the chapters and add neat insight, as well as a flair and grace to the whole. In addition to moving the argument forward (as the previous example shows), these quotations give the book a cosmopolitan feel, and build up the ἦθος of the author as a man of *paideia* who has immersed himself in the great literature of the world and offers pearls from that reading to his readers. The index of quotation, after all, is one of the methodological criteria Reiser uses to determine that NT authors are outside the mainstream of Greek literary culture.[8] This impression of Reiser's broad reading (indeed, most impressive!) and a wide cultural field ironically (or perhaps intentionally?) masks the extent to which this book actually argues a very traditional and narrow case about the placement of early Christian literature strictly within the non-classical strain of Jewish-Hellenistic literature that is derived from the LXX, though destined—only later, and after the end of that Judaism has been prophetically foreshadowed—for

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6) "Quand on voit le style naturel, on est tout étonné et ravi, car on s'attendait de voir un auteur, et on trouve un homme" (*Penseés* 1.29, ed. L. Brunschvicg, quoted by Reiser, p. 69 in the German translation, ed. E. Wasmuth).

7) Here, too, the paucity of engagement with research on Paul's rhetorical proficiency (pp. 124-125), for instance, does not give the student an accurate entrée into contemporary scholarship. The caution Reiser intones is not accompanied by any guidance about how analysis that is attuned to rhetorical *paideia* might responsibly proceed; in a handbook this will likely lead students to dismiss such an inquiry entirely.

8) On pp. 94-95 Reiser wishes to make conclusions from the fact that the citations of the LXX greatly outnumber the three quotations from Greek poets (1 Cor 15:33 [a passage not mentioned in discussing Paul, however!]; Tit 1:12; Acts 17:28]), and on p. 70 he emphasizes that Paul never quotes Homer. Exactly why Paul or another NT author might have wanted to quote Homer or the poets more often is not discussed; it is assumed that they do not because they do not know these sources, not that they might not have found them useful for their purposes. Of course, here, too, the question of Homeric influence on Paul is not entirely settled (see, e.g., Abraham J. Malherbe, "Antisthenes and Odysseus, and Paul at War," in *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989] 91-119, first published in *HTR* 76 [1983] 143-173; Margaret M. Mitchell, "Homer in the New Testament?" *JR* 83 [2003] 244-260).

extraordinary greatness in a non-Jewish world (p. 190). This linguistic argument (the birth of the NT fully within the world of Greek-speaking Judaism, but gradually moving beyond it) maps perfectly onto the plot line of the first Christian narrative apologist, Luke, an author who also likes to demonstrate to the reader that he has literary aspirations and capacities beyond that which he always uses. Perhaps that explains the third evangelist's placement in the disposition of Reiser's book.

In terms of τάξις, the argument falls into two main parts, "Sprache und Stil" and "Literarische Formen." The book begins with a general characterization of the style of the NT as a whole, which has only two categories, alliteratively linked—*sermo humilis* (from Erich Auerbach's famous essay on Latin patristics)[9] and Semitisms, which serve as an encapsulation of his view of the NT. He then proceeds through the NT books following a virtually canonical order of sub-corpora (Synoptics, John, Paul, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse), with a few telling exceptions: Luke-Acts precedes the other gospels, the Johannine letters are treated with the Fourth Gospel, and the Pauline pseudepigrapha are separated out from the *homologoumena* and discussed with the Catholic Epistles. After that, the macro and micro forms or genres found within NT writings are analyzed, again following the canonical order which gives Luke double-billing (gospels, acts, letters, apocalypse) followed by "Beispieltexte mit Kommentar," arranged according to the same disposition as part 1 (hence, we get the Lukan period of 1:1-4 as the first NT example, and then we slide to the "idiolectic" style of Rev 1:1-8 at the end).

Reiser's order of treatment of NT writings and authors is certainly not chronological (as one might expect for an historical treatment), but, in broad terms, canonical. He takes up five categories from Albert Wifstrand,[10] but these are not categories of the same type—some are based on genre

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9) Erich Auerbach, "sermo humilis," in *Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter* (Bern: Francke, 1958); ET in *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

10) Reiser credits Albert Wifstrand for this formulation ("Stylistic Problems in the Epistles of James and Peter," in idem, *Epochs and Styles* [ed. Lars Rydbeck and Stanley E. Porter; WUNT 179; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005] 46), but he does not mention that he has rearranged the order of categories; contrast Lars Rydbeck, "Die Sprache des N.T.," *RGG*^{4}, who includes the same 5 groups, but retains Wifstrand's sequence: 1. Paul, 2. John (and Johannine letters), 3. Synoptics and Acts, 4. Apocalypse, 5. Catholic Epistles, Hebrews and Pastorals.

(gospel, letter, apocalypse) and others on author (genuine Paul versus deutero-Paulines) and one on a literary circle (the Johannine literature, minus Revelation). The result of these mis-matched categories is that crucial issues of whether stylistic analysis means studying the style of an individual hand or that found in particular genres of literature or that of a movement or body of literature viewed as a whole remain undiscussed and undetermined. We might object in any case by asking whether the "NT" is an appropriate category for literary-critical analysis, given that the canon now accepted was a mid fourth-century determination. In terms of literary history it would seem one should tackle the style of early Christian literature without the limitation of the later canon, and hence include most of the Apostolic Fathers, and the early apocryphal Acts.

Nevertheless, if we accept for pedagogical reasons the need for students of the NT to have some sense of the placement of the NT in ancient literature, the non-chronological approach to the NT that Reiser adopts defeats from the outset any attempt to study the development of style in early Christian literary culture. This has serious liabilities for student and scholar alike. In particular, this order of presentation means that the importance of Paul as the first Christian author and stylist is significantly diminished (stuck in the carefully framed middle where the Western canon has put him!). Also one loses a proper appreciation of the ways in which Matthew and Luke are responses (stylistic, literary and theological) to Mark, because the first gospel is treated last of the Synoptics. Furthermore, ending both sections 1 and 3 with Revelation as the last taste in the reader's mouth certainly helps to sustain the argument about *sermo humilis* in the NT! And putting Luke first, naming him the best of Christian stylists, and rooting him (as Luke in turn does Jesus) in the literary world of the LXX, both anchors the argument and allows Reiser to get Luke out of the way as a kind of exception, the unique place in the NT where there is a genuine synthesis of LXX and (pagan) Greek diction and literary culture ("doch nirgends ist griechische Diktion so kunstvoll und abwechslungsreich mit stilistischen Eigenheiten der Septuaginta verschmolzen wie im lukanischen Doppelwerk" [pp. 54-55]). Although he notes that the second part of Acts is virtually free of Semitisms and written in a higher level of Koine (p. 53), Reiser buries that crucially important fact under two following pages of discussion of Semitisms and ends his treatment of Luke with the insistence that to "pagan" authors his style would have seemed archaic and barbaric (pp. 54-55). That they might also have noticed that he literally leaves that style behind in the last quarter of the double work—with the Gospel carried forward by a Greek-speaking Roman citizen named Paul—goes unmentioned. Style in Luke-Acts is a vehicle of meaning, not only in showing that Luke is writing "salvation history" but also that he is writing the Christian cult out of a parochial into a wider literary and cultural ambit.

This example of Lukan narrative style over the double-work (Luke and Acts) points to a general concern about the disposition of Reiser's own book: the separation of the two parts (i.e., style from form) results in insufficient integration of these two interwoven aspects of literary production in antiquity. A telling example of this is in Reiser's treatment of Paul, wherein Paul's style is discussed and evaluated in part 1 *independent of the fact that he wrote letters* (69-77). This means that whether his "rhetoric of the heart" or "persönlich" style of speaking are due to or influenced by the genre in which he writes is not addressed; nor, when we turn to the "Brief" in part 2 is there any discussion of ancient treatments of the style appropriate for letters.[11] Here one would wish for a close reading and analysis of the valuable and, to my mind, still largely unappreciated[12] discussion of epistolary style in Ps-Demetrius, *De elocutione* 4.223-235, which argues that the appropriate style of letters should be a mix (μεμίχθω), a combination of plain (ἰσχνός) and graceful (χαρίεις) styles (χαρατκῆρες), and should "have an expression of moral character" (πλεῖστον δὲ ἐχέτω τὸ ἠθικὸν ἡ ἐπιστολή [4.227]). Ps-Demetrius would also concur in principle with Reiser's censure of Paul for *anakoloutha* that can cause a writing to be ἀσαφές (4.226), but he would perhaps disagree on whether it is useful to situate letter writing within ancient rhetorical theory in the first place.[13] While I think Reiser is aware of these issues, the arrangement of the book too much reinforces a regrettable separation between style and genre, philology and exegesis (I shall return to this point below) which hampers each individual analysis.

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[11] Instead we have a pretty standard discussion of epistolary forms, including an inordinate amount of treatment given to Hebrew letters (from the monograph by I. Taatz, *Frühjüdische Briefe: Die paulinischen Briefe im Rahmen der offiziellen religiösen Briefe des Frühjudentums* [NTOA 16; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991]), given that, as Reiser rightly concedes, "Ob Paulus selbst von dieser Tradition beeinflußt ist, wie I. Taatz vermutet, ist schwer zu sagen" (p. 120 n. 99). The problem with non-chronological order appears here, too, where Reiser treats Acts 15, James, 1 Peter and Hebrews *before Paul*, who was the inaugurator of early Christian epistolography, and several of the former, if not all, bear Pauline influence. Again this order is meant to follow the Lukan apologetic insistence that Jewish influence comes first, before the Hellenistic.

[12] But see now Hans-Josef Klauck, *Ancient Letters and the New Testament* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006) 184-188, who gives it some more prominence.

[13] Contrast Reiser's contention on p. 125 with Ps-Demetrius' appeal to the example of Aristotle—as both author of a τέχνη and letter writer—to demonstrate that one can use

Before turning to some of the actual arguments offered, we should note the book jacket's claim, that in part 2 "Alle im Neuen Testament vertretenen literarischen Groß- und Kleinformen" are analyzed. In this section the choice of topics, and the separation out of the "Stiltypen" diatribe and paraenesis serves to foster the impression that all these forms reflect the LXX and not "pagan" literary types. But students of NT literature would swiftly find many that are categorically omitted: *prosopopoiia, logoi* (speeches, in Acts), *parekbasis, ekphrasis, enthymeme, paradeigma, inclusio, apologia, epainos/encomium, psogos, synkrisis, logos protreptikos, topos*, oracle, prophecy.[14] It perhaps is worth noting at least in brief here that Reiser's statement on p. 96 that "Die Antike hat nur wenige Gattungsbegriffe entwickelt" is inaccurate, and disproven by the very example he gives, for the *Progymnasmata* teach students to argue precisely between the categories of μῦθος and διήγημα that he maintains are lumped together, because they had difficulty with "the problem of fictionality." The problem is acknowledged and built into the exercises (if strategically rather than systematically), not avoided by them.[15]

Turning now to Reiser's εὕρεσις (the determination of the argument and choice of evidence to back it up): as the discussion to this point has indicated, I think the book is not just a handbook, but is constructed as an ἀπολογία for the rightful place of the *sermo humilis* of the NT as the height of Hellenistic-Jewish literary culture. Reiser has selected his examples as proofs fashioned to meet this goal (σκοπός). In many places in the second part "pagan" analogues are brought up (e.g., for the biographic nature of the gospels) only to be dismissed, time and again, in favor of the

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the letter form to construct proofs (Ἀριστοτέλης μέντοι καὶ ἀποδείξεσί που χρῆται ἐπιστολικῶς… καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀποδεικνύμενον αὐτῷ ἐπιστολικὸν καὶ ἡ ἀπόδειξις αὐτή [*Eloc.* 4.233]).

[14] Compare the scope of the entries in David E. Aune, *Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2003), a work to which Reiser's new edition should point.

[15] On these *progymnasmata* see Margaret M. Mitchell, "Patristic Rhetoric on Allegory," in Rowan A. Greer and Margaret M. Mitchell, *The "Belly-Myther of Endor: Interpretations of 1 Kingdoms 28 in the Early Church* (SBL Writings from the Greco-Roman World 16; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007) xciff.

LXX. But despite the repeated claim for the affinity of Hellenistic-Jewish literature, how useful is it for actual interpretation of the NT texts? The list on p. 96 of the stream of Hellenistic-Jewish literature in which the NT is said to lie includes in the LXX Tobit, Esther, Letter of Jeremiah, 1 Maccabees, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and outside it Greek Enoch, Wisdom of Solomon, Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs, Joseph and Aseneth, *Paraleipomena Ieremiou*, and *Vitae prophetarum*. However, tellingly, the index to the book includes no category for Hellenistic-Jewish literature and citations to any of these works, except Tobit.[16] What this suggests is that these works are invoked en masse (in service of the religious and sociological rootedness of earliest Christianity in "Judaism") but not really found very useful for the actual exegesis of any NT document. Such a general contention about literary influences can, at any rate, only really be properly tested by careful individual comparisons. I would suggest as one illustrative exercise reading Paul's Philippians with two *comparanda*: the pseudepigraphical *epistulae* of Chion of Heraclea, which may be exactly contemporary to Paul[17] and the Letter of Jeremiah from the LXX. Although I cannot pursue the comparison here in depth, even a cursory reading shows that the former is much closer to Paul's Philippians, in vocabulary, syntax and style (indeed, there are some very keen commonalities),[18] than the latter.

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[16] The statistical value of the indexes, however, may be limited, as they seem to me to be woefully incomplete (another desideratum for the second edition). Nonetheless, the lack of even a category for the main corpus of texts to which the NT is allied, alongside the LXX (i.e., Hellenistic-Jewish literature) and paucity of references to the LXX, is in quite striking contrast to the central contention of the book.

[17] Ingemar Düring dates them to "not earlier than the beginning of the first century A.D" ("Chion of Heraclea: A Novel in Letters," *Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis/Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 57 [1951] 1-123, p. 16).

[18] Comparison with just two of the letters reveals the following similarities: Chion 13, τὰ μὲν ἐμά (cf. Phil 1:12 τὰ κατ' ἐμέ; Phil 2:23 τὰ περὶ ἐμέ); ἀγαθὸς γὰρ καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀποθνήσκων ἔσομαι (cf. Phil 1:21 ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος); πολιτευώμεθα (cf. Phil 1:27 πολιτεύεσθε); ὃς ἡμῖν μὲν φίλος, ἐκείνῳ δὲ καὶ συγγενής ἐστιν (cf. Phil 2:25… Ἐπαφρόδιτον τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην μου, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον καὶ λειτουργὸν τῆς χρείας μου); καλῶς ποιῶν (cf. Phil 4:14 καλῶς ἐποιήσατε); Chion 17, ἐξέπεμψα (cf. Phil 2:28 ἔπεμψα; cf. 2:23 ἐλπίζω πέμψαι); συνωμόται (cf. Phil 2:25 συνεργός, συστρατιώτης); καταισχυνοῦμεν (not in Phil, but cf. Phil 1:20 αἰσχυνθήσομαι); οἶδα μὲν οὖν (cf. Phil 1:19 οἶδα γὰρ; Phil 2:23; 3:8 μενοῦνγε); ἡγοῦμαι (cf. Phil 2:3, 6, 25; 3:7, 8); καλὸν γάρ μοι (not in Phil, but cf. 1 Cor 9:15 καλὸν γάρ μοι); προθύμως ἔχομεν (cf. Phil 1:23 τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων); σὺ δὲ χαῖρε, ὦ Πλάτων (cf. Phil 2:18 καὶ ὑμεῖς χαίρετε); 3:1 ἀδελφοί μου, χαίρετε. Düring's excellent textual

Reiser's claim that Paul's style (treated on pp. 69-77) is sub-literary and uncrafted, a mere "rhetoric of the heart," is in my view unpersuasive.[19] First off, it bears noting that any assessment of style depends upon choices made about what topics to treat and, in particular, what terms or passages are regarded as typical or essential to determining any singular author's style. Here we must attend carefully to how Reiser supports his contention. He devotes most of the first part of the entry to swift denials—that Paul used rhetorical techniques or rhetorical[20] or philosophical terms.[21] The flat out dismissal, "Eigentlich philosophische Termini fehlen" is followed only by a single possible candidate, συνείδησις; Reiser concedes only that terms like κενόδοξος/κενοδοξία have to do with "philosophisch angehauchte Begriffe der literarischen Koine." A mountain of NT scholarship is hereby evaded, along with any mention of such terms as ἐλευθερία, αὐτάρκης, ἀρετή, and προκοπή. Although the last three occur in the short letter to the Philippians, Reiser cites only one word from that missive here—σκύβαλα!—in order ostensibly to save Paul from an overly negative verdict of using "Wort der Gasse" or "Vulgärsprache," but it

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edition, translation and commentary on this epistolary novel includes the following remarks on style: "rhetorical antithesis is common," "laxness in parallel clauses," "hyperbaton," "florid expressions," "stereotypes" (p. 115). Each of these is a characteristic of Paul's style. None of these features leads Düring to deny rhetorical training for the author. Here is his summary comment, which is an assessment of the style and content of these letters: "The anonymous author of Chion's letter was certainly not a philosopher, nor was he an original thinker with a philosophy of his own ['practically every idea of any philosophic importance can be explained as a reminiscence of his browsing in Plato's writings']. We cannot even say that he was a personality of marked eminence. His work is what we can expect from a talented rhetor who had read some good books and attended a good school" (p. 21). I think the same can be said of Paul in terms of style, though he is certainly also an "original thinker."

[19] Given my own research into Pauline rhetoric (e.g., *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* [HUT 28; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr/Paul Siebeck, 1991; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993]), this may seem to be a given! But in what follows I am confining myself to an assessment of Reiser's argument on its own terms, not building an independent case.

[20] Reiser mentions a few such terms (such as μετασχηματίζειν) only to deny that Paul imputes to them any proper rhetorical meaning. However, on p. 74 he does allow that "aber gelegentlich kann er wirkungsvoll *rhetorische Stilfiguren* einsetzen."

[21] That the two (rhetoric and philosophy) are treated indiscriminately indicates that the denials are not just a matter of style or content, but of cultural contact with Hellenism more generally.

appears that Reiser has sought by this scatological red herring successfully to avert the eye from any philosophical vocabulary in Philippians.

Next, after correctly noting Paul's predilection for coining new uses for terms, Reiser states that "In der Semantik und Phraseologie ist die paulinische Sprache tief geprägt von der Septuaginta" (p. 71). But is Paul's own diction really so deeply imprinted by the Septuagint? For instance, does a comparison between Philippians and the Letter of Jeremiah support this contention?[22] What of the proofs Reiser offers for this assertion?[23] I shall assess each in turn, first stating his claim and then providing my own brief critical analysis:

1. ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας in Phil 4:18 and Eph 5:2[24] is a Septuagintalism.

   Agreed—the phrase is unmistakably an allusion to, if not a quotation of, the LXX translation of ריח ניחוח (Gen 8:21; Exod 29:18; Lev 1:9, etc.). And yet if the latter, it is not an index of Paul's own style, but that of his authorities.

2. Paul abundantly cites the LXX, often in composite quotations.

   This is true, but is not a proof that Paul's own style was deeply stamped by the LXX. (As a counter-argument, we could bring Clement or Origen, or the Cappadocians, who cite the LXX very often, but have a prose style that is quite different.)

3. The "Steigerungform" ἐκ... εἰς (Rom 1:17; 2 Cor 2:16; cf. 3:18; 4:17) is said to have been taken from LXX Ps 83:8; 143:13; Jer 9:2.

   An article by Charles L. Quarles[25] has found 340 instances of this expression in "extra-biblical Greek" in the TLG. I would say that that Septuagintal influence here is possible, but hardly definitive.[26]

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[22] The verbal parallels one finds are few and inexact: the closest is perhaps Ep Jer 1:2 μετ' εἰρήνης and 1:6 ὁ γὰρ ἄγγελός μου μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐστιν (cf. Phil 4:9 ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν); in other instances we strain to see real correspondence, e.g., 1:4 ἀφομοιωθέντες τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἀφομοιωθῆτε (cf. Phil 2:7 ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος; Heb 7:3 ἀφωμοιωμένος τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ); 1:4 φόβος used negatively (cf. Phil 2:12 φόβος used positively).

[23] Missing is a discussion of Pauline syntax, which in no way is a replication of the VSO (verb, subject, object) word order of Greek that is a translation of the Hebrew.

[24] I don't know why this is cited here, since Eph is treated as deutero-Pauline on p. 77f.

[25] "From Faith to Faith: A Fresh Examination of the Prepositional Series in Romans 1:17," *NovT* 45 (2003) 1-21, 5-9.

[26] Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1993) 263, who cites

4. ἰσόψυχος in Phil 2:20, “a rare poetic term,” probably came from its single appearance in the LXX, Ps 54:14.

    Unconvincing. This inference likely is made on the basis of the fact that LSJ only cites one usage, in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1470; but actually the term is neither rare nor restrictively poetic, and need not have been known to Paul by its *hapax* appearance in the LXX (which, we should note, is itself applying the Hellenistic friendship *topos* to the Hebrew phrase about a man “in my valuation, i.e., my equal” [כערכי]). On the topos, see, e.g., the adverb in Zenodorus Grammaticus [1st c. BCE?], Περὶ συνηθείας, p. 254, in a definition: Φίλος, παρὰ τῇ συνηθείᾳ πᾶς ὁ ἰσοψύχως ἀγαπώμενος, ποιητικῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ συγγενής; the adjective in Philo, frag. 30 line 3; and *Historia Alexandri magni* 121.4 [recensions E and F]. Septuagintal influence on Paul's use of the term is unproven.

5. Not all Paul's Semitisms come from the LXX, such as the usage of σάρξ καὶ αἷμα and of κληρονομεῖν in 1 Cor 15:50 in relation to eschatological reward. The former belongs to “pharisaic-rabbinic school language.”

    This claim and the data base given to support it do not completely line up. For example, the citations Reiser gives include Philo (*Her.* 57), who does not fit this designation as a rabbi, nor the general characterization given to Paul's style. We must note also that Reiser omits mention that this phrase, σάρξ καὶ αἷμα (which appears only here and in Gal 1:16 in Paul's letters), is also used in Heb 2:14 (see p. 72 n. 124), by a stylist he regards in a later, separate treatment as “Der literarisch gewandteste und hochstehendste Autor in dieser Gruppe [Deutero-Paulines, Catholic Epistles and Hebrews] und im Neuen Testament überhaupt” (p. 80). The same is true of κληρονομεῖν in reference to eschatological goods (Heb 1:14; 6:12; 12:17). If such usages do not lead to a lowering of Reiser's evaluation of the author of Hebrews, then why are they singled out for Paul?

After this series of claims Reiser turns to a broader consideration of what he regards as deficiencies in Paul's style when measured against “literary”

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the Ps 84:8 (LXX 83:8) passage, but does not seek to argue that Paul drew upon it directly in his formulation, or that it is a Septuagintalism.

standards. The conclusion he reaches from these is summarily stated on p. 74: "Literarische Ambitionen sind dem 'Laien (ἰδιώτης) in der Redekunst', wie er sich selbst nennt (2 Kor 11,6) also durchaus fremd" (p. 74). This appeal to 2 Cor 11:6 has an indisputable flaw, however;[27] in its context in 2 Cor 10-11, the apostle is responding to the charge that his letters (ἐπιστολαί) were βαρεῖαι καὶ ἰσχυραί, but his λόγος (associated with his παρουσία τοῦ σώματος in this μὲν/δέ contrast) ἐξουθενημένος (2 Cor 10:9-11). Hence what Paul is conceding in 11:6 is his deficiency *in oral speech when present* (λόγος), not his writing (in letters when absent). Furthermore, the two adjectives the Corinthian detractor (the first recorded stylistic analyst of Paul's letters!) applies to Paul's writing are included in the standard virtues of the ancient grand style employed by a critic such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[28] Paul is *absolutely not* denying his literary skill in 2 Cor 11:6, nor (in 10:10) is his otherwise not very complimentary accuser. This Pauline denial is matched by one of Reiser's own: despite the concession that Paul does make "occasional effective use" of rhetorical figures of style (such as polysyndeton, climax, word play, paronomasia), and especially has a predilection for parallelism and antithesis, and even could have formulated some of these in "a rhetorically effective way" ("diese zwar rhetorisch wirksam formuliert sein können"), nonetheless, he insists, Paul "betrays nowhere a close knowledge of rhetorical finesse" ("aber an keiner Stelle verraten sie eine intimere Kenntnis rhetorischer Finessen" (p. 75). It is not clear what kind of proof would meet such a need, if the use of rhetorical figures does not constitute such.

Beyond these denials, Reiser's argument that Paul had no literary ambitions or abilities unfolds with two other major claims (again, I shall state the arguments and then my assessment):

1. Paul's style in "many places" shows typical features of "spoken language": *anakoloutha*, ellipses and parentheses.

   This judgment is less decisive than it appears. First, Reiser does not mention that these three (the first two of which are rhetorical figures) are equally features of written Greek prose.

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[27] For the purposes of this argument I am leaving aside the assumption Reiser makes that this statement is some kind of neutral self-assessment by Paul.

[28] See the table in S.F. Bonner, *The Literary Treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus: A Study in the Development of Critical Method* (Cambridge, 1939) 24, where the grand style includes "power" (ἰσχύς) and "weight" (βάρος).

Second, despite the "many places" Reiser stipulates in the text, only two examples are given in a note: Rom 2:4-11.12-16[29] and 12:7 (p. 72 n. 125). But these few examples do not even support the point. The first is a packed portion of Pauline Greek that is I think mischaracterized as off the tip of the tongue or loosely-formed, oral sentences. In Rom 2:4-11 there is no *anakolouthon*, nor any parenthesis. The ellipsis of the verb ἀποδώσει in vv. 7 and 8, with their τοῖς μὲν... τοῖς δέ is not unliterary or bad Greek,[30] nor a characteristically oral construction. Once again, it is quite a surprise to see later in the book (p. 80) that Reiser presents the fact that the author of Hebrews uses μὲν... δέ and τε... καί as evidence of "literary aspirations," when both constructions are found in this Pauline passage (Rom 2:4-11), which Reiser uses to demonstrate Paul's lack of literary diction (and hence, on p. 74, his estrangement from "literary ambitions"). Furthermore, this is not an unusual Pauline passage in this regard; abundant use of μὲν... δέ is a predominant feature of his style.[31] There are also other rhetorical figures in this passage (Rom 2:6-11): hyperbaton and chiasmus.[32] It is not carelessly tossed out as sloppy oral expression, but a rather carefully crafted piece of argumentative prose.

2. Paul's style involves leaps of thought and abbreviated formulas, which result in him often violating the first virtue of a good style ("Es fehlt oft genug an der ersten Tugend eines guten Stils, der σαφήνεια" [p. 73]). In support of this statement Reiser quotes F.-M. Abel (who "characterisiert diesen Stil" of Paul).

   The claim as argued is not well supported, and the inference taken from it—that these features of Paul's writing (abbreviations, lack of clarity) indicate his lack of rhetorical finesse—need not follow, for they may mark a kind of style appropriate to letters and characteristic of Paul's own manner of reasoning with the gospel in his letters.

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[29] I do not know why this is cited as two separate passages.

[30] Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920, rev. 1956) §1107.

[31] On the prevalence of μὲν/δέ in Paul: 1 Corinthians: 15 times; Romans: 11; 2 Corinthians: 3; Philippians: 3; Galatians: 2; as compared with Hebrews: 14.

[32] Vv. 9-10 reverse the order of vv. 7-8; see Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 302.

> First, Paul does indeed make frequent use of abbreviation, forms of "rhetorical shorthand."[33] And sometimes it is quite difficult for us to reconstruct the proper construal of the "longhand" to which they refer (hence, to move from the part to the whole which is being signified). That we (modern scholars who never heard Paul deliver the "longhand" version to which he is making reference) cannot do so easily does not mean that Paul is not in control of his language, but that he is using it subtly and carefully, at times even cryptically. Such shorthand is not a stylistic deficit, but a consistent means by which he seeks to move his argument forward.
>
> Second, Reiser's judgment that Paul writes unclearly relies upon the authority of Abel, but the quotation he offers is, however, selective. In its context in Abel's book this quotation is found in the paragraph treating the Greek *period* (the referent of "this style" in the quotation), where he explains why Paul does not use the period (a point which is indisputably true). But on the same page (p. 359) Abel turns to *anakolouthon* as a stylistic feature, and explains that *anakolouthon* is *acceptable* among Greeks, and *especially well-suited to letters*, which, he infers, is why it is so frequently used by Paul: "Le changement de construction au cours de la phrase auquel on donne le nom d'anacoluthe (sans suite), que les Grecs se sont permis quelquefois surtout pour imiter le ton de la conversation et dans le style épistolaire, est fort employé pars les auteurs biblique et par saint Paul en particulier."[34]

Hence Abel (unlike Reiser) did not see Paul's use of *anakolouthon* as a stylistic deficiency, and he rightly attributed it to Paul's use of the epistolary form (thus integrating style and genre, as I have argued one must). It bears noting that although the quotation Reiser replicates on p. 73 is, as we have seen, actually not Abel's general characterization of Paul's style, Abel had provided one near the beginning of his book. There, though he does not regard Paul's Greek as "literary,"[35] in contrast to Reiser Abel downplayed the presence of semitisms in Paul's prose:

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[33] I have examined Paul's usage in light of ancient techniques for rhetorical brevity in Margaret M. Mitchell, "Rhetorical Shorthand in Pauline Argumentation: The Functions of 'The Gospel' in the Corinthian Correspondence," in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker* (ed. L.A. Jervis and P. Richardson; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 63-88.

[34] F.-M. Abel, *Grammaire du grec biblique suivie d'un choix de papyrus* (ÉBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1927) 359.

> Né dans la Diaspora, saint Paul sut le grec aussi tôt que l'araméen. Sans être littéraire, son grec n'est pas non plus proprement vulgaire; c'est la langue dans laquelle on échangeait ses idées, et qui pouvait, par le choix des expressions, s'élever aux questions abstraites. Aussi éloigné de l'affectation atticiste que de la recherché poétique, Paul sut se garantir aussi du servilisme sémitique. Les sémitismes chez lui sont secondaires et n'avaient rien qui pût choquer une oreille hellénique.[36]

In contrast, Reiser envisions a reader such as Longinus[37] (who, as we know, had read at least some LXX)[38] receiving just such a shock if he were to have read Paul's letters.

Mentioning Longinus leads us to a final point, having to do with stylistic analysis in the ancient world, and its different forms—the more technical or pedantic assessments of a Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for instance, as opposed to a more romanticizing approach to the literary arts as giving an insight into the soul of the author, as with Longinus.[39] Here one would have to place Reiser with Dionysius, who, in contrast with his unmitigated praise for Demosthenes, finds fault with Plato on the same grounds Reiser uses against Paul: "unclarity" (ἀσαφήνεια), because he uses metaphors[40] and other rhetorical figures.[41] Because the point is so important I shall quote him at length:

> Plato's style, too, purposes to be a mixture (μῖγμα) of the grand (ὑψηλός) and the plain (ἰσχνός) style (χαρακτήρ), as I have said before, but his nature did not render

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35) As we might expect, since he wrote letters, not treatises or dialogues.

36) Abel, *Grammaire du grec biblique*, xxx.

37) The quotation from Ps-Longinus on p. 73 is also taken somewhat out of context by Reiser (the ancient author was not characterizing the anakolouthic style, but giving an analogy). In my judgment Reiser's characterization of Gal 2:11-21 as overly chaotic and "unclear" due to Paul's presumed lack of control over his language is both exaggerated and lacking in awareness of the subtlety of the argument.

38) Famously, Ps-Longinus cites Gen 1:3, 9 in *De sublimitate* 9.9.

39) In using the name Longinus I am not presuming authorship, just trying not to clutter up the comparison with Dionysius.

40) "Paulus liebt zwar die Bildrede, aber seine Gleichnisse gelingen ihm, wenigstens hinsichtlich der Bildseite, schlecht" (p. 76).

41) As noted above, Reiser acknowledges Paul's use of these figures, but seeks to minimize their effect on his judgment of Paul's style; in this he parts company from Dionysius, who regards the use of these figures an important index of an author's style.

> him equally effective in both styles. Thus when he expresses himself in plain (ἰσχνή), simple (ἀφελής) and unartificial (ἀποίητος) language, his style is extraordinarily agreeable (ἡδεῖα) and pleasant (φιλάνθρωπος); it becomes altogether pure (καθαρά) and transparent (διαυγής), like the most pellucid of streams, and compares well in finely-drawn precision (ἀκριβής τε καὶ λεπτή) with that of any other writing in this style. It aims to use standard vocabulary (κοινότης τῶν ὀνομάτων) and cultivates clarity (σαφήνεια), spurning all superfluous artifice (κατασκευὴ ἐπίθετος)... But when, as often, he launches unrestrainedly (ἄμετρον) into impressive and decorated language (ἡ περιττολογία καὶ τὸ καλλιεπεῖν), he does himself far less than full justice: for this style is less pleasing (ἀηδεστέρα) than the other, since it lacks its purity of dialect (κάκιον ἑλληνίζουσα) and transparency of texture (παχυτέρα φαίνεται). It darkens what is clear (μελαίνει... τὸ σαφές) and reduces it almost to obscurity (ζόφῳ ποιεῖ παραπλήσιον). It conveys its meaning in a long-drawn-out way (ἕλκει... μακρὸν ἀποτείνασα τὸν νοῦν) when concision and brevity are called for (συστρέψαι δέον ἐν ὀνόμασιν ὀλίγοις). It abandons itself to tasteless circumlocutions (ἀπειρόκαλοι περιφράσεις) and an empty show of verbal exuberance (πλοῦτον ὀνομάτων ἐπιδεικνυμένη κενόν) and, in defiance of correct usage and standard vocabulary (ὑπεριδοῦσά τε τῶν κυρίων καὶ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ χρήσει κειμένων), seeks artificial (πεποιημένα), exotic (ξένα) and archaic (ἀρχαιοπρεπῆ) forms of expression. It is in figurative speech (ἡ τροπικὴ φράσις) that it founders decisively: it abounds in appositions (πολλὴ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις), is inopportune in its metonymies (ἄκαιρος δ' ἐν ταῖς μετωνυμίαις) and harsh and inaccurate in its metaphors (σκληρὰ δὲ καὶ οὐ σῴζουσα τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἐν ταῖς ⟨μεταφοραῖς⟩). It also admits allegories (ἀλληγορίαι) whose frequency and length are governed by no considerations of measure or occasion (οὔτε μέτρον ἐχούσας οὔτε καιρόν), and revels inappropriately (ἀκαίρως) and in a juvenile manner (μειρακιωδῶς) in the conceits of artificial expression (σχήματα ποιητικά), and especially in the Gorgianic figures (τὰ Γοργιεῖα), which can arouse the utmost displeasure (ἐσχάτη ἀηδία). Indeed, he is quite the hierophant (τελέτης) in these matters....[42]

We can appreciate here the extent to which the evaluation of style is not only a matter of aesthetics, but is linked also inseparably to content; no evaluation of style, in antiquity or modernity, is a purely linguistic endeavor. Dionysius complains against Plato that he uses rhetorical figures (as does Paul), allegories (as does Paul) and sometimes chooses to be more mysterious than clear, deliberately cloaking his meaning as a hierophant (as does Paul and as is Paul!). That leads us, as it must, beyond mechanics and into the very heart of of Pauline poetics: is the lack of σαφήνεια in Paul's letters (something that was remarked upon even by his earliest readers!)[43] an index of his stylistic deficiency or his educational poverty, or is it an inherent element of his poetics and his religious strategies? In my view Paul, who was part poet, part prophet, part philosopher and part populist orator,[44] is not only to be measured by the singular virtue of "clarity," but also by other elements, such as profundity, passion, brevity, power, etc. Indeed, even Dionysius made a distinction between essential virtues and additional virtues.[45] Ultimately this is where Reiser comes out (speaking of Paul's "Donner" and "Blitze"),[46] but he does so at a cost: of claiming that Paul was unique among ancient authors in this regard, a uniqueness rooted in his extraordinary person. One could, however, assent to the latter without making Paul an utterly unparalleled speaker or writer. Here, as much as I agree with the evocative power of

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[42] Dion. Hal. *Demosth.* 5 (I cite the text and fine translation of Stephen Usher, LCL).

[43] See especially the real concession in 2 Cor 4:3 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔστιν κεκαλυμμένον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν.

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[44] I am influenced here by the fine discussion by Michael Murrin, *The Veil of Allegory* (University of Chicago Press, 1969) 3-20, "Allegory and Oratory," though the requirement of clarity for the orator is descriptively less absolute than it may sound; this is a prescription in the handbooks, which itself shows that in actual practice orators sometimes were intentionally oblique or allusive. And the very teachers who inveigh against rhetorical figures (which are not "clear") also instruct their students in their use!

[45] See again the table in Bonner, *Literary Treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, 24. Note also there the prominence (as in the quotation just given) of rhetorical figures in the making of stylistic judgments. In analyses of Pauline style, his well-documented use of rhetorical figures cannot be dismissed as "unconscious" nor excused on the grounds that Paul was "not using them formally" or didn't "necessarily kn[ow] their names" (so Stanley E. Porter, "Paul of Tarsus and His Letters," in idem, ed., *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.-400 A.D.* [Leiden: Brill, 1997] 533-585). Porter maintains: "If Paul was able stylistically to embellish his arguments by using stylistic features that were either part of ordinary usage or at the least part of his own usage, this functional correlation calls into question the need for and desirability of using already connotatively loaded rhetorical terms such as these [i.e., the names of the rhetorical figures Paul uses—antithesis, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, anaphora, etc.] in the analysis of his letters, especially since the use of them implies much more regarding Paul's knowledge of the formal categories of ancient rhetoric than can be proved otherwise" (p. 583). This contention is logically tenuous (why should a "functional correlation" call into question the need to employ accurate names of these stylistic devices?), and an instance of special pleading to avoid the obvious implication that Paul uses rhetorical figures because he knows how to do so (why are the proper names for the rhetorical figures taught in school "connotatively loaded"?). Borrowing the epigrammatic habit from Reiser: "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet!" (William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, II, ii, 1-2; cf. Gertrude Stein: "a rose is a rose is a rose" [*Sacred Emily*, 1913]). These *are* rhetorical figures, and they did not spring from the head of Zeus, but from the pen of Paul.

[46] P. 77; this forms a nice rhetorical inclusio (surely deliberate) with Reiser's opening reference to Jerome's statement that in listening to Paul one hears not words, but "Donnerschläge," for "die Rede des Apostels käme schlicht daher wie die eines harmlosen Menschen vom Land, 'aber wohin du schaust, sind Blitze'" (p. 69).

Paul's prose (both in antiquity and as attested by its history of reception), I cannot join what must ultimately be an apologetic argument for his complete uniqueness in this regard, because the assessment must be tempered both by an awareness that Paul is not writing literature, but letters, which were recognized to require a certain stylistic aplomb, and that "clarity" is, as the Dionysius quote shows, always a contested and contestable stylistic virtue. And in those letters Paul does have significant ambitions, to defend himself and his gospel, to work out considerable and complex theological questions, and to continue the work of community self-definition and organization.

The same is true for the "natural." Reiser claims that Paul did not make artistic or conscious use of rhetorical figures, techniques or artifice, but rather propounded an unstudied or natural rhetoric of the heart. But we need to appreciate this rhetorical claim for what it is. Dionysius, in the continuation of his comparison between Plato and Demosthenes, allows that the goal of good rhetoric is precisely that—to appear natural. "[Plato] is far better when he uses language that is plain (ἰσχνή) and precise (ἀκριβής) and appears natural (δοκοῦσα ἀποίητος), but really contains a certain degree of simple (ἀφελής) and unexceptional (ἀμώμητος) artifice (κατασκευή)."[47] With that point we return to where Reiser began, with Pascal, and the rhetorical *topos* of the "natural rhetor." The analysis of style, it appears, is never a neutral enterprise. The epigram from Pascal that hangs as a caption over Reiser's analysis must be cited in full. It is not only the case that: "Quand on voit le style naturel, on est tout étonné et ravi, car on s'attendait de voir un auteur, et on trouve un homme," but also, as Pascal continued: "Au lieu que ceux qui ont le goût bon, et qui en voyant un livre croient trouver un homme, sont tout surpris de trouver un auteur."[48]

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[47] Dion. Hal. *Demosth.* 6 (text and trans. Stephen Usher, LCL).

[48] *Penseés* 1.29 (ed. L. Brunschvicg, 1897).

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A Commentary:

A Communication about a Communication[1]

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Abstract

To analyze some possible *foci* of a commentator's work a model of interpretation is applied: through Text[2] (the commentary) a Sender[2]/the Interpreter (the commentator) interprets a Text (the biblical text) to Recipients[2] (the readers of the commentary) as the Message of Sender[1] (the biblical author) with a certain Purpose to a Recipient[1] (the addressee in the early church) who is in a given Situation[1] (in the early church).

Keywords

commentary; communication; text linguistics

Throughout the centuries Jews and Christians have produced commentaries on their holy scriptures. The history of commentary writing is long, and a look into it confronts the student with several genres, usages and spiritual contexts that have determined the production of commentaries and their use. That history will not be taken into consideration here,[2] although it is a presupposition for the fact that some of us still put ourselves to writing such books, and, of course, for publishers to invest money in publishing them.

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[1] Paper delivered at a symposium arranged by Brill Publishers on July 28, 2008 in Oslo to honor Peder Borgen for his long engagement in the board of *Novum Testamentum.*

[2] For this history see B. Smalley, "The Bible in the Medieval Schools," in *Cambridge History of the Bible* 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) 197-220; B. Hall, "Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries," in *Cambridge History of the Bible* 3 (1963) 38-93; D.R. Jones, "Commentaries: a Historical Note," in *Cambridge History of the Bible* 3 (1963) 531-535.

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But what is a commentary?[3] The title of this paper seems to presuppose that we know the answer. If, however, we look up the word in Webster's dictionary, we find that it defines a commentary as, among other things, "a series of explanatory notes or annotations." Nothing is said about any exposition of a text or interpretation of it, as we would expect and as sometimes an editor of a commentary series may delineate the purpose of the series in question.[4]

Actually, however, the definition in Webster's dictionary corresponds to what a commentary was like in antiquity: notes or memoranda, for example such as for a lecture, or from a lecture (as taken down by students), or to a text, often without any systematic order. Thus, when Origen wrote commentaries, they were precisely such notes to biblical books. Commentaries belonged to the lecture hall or lay on the lecturer's desk. But if we look for a running interpretation by Origen of a biblical text, it is to his homilies that we are referred.

The preceding paragraph mentioned the "interpretation... of a biblical *text.*" When, however, Origen's commentaries and homilies deal with narratives, they raise a question that can be put to several commentators, namely: do you comment on a text or on an event? Origen represents a common way of reading in that he identifies the contents of a narrative with an historical event, and it is this event that he discusses in his commentaries and homilies. But along with text linguists and narratologists it is useful to make a distinction between three worlds: the narrative world, the world of narration and the historical world.[5] Thus, for example, in their narratives about Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, Matthew and Luke each presents a narrative world. (Narratologists may label it the diegetic level.) The world of narration, on the other hand, is the one in which this narrative is delivered by the narrator and received by the audience. (Narratologists sometimes call it the extra-diegetic level.) In that world Matthew turns to his audience and Luke to his. The historical world, finally, is the one in which the historical Jesus appeared around 30 C.E. in Palestine. In consideration of these distinctions the following discussion will pertain to commenting on *texts,* and this is true also when we turn to commentaries on narratives.

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[3] A few contributions to the discussion of what a commentary may be are G. Lohfink, "Kommentar als Gattung," *BibLeb* 5 (1974) 1-16; R. Kieffer, "Was heisst das, einen Text zu kommentieren?," *BZ* 20 (1976) 212-216; W. Schenk, "Was ist ein Kommentar?" *BZ* 24 (1980) 1-20; F.H. Gorman Jr, "Commenting on Commentary: Reflections on a Genre," in *Relating to the Text* (ed. J. Sandoval and C. Mandolfo; London/New York: Clark, 2003) 100-119.

[4] See, e.g., the prefaces of volumes in the Sacra Pagina or Word Biblical Commentary series.

[5] See, e.g., Sh. Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics* (London/New York: Methuen, 1983; repr. Routledge, 1991) 91-95; also E. Gülich and W. Raible, *Linguistische Textmodelle, Grundlagen und Möglichkeiten* (Uni Taschenbücher 139; Munich: Fink, 1977) 212-238.

In what follows a simple model of human communication will provide us with a number of concepts by which to analyze how a commentary functions as a piece of communication:[6]

> In a given Situation and with a certain Purpose a Sender communicates a Message through a Text to a Recipient.

Let us apply this model to the passage in 1 Corinthians 1 where Paul begins to argue against the Corinthian dissension. The Sender is of course Paul, and the Recipients are the Corinthian Christian community. The Situation that determines the Text is the dissensions of the addressee. Paul's Message has primarily to do with his Purpose with regard to the Situation, namely to suppress the dissensions and to provide an argument for why they must do so. In his argument Paul also asks a couple of rhetorical questions, "Was Paul crucified for you?"; "Were you baptized into the name of Paul?" (1 Cor 1:13). These queries reflect aspects of Paul's views on Christ, on the importance of his, and on baptism, but they primarily function as elements of his argument for a message with a precise purpose in a very precise situation.

When exegetes interpret Paul's text they produce a text on Paul's text, and the result is a second communication that can be described in this way:

> Through a Text^2 a Sender^2/the Interpreter, in a Situation^2 and with a Purpose^2 interprets a Text to a Recipient^2 as containing the Message of the Sender^1 with a certain Purpose^1 to Recipient^1, who is in a given Situation^1.

Applied to a New Testament professor who gives a class on 1 Corinthians, we get the following: through a Text^2, that is, his/her comments, a Sender^2, that is, the teacher in question, in a Situation^2, that is, in the class, interprets Paul's Text to Recipients^2, that is, the students, as being Paul's Message to the Corinthians, with the Purpose to eliminate the dissensions. The teacher does this with the Purpose to teach the students a bit of Pauline exegesis.

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[6] For a more detailed version of this model and for comments on it see Gülich-Raible in the section quoted in the preceding note, and also W. Martin, *Recent Theories of Narrative* (Ithaca/London: Cornell, 1986) 152-172. One aspect that is left aside here is the performance, that is, the non-linguistic side of the communication, such as gestures, voice modulation and other outward factors that can determine the reception of the audience; see Gülich-Raible, *Linguistische Textmodelle*, 33-34.

Above reference was made to Webster's definition of "commentary," which actually corresponds to what commentaries were like in antiquity. As a matter of fact modern NT exegetes are well acquainted with a commentary that meets this definition, and that, accordingly, is something else than a text-interpreting commentary of the kind presupposed in the model of interpretation above. The work in question is of course P. Billerbeck's *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch.*

Billerbeck's quotations of and references to rabbinic passages are supposed to shed light on the NT texts.[7] But what does this material tell a present day reader about the diegetic world that, say, Mark presented to his readers? Very little, unless one presupposes that the narrative world of Mark is identical with the historical world from which Billerbeck's material is taken and which is also supposed to be similar to that of the historical Jesus.

We now turn to commentaries in the sense of the word we are used to, and, as already indicated, the model of interpretation will thereby serve as an analytic instrument. However, to mention "interpretation" means approaching a field full of philosophical and hermeneutical mines. Already words like "understand" and "interpret" are slippery and capable of several meanings. The following discussion will largely keep away from hermeneutics, but nevertheless a few words must be spent on "interpretation." Following on the previous discussion, interpretation, broadly defined, is the use of other, clarifying words to express the same contents as the text interpreted. But, in addition, the word interpretation will also be used in another, stronger sense and will stand for not just a clarifying, but a deepening of the contents of the text interpreted. This comes close to what is normally called interpretation, not least when biblical texts are concerned.[8]

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[7] Schenk ("Was ist ein Kommentar?," 3-4) discusses the functions of such *annotationes*-commentaries as compared to an interpretive task; he then also refers to H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1966). In principle *Der neue Wettstein* can be said to belong to the same category of useful tools for doing exegesis; they do not interpret the biblical texts but can help the interpreter to do so by providing material that sheds light on vocabulary, concepts, etc.

[8] Cp., e.g., chapter two in G. Sauter, *The Question of Meaning: A Theological and Philosophical Orientation* (Grand Rapids, Mich./Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1995).

Representing the matter in this way presupposes that the biblical texts do not just mean anything whatever you like. To return to the communication model: through a text somebody, say, Paul, tells somebody, say, the Corinthians, something in a certain situation with a certain purpose. The present writer is of the opinion that it is possible for a commentator of this text to catch fairly well what Paul seems to have told his readers. This is true also of Mark as well as of Ben Sira and Epictetus. They are ambiguous only to a certain degree.

Two remarks should be added: first, the approach here adopted means focusing on what the addressees got out of the text. Secondly, the present writer is not so conceited as to believe that his interpretations are decisive answers to the question of what a text, say, by Mark, told its audience. It must also be underlined that the interpretations can become more varied when it comes to an interpretation in the stronger sense: when the interpreter tries to expand on an underlying basic ideology or on ideological implications, for instance, of the text; still, only the first communication is in view. So a present day interpreter may interpret Mark in a class, and not only try to clarify what Mark told his readers, but also attempt to translate this message, performing, say, some kind of demythologizing. The teacher is still clarifying Mark's message to his first century recipients, but wants the students to see what was at stake on a deeper level. The ideas of the text are not simply objects on a shelf in a museum of ideas but are humanly interesting, we may even dare to say, existentially interesting.

So far for interpretation. When we now go on to discuss what a commentator does when commenting a text, the model of interpretation will, as stated, determine the course of the discussion. For the sake of clarity the deliberations will be illustrated by examples from the New Testament, mostly from the Gospel of Mark.[9]

Thus, in a certain Situation Mark tells somebody something with a certain Purpose and does so through his Text. A certain commentator can be interested in different elements of that model, e.g., in the Situation, that is, in a given situation in the history of the early church. Another commentator may concentrate on the author, asking, e.g., how Mark thought, what were his biases, etc.

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[9] The reason for the choice is very practical: a couple of years ago the present writer published a commentary on that Gospel (L. Hartman, *Marksusevangeliet 1-2* [Stockholm: EFS-förlaget/Verbum, 2004-2005]). An English revised version is in preparation and will be published by Wipf and Stock Publishers.

So a commentary is a Text^2 on Text^1, and this Text^2 is written with a certain Purpose with regard to a Recipient^2, that is, to the readers of the commentary. Thus one question to be asked when writing a commentary or studying one is: which Recipients does the writer of a commentary have in view? Pious Bible readers? Students of divinity? The guild of scholarly exegetes? A writer may not necessarily choose only one group of addressees, but the choice has consequences for where the accents of the commentary are put. Thus, if a commentary's principal recipients are supposed to be students of divinity, some energy might be spent on demonstrating how a literary analysis of the texts leads to exegetical consequences, and it also becomes important to show how the cultural background of Recipents^1 colors the communication between the biblical author and his first addressees.

Most commentators discuss how scholarly colleagues have dealt with the different exegetical problems raised by the individual pericopes. This has also to do with the issue of the audience. When a commentary richly refers to how exegetes have dealt with a given text, this may certainly be of use to students of exegesis and can teach them how others have interpreted a given text. Referring to the scholarly discussion of course also means giving credit to the colleagues for their work.[10] But for the task of interpretation these references mean little, and the Bible-interested lay people do not bother about what Pesch or Gnilka has said concerning this or that pericope.[11]

Thus the commentator tells somebody something about a given Text. However, this Text is not, so to speak, just a naked text, but the commentator's reading of it is determined by the fact that precisely he or she is the one who reads it. This means focusing on the Sender of Text^2. The writer in question does not only apply certain methods, such as some kind of reader-response criticism, but she or he is also a person of a certain character, being rooted in a specific scholarly and/or religious tradition, having particular experiences and prejudices, of which he or she is conscious only of some. Is the exegete who produces the commentary a rationalist, a somewhat refractory churchman, or something else entirely? The answers to such questions are not without their interest to the readers of the commentaries and can determine and indeed be most helpful in their reading.

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[10] In the Mark commentary by the present writer (see the preceding note) very few such references were made, since it was presupposed that the students can easily get this information in other commentaries.

[11] See nn. 14 and 15 below.

When we now continue our discussion of how the factors of the interpretation model are taken into account by a commentator, we will use as an exemplary text the story of Jesus' baptism according to Mark 1:9-11.

What Mark says is communicated in an interplay between the factors involved according to the communication model. A basic factor is of course Mark's medium, the Text. In our case there are no serious problems in the manuscript tradition or any linguistic difficulties that require a discussion, and they can thus be left aside. Most commentators are not philologists and avoid tackling complicated linguistic issues. All too often they do, however, not think of using the help one can get from the older Church fathers; after all, the New Testament texts are written in their cultural environment in their language. Origen, for example, was much better in Greek than we are, how ever much we look things up in grammars and dictionaries.[12]

As a text the passage under study has a particular compositional structure. In Mark 1:9-11 the baptism is very briefly mentioned and is immediately followed by a vision: Jesus "sees" the heaven opened and the Spirit descending on him like a dove and a voice is saying, "You are my beloved son, with you I am well pleased." This structure implies that the kernel of the story is the vision with the heavenly words. Most readers need this information—the scholarly exegete, when reading it, realizes that the colleague knows how to handle narrative structure.

One further aspect of this textual surface is that the statement on the Son has a meaningful place in the larger composition of the evangelist. The Son is first mentioned in the headline of the book that in a few traditional terms informs the reader about the main character of the following pages, Jesus, the anointed, the Son of God.[13] Then there are a few signposts along the way: via our passage, and the narrative on the transfiguration (9:2-8) on to the comment of the centurion after Jesus' death (15:39).

A particular way of focusing on the Text is to investigate its history of tradition or its redaction history. In a study of Mark this means asking how Mark has treated motifs or textual traditions that he has taken over. To some commentators this is so important that the question of what Mark's readers might have learned from the text plays next to no role. In this kind of approach the Text is analyzed in such a way that its function within communicative acts between a Sender and his Recipients is largely neglected. On the other hand, to a commentator who is mainly interested in the Text as involved in an act of communication the history of tradition and the redaction history are not as important issues. This is so, even if, in our case, there are reasons to assume that the wording of the heavenly voice is influenced by early Christian usage of the Bible (i.e., the *graphai*, or scriptures of Israel) in Christological reflection.[14] However, redaction history can shed some light on certain features of the Situation of the Markan communication, and so we will return to that topic when we consider the element of the communication model that was labeled the Situation, in which and with regard to which Mark's communication took place.

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[12] I had the occasion to realize this fact in "Grammar and Exegesis," in *For Particular Reasons* (FS J. Blomqvist; ed. A. Piltz et al.; Lund: Nordic Academic, 2003) 133-141.

[13] Thus, I prefer the longer text of Mark 1:1, assuming that "the Son of God" belongs to the original text.

A concentration on the communication between Author/Sender and Recipients also may mean refraining from trying to look into the head of the author, in our case of Mark. It is common for the writers of commentaries to regard it their principal task to find out the personal theological tendencies of the biblical author, and to do so through analyzing how, in our case, Mark has supposedly revised and edited the traditions he takes over. It can happen that commentators are so interested in the author's personal bias that they leave aside the present shape of the text, the actual means of the author's communication with his readers. He is studied as a theologian of the early church, and what he is actually doing to his addressees in a given piece of text becomes less interesting.[15]

There are other ways to reconstruct a Markan theology, namely by means of the text as it stands. Indeed, you assume that Mark meant what he said. Then you systematize certain aspects of the messages that Mark conveys to his readers in the individual pericopes as understood within the whole of the gospel. In that way you may, for example, delineate a Markan view on the person of Jesus or on what Christian ethics could be like.[16]

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[14] R. Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium 1* (HTKNT 2/1; Freiburg/Basel/Vienna: Herder 1976) 92-27, assumes that behind the vision lies a so-called *Deutevision*, originating in the Jerusalem church.

[15] E.g., Pesch, *Markusevangelium 1*, 48-62; J. Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus 1* (EKK 2/1; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1978) 25-30.

[16] F.J. Moloney does something of this sort in *The Gospel of Mark* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendricksen, 2002) 352-353, *et passim*. The outlook is fundamental to B.M.F. van Iersel, *Mark: A Reader-Response Commentary* (JSNTSup 164; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998). Also L. Hartman, "'Was soll ich tun, damit ich das ewige Leben erbe?' Ein heidenchristlicher Leser vor einigen ethischen Sätzen des Markusevangeliums," in *Eschatologie und Ethik* (FS G. Haufe; ed. Chr. Böttrich; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2006) 75-90.

The next element to consider in the model is the Readers/Recipients of the communication of the biblical author. Their cultural and religious backgrounds form decisive presuppositions of how they apprehend what they hear. So a commentator should inform his/her readers of how he/she imagines these readers. In Mark's case, assuming that they are Gentile Christians is not very original, but seems clearly to be the case.[17] Mark also seems to presuppose that they have received some Christian education, and that it is meaningful to quote passages from the Old Testament to them, indeed to allude to such passages (already in 1:2f.). Such presuppositions are especially significant when the heavenly voice in the baptism text (1:11) contains an echo of Psalm 2. It might very well be that they could have caught some of these echoes only after having been instructed in the Christian community. There were presumably differences within the audience when it came to how deep their orientation was in terms of the scriptures, theology, etc., but the author assumes some such general knowledge.

This brings us to the factor of the model that was labeled the Situation. Here the commentator has to give his/her reader some insights into the world in which the communication took place. In our case this is the Situation of the Recipients of Mark. There were things that were self-evident to Mark and to his readers but about which the reader of today knows little or nothing. Nonetheless they form as it were a sounding-board under the music played by Mark in his text.

In addition, there is what we could call the specific Situation, that is, features that belonged to the concrete experience of the Christian addressees of Mark, such as the shadow cast over their existence by persecutions in the past and maybe more to come (cp. Mark 13:11-13). Above it was also mentioned that sometimes redaction critical analyses might give indications about particular features of the specific Situation of a communication.

Of course it is all the more important that a commentator takes into account the specific situation of the NT letters to individual communities with particular problems. It is, for example, of decisive importance to the one who wants to shed light on what Paul was saying to the Romans in Rom 6:1-14 that what seems to be a teaching about baptism is primarily an argument in a situation where Paul's theology of justification is under attack for leading to immorality.[18]

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17) See, e.g., Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 34; C. Focant, *L'évangile selon Marc* (Commentaire biblique NT 2; Paris: Cerf, 2004) 37.

18) See, e.g., R. Jewett, *Romans* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007) 390-412.

Considering the general Situation, we have seen that the words of the heavenly voice, "You are my son," are the kernel of Mark 1:9-11. Which associations would Gentile Christians get from such a designation? Some commentators find references to Israelite history of religion relevant and cite myths and rituals belonging to the sphere of divine kingship in the Ancient Near East.[19] But what do they say about the conditions of the understanding by Mark's readers? More likely it should have meant something to them that in the Roman empire one also knew to speak of sons of the gods; there were such sons among gods, heroes, rulers, philosophers, and miracle workers.

Here a commentator has to make a choice, although maybe she or he does not always make it consciously. Often the commentators refer to OT passages to shed light on the Markan passage,[20] or may make an excursion into early Judaism, say to Philo or to the Qumran texts,[21] or into Hellenistic history of religion.[22] In practice the commentator may follow the ancient commentary genre, i.e., collect scattered notes to a text which serve other purposes than the interpretation of Mark's message in this text.

Finally, to the Situation that determined the readers' reception of the textual communication also belongs the way the text was used. As this colors the reception of the Message, a commentator asking what a passage told its readers should have an opinion of how the biblical text has functioned among the readers.[23] As to the Gospel of Mark, the present writer is not alone in his belief that the gospel of Mark functioned in the Christian community, in education and in readings at the common worship.[24] This means a particular filter for the reader's/listener's understanding of the message of our Markan passage. Readings carried out at an occasion of worship are open to other semantic dimensions than the merely objective-descriptive ones. In such a context one encounters Mark's citation of the words of the heavenly voice with particular key signatures. There is more of chiaroscuro in the scene than, say, in the one where Herod's daughter says: "Give me the head of John the Baptist on a platter" (Mark 6:25). Regarding the gospel in this manner has consequences in terms of how to view its Purpose—to mention a further factor of the communication model. The purpose then is more to edify than mainly to inform.

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[19] F. Hauck, *Das Evangelium des Markus* (THKNT 2; Leipzig: Deichertsche, 1931) 16-17.

[20] E.g., J. Marcus, *Mark 1-8* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1999) 66; A.Y. Collins, *Mark* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007) 147-148.

[21] Thus, e.g., Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 66.

[22] See, e.g., E. Klostermann, *Das Markusevangelium* (HNT 3; 5th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1971) 10.

[23] It means a particular aspect in the Situation when one suggests that the story of Jesus' baptism at least to some recipients has worked as a cult legend, having Christian baptism in view; thus Collins, *Mark*, 147.

[24] See L. Hartman, "Das Markusevangelium 'für die *lectio solemnis* im Gottesdienst verfasst'?," in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion* (FS M. Hengel; ed. H.H. Cancik et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996) 147-171.

Insofar as a commentator should interpret the text, we now, at last, arrive at the message Mark conveys to his readers. Colleagues who have discussed what a commentary is have declared that it should elucidate the message or the meaning of the text for the readers of the commentary.[25] There are, however, many possible ways of understanding such a statement, depending on which interpreter says what to whom in which situation with which purpose. Picking up the somewhat formulaic terms of the interpretation/communication model, we might differentiate between at least the following typical cases. (Message^1 is the Message of Sender^1 to Recipients^1; Message^2 is the message the Interpreter takes to be the Message of the Text or of Sender^1 to Recipients^2; by "rephrasing interpretation" I mean the simpler, non-deepening interpretation I mentioned when defining "interpretation" above.)

1. The Interpreter/Sender^2 provides Recipients^2 with a rephrasing interpretation of Message^1 to Recipients^1.
2. The same as 1 above, but presupposing that Message^1 is also the Message^2 to Recipients^2.
3. The same as 1 above but in addition also interpreting Message^1 in a deeper or more wide embracing way; still, however, the focus is on Message^1 to Recipients^1.
4. The same as 3 above, but adding a Message^2 which applies Message^1 to Recipients^2.

These cases look different in practice, depending on the variables of the model. Thus, which is the task of the Interpreter (more or less academic?, more or less pastoral?), which is the Situation of the Interpretation (academic?, pastoral?), who are its Recipients (scholars?, students?, pastors?, Bible-reading lay-people?), and which is the Purpose (academic training?, Bible study?, preaching?). It is important also to note that some of the possible cases presuppose a particular ideological position, namely that the interpretation given suggests that it represents God's message to Recipients². It should also be pointed out that the differentiation above certainly is more clear-cut than reality. One commentary may in fact represent several combinations of the variables. However, the distinctions may possibly serve as an invitation to reflection, both on the side of the interpreters and among the users of their commentaries, on the central questions: "What am I actually doing when commenting," and "What is going on in this commentary?"[26]

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[25] E.g., Kieffer, "Was heisst das, einen Text zu kommentieren?"

In our Markan example obviously the kernel of the message is that the Jesus whose work the following book is about was God's son equipped with the Spirit. One may be of the opinion that the commentator should only hand over this message to the present day reader without any further explanations; this may be reminiscent of case 1 above, as well as of case 2. Somebody may add that the designation God's son means that Jesus is acting on behalf of God. This represents a small beginning of what was called a deepening interpretation and comes a little nearer to case 3. In the commentaries we thus encounter different degrees of interpretation, from a simple paraphrase using traditional biblical terms, on to "trans-culturations" of the message that require some sort of demythologization in order to make the then-message (Message¹) understandable to the reader of today.

So we have mustered some aspects of commentaries, asking how they appear when regarded as pieces of communication about texts that basically are themselves acts of communication. The above reflections have had a limited scope, which is due not least to the fact that hermeneutics has largely been left aside; this is so either hermeneutics is taken as a philosophical discussion of the usage of and the understanding of textual signs in general or it is understood as principles of how to interpret and possibly apply biblical texts in new times. This bracketing of philosophical and theological hermeneutics may be regarded as a *religionswissenschaftliche* attitude rather than a theological one, but even so this narrower perspective might stimulate our ways of approaching biblical commentaries. Asking which factors in a textual communication are a commentator's focus may be clarifying both to writers of commentaries and to their readers, and actually even invite them to pose hermeneutical questions: in which sense does a given approach interpret a biblical text—if at all?

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[26] In my own commentary (see note 8) I have adopted an attitude that very much corresponds to cases 1 and 3, assuming that the main purpose of my commentary is to expose the now-readers (Recipients²) to what was the then-message (Message¹) to the then-readers (Recipients¹) and its purpose.

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Book Reviews

Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter (eds.), *New Testament Greek Papyri and Parchments: New Editions.* I *Texts* xiv + 306 pp.; II *Plates* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2008), ISBN 3110203080, €148 (= *MPER* n.s. 29 and 30).

The Austrian National Library in Vienna holds an impressive number of early Greek New Testament majuscule fragments on papyrus and parchment (registered in the standard *Liste* as 31 numbered papyri and 37 majuscules). Many are from the Erzherzog Rainer collection. All the fragments bar one were published between 1882 and 2001 by a variety of editors, notably Wessely, a pioneer in this field, and Sanz.

Stanley and Wendy Porter have spent a considerable amount of their time and expertise in reexamining all these manuscripts and the published material on them. The results of their efforts are to be found in this handsome publication. It resembles in many ways the splendid model for such presentations in the text volumes in the series *Oxyrhynchus Papyri.* The Porters have modified and corrected or nuanced many of the readings reported in the previous editions but they are insistent on giving thanks and praise to the original editors and claim to be only enhancing their predecessors' work. One of their indexes (pp. 298-303) lists the places where their suggested corrections to other editors' readings can be located: all but one of the previously edited fragments (0226) have needed *corrigenda.* It is valuable now to have second opinions, especially where the reconstructing of difficult texts is problematic.

The Porters divide their collection into four sections: Papyri (21 chapters); Parchments (36 chapters); Lectionaries (4 chapters); and an Apocryphal Gospel, being a re-edition of the so-called Fay(y)um Fragment. (That apocryphon is a small fragment, the text in which has close links to the canonical Passion narrative. Given Stanley Porter's regular plea that an *apparatus* to a Greek New Testament ought to contain material that is not necessarily from a continuous- text manuscript of the New Testament or from a standard lectionary text, we can understand why he has included this apocryphon in the collection here.) Within the three main sections the texts are arranged in Biblical order.

It is splendid to have all these manuscripts now edited uniformly and presented in a standardised format. Each chapter contains an introduction to the fragment, a diplomatic text with appropriate notes and a reading text which also has detailed textual notes attached. The reading text has words separated and accented and with lacunae filled. (The Oxyrhynchus volumes do not accent the reading texts, even for literary remains.) Obviously, we would not expect all readings noted here to find their way into a critical hand-edition, but it is good that the editors tell us where the Nestle

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edition has omitted what they judge to be significant variants or attestation from its *apparatus*. Two manuscripts with musical notations or diacritical marks (0148 and 0105) are described in detail and for this we must thank Wendy Porter who has already published on these ekphonetic notations elsewhere. Under "Papyri" P^{56} appears in two chapters, the first being the portion published in 1946 (= G 19918), the second is another fragment, identified as part of this manuscript, and published by the Porters in 2001 (G 19927). Somewhat unnecessarily, and contrary to Schmitz's reconstruction of the entire codex of the bilingual (Greek-Coptic) P^{41}, the Greek text here is spread over eight separate chapters: chapter 12 treats of eight fragments; the remaining fragments are accorded a chapter apiece (chapters 13-19), partly, it seems, to allow the distinctive features of each individual page to be easily recorded.

All the papyri and majuscule manuscripts on parchment found (under Wien: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek *Mss. Suppl. gr.*, *Mss. Theol. gr.*, *Griechische Papyri* and *Koptische Papyri*) in Aland's *Liste* ^{2}1994 are present (as well as P^{116}, published later than 1994, and the newly edited 0148 (= Suppl. Greek 106) in chapter 24). "Parchments" in the books' title therefore means *majuscules* written on parchment.

I am not sure why three majuscule lectionaries *l*1043, *l*1575 (+ 0129, 0203, 0205, *l*1576) , *l*1739 are included, other than they are classified in the Pap. K section of the library. However, *l*1605 (+ *l*1993) which is classified as K 11346 is not included in the book. (Perhaps the Viennese portions of *l*1605, which is a tri-lingual lectionary containing portions of the Old and New Testaments and is dispersed in four locations, do not contain any New Testament verses in Greek, and were therefore eliminated here.) In their introductory remarks on *l*1739 (p. 277) the Porters wisely give a cross-reference to a closely related manuscript, *l*143, but their information is confusing. That manuscript (now registered as including *l*964a and part of *l*1353) is indeed in Berlin, as they state, but also in Paris, which they ignore, and in the Vatican Library, but as Borgia... fasc. 97, not, as they claim, fasc. 96. Fasc. 96, according to my information, is that part of *l*1353 now seen to belong to *l*962 (+ 0276): the issue is complicated, but p. 277 prompts us to see only part of the linkages, and is not entirely accurate.

Each introduction concludes with a bibliography. These seem to be complete, although Karlheinz Schlüssler's article on *l*1575 in the volume edited by K. Aland as *ANTF* 3 in 1969 could have been added on p. 281.

The companion volume is an album of plates of all the fragments, fitted neatly and economically onto the pages as appropriate and therefore not all of them can appear in strict chapter sequence. It is good to have the plates in a separate book. The pictures are as clear as practicable and are obviously of help when checking the diplomatic transcripts and the Porters' appended notes in volume 1 at the same time. This, again, is different from (and, in this respect, is better than) the Oxyrhynchus volumes, where plates appear as an appendix and not as a separate book. In this volume German is used after the title page. The first "Tafel" referring to ch. 1 is given as K 7277. That should read K 7244. For ch. 52 the number G 3075 ought to be included alongside G 39788 under "*Objekte*" for consistency's sake.

This is a well-produced book and a valuable scholarly resource. It was originally prepared in 2003 and we have had to contain ourselves in patience for five years. However, the waiting has been worthwhile. Among (rare) typos or inconsistencies are the following. The title of Sanz's 1946 volume should read *christlichen* (not *Christliche*, as it appears eight times, e.g. in chapters 5, 7, 56!); elsewhere (eleven times) it is correct. In the list titled *Inventory Numbers* (p. 305) add G 26133 and G 35831—both worthy of reference to chapter 10. Only at p. 239 did the English style falter: "...the tops of the letters now being gone". Otherwise, everything is clearly written—no mean achievement, given the precision required to describe the details in each manuscript and the wealth of meticulous information conveyed. We congratulate Stanley and Wendy Porter for their painstaking and thorough workmanship.

J.K. Elliott

James P. Ware, *The Mission of the Church in Paul's Letter to the Philippians in the Context of Ancient Judaism* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), xv + 380 pp., 133 €, ISBN 90-04-14641-5 (NT.S 120)

Auf dem Hintergrund frühjüd. Vorstellungen von der Bekehrung der Heiden möchte Ware Philipper 1:12-2:18 interpretieren und zeigen, dass Pls die Philipper zu einem missionarischen Engagement in ihrem Umfeld auffordert. Nach Forschungsüberblick und Beschreibung seines Vorgehens (1-19) untersucht Ware zunächst die möglichen Hinweise auf eine frühjüd. Mission (23-55). Obwohl es viele Hinweise auf Proselyten und Gottesfürchtige gibt, gilt doch: "Jews in antiquity did not... engage in planned or public missionary preaching to gentiles.... Missionary preaching is apparently a Christian invention" (54f). Dennoch stellt Ware eine große Bereitschaft im damaligen Judentum fest, Proselyten aufzunehmen und zu unterweisen. Er schließt: "...the missionary consciousness of the primitive church, although not originating in a prior Jewish mission, may nonetheless have had its roots in Jewish understandings of gentiles and their conversion" (55; vgl. dazu die Diskussion bei E.J. Schnabel, *Die urchristliche Mission* [Wuppertal, Zürich: R. Brockhaus, 2002] 94-174).

Dem folgt ein Überblick über die Bekehrung der Heiden im Jesajabuch (speziell Kap. 40-55) und anderweitig im AT (57-91). Ware konstatiert ein grundsätzliches, weit verbreitetes und reges Interesse an Heiden und ihrer Bekehrung zum Gott Israels. Für die Gegenwart wird Israel aber nirgends eine Heidenmission aufgetragen. Für die Zukunft gab es die intensive Erwartung einer eschatologischen Völkerwallfahrt. Einzelne Bekehrungen von Heiden in der Gegenwart galten als (An)Zeichen der zukünftigen Einholung der Völker (dazu auch Schnabel, *Urchristliche Mission*, 69-93). Das dritte Kapitel zeichnet das Verständnis der Bekehrung der Heiden und die Auslegung von Jesaja im Frühjudentum nach (93-155). Auch hier führte das Interesse an Proselyten nicht zur Mission, sondern zur sehnlichen Erwartung der Wiederherstellung Israels, die mit der eschatologischen Völkerwallfahrt zum Zion verbunden wurde. Jesajas Gottesknechtslieder wurden auf die Erlösung und Wiederherstellung im Eschaton gedeutet. Dabei hat Israel eine vermittelnde Rolle ("Israel as a nation of priests and prophets for the gentiles in view of its role for the nations in the coming time of eschatological fulfillment", 159): "Jewish thought of the second temple period, shaped by the Scriptures and especially the Servant Songs of Isaiah, rather envisaged Israel as a light for the nations in the impending time of the God of Israel's eschatological reign" (155). Nach Ware liegt hier der Ursprung von Pls' Verständnis seiner eigenen Mission und der Rolle der Gemeinden in der Verbreitung des Evangeliums.

Auf diesem Hintergrund untersucht Ware im *zweiten Teil* Philipper 1:12-2:18. In "The Progress of the Gospel in Philippians 1:12-18a" (163-99) beginnt Ware mit einem Überblick über die "remarkable con-centration in Philippians of language relating to the gospel, mission and preaching" (165-71), beleuchtet die pln Gefangenschaft und den Fortschritt des Evangeliums in Rom (1:12-14) sowie die unterschiedlichen Motive der Evangeliumsverkündigung in Rom (1:15-18a). Der Bericht in Philipper 1:14-18 über die furchtlose Evangeliumsverkündigung durch Pls trotz Gefangenschaft (1:12f) und andere ("the missionizing activities of the believers at Rome", 198) soll

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den Philippern als Beispiel dienen. Die Beschreibung der Christen Roms in V 14 ist dabei von besonderem Interesse, "for it is one of the few passages in Paul's letters which present mission, in the sense of active proclamation of the gospel, as a general Christian activity" (198). Zu den Versen 15-18, in denen Paulus über die Motivation der Verkündiger spricht, schreibt Ware: "Paul... focuses special attention, within the wider context of the missionizing activities of believers in Rome generally [so sein Verständnis von V 14!] on the activity in Rome of local missionaries and evangelists" (198). Ist diese Unterscheidung statthaft? Sprechen V 15-18 tatsächlich von der Untergruppe der Missionare und Evangelisten? Sind nicht durchgehend die römischen Christen gemeint—was Wares Anliegen stützen würde—, bzw. schon in V 14 die von Ware für V 15-18 vorausgesetzten Missionare und Evangelisten gemeint, was die "missionizing activities of believers in Rome generally" in Frage stellen würde?

In "Suffering and Mission in Philippians 1:18b-2:11" (201-36; vgl. dazu S. Hafemann, "'Because of Weakness' (Gal 4:13): The Role of Suffering in the Mission of Paul", in P.G. Bolt, M. Thompson (Hrsg.), *The Gospel to the Nations: Perspectives on Paul's Mission* [Leicester: IVP, 2000] 131-46) beschreibt Ware zunächst das Verhältnis von Mission und eigenem Heil (1:18b-20, "... Paul expresses his fearless proclamation of the gospel, and expresses his confidence that his bold testimony will eventuate in his salvation. Paul's conviction that believers must suffer with Christ in order to share his glory...", 233f) sowie die Hingabe des Pls an die Verkündigung des Evangeliums (1:21-26), die ein Vorbild für die Christen in Philippi ist und "a model of selfless subordination of his own interests to the work of the gospel. Paul presents his continuing paraenetic instruction of the Philippians as necessary for the progress of the gospel through his converts, and thus prepares the way for his direct exhortation of the Philippians in 1:27-2:18" (234). In Philipper 1:27-2:4 will Pls die Gemeinde an sich und aneinander binden in einem gemeinsamen Kampf für die Verkündigung des Evangeliums trotz des Widerstands der heidnischen Bevölkerung Philippis:

> Paul's fusion in 1:27-30 of the language of friendship with the language of mission and proclamation reveals Paul's concern that the Philippians respond to the threat of suffering with a united and courageous struggle for the spread of the gospel. In 1:27 Paul exhorts the Philippians to life, conduct and sufferings which will adorn the message and promote the spread of the gospel. The command to be unafraid of the opponents (1:28) functions within the letter as an exhortation fearlessly to proclaim the word despite persecution and suffering.... Like Paul's fearless speech in defiance of Roman power (1:19f), the Philippians' bold confession of the gospel in the Roman colony of Philippi will result in their salvation (1:28) (234).

Nach Ware (224-233) zeigt der Christus-Hymnus (Phil 2:5-11) "that the consciousness of mission which pervades Philippians had its source in the conviction that, through the exaltation of Jesus as God's messianic Servant, the eschatological time of God's reign over the nations had come" (237, hier könnte man auf die ähnliche Verknüpfung in Mt 28:19f verweisen). Zugleich sieht Ware in 2:12-18 eine "practical application to the Philippians of the example of Christ Jesus portrayed in the Christ hymn" (28e, "In 2:12-18, Paul spells out the consequences of the preceding Christ hymn by exhorting the Philippians to proclaim the gospel", 283). Gegen Wares bestenfalls indirekten Bezug zur Mission liegt die Funktion des Hymnus in der Begründung und Stärkung der Einheit der Gemeinde und ihrer Leidensbereitschaft durch den Verweis auf das Vorbild Christi. Freilich dient dies auch dem missionarischen Anliegen.

Philipper 2:12-18 beschreibt die Mission der Gemeinde (237-284). In Philipper 2:12f geht es um das Werk der Philipper und das Werk Gottes. Die Aufforderung an die Philipper, zu "schaffen, dass sie selig werden", "does not introduce a new command [so das geläufige Verständnis] but functions to sum up and climax Paul's entire appeal in 1:12-2:11. Echoing themes and motifs carefully developed throughout the epistle, the command functions within this wider context of the letter as an exhortation... to boldly spread the gospel despite the threat of suffering and persecution. Just as Paul's bold preaching in the midst of dangers will result in his salvation (1:19f), so the Philippians, through their own fearless proclamation of the word are to work out their own salvation (2:12; cf. 1:27f)" (283).

Freilich ist in diesem Wirken Gott selbst am Werk (2:13): "the mission activity of the Philippians is the result of God's activity at work in them. Philippians 2:13, with its emphatic stress on God's activity in the Philippians, draws together and climaxes Paul's stress throughout Philippians 1:12-2:18 on the activity of God in the church's mission" (283).

In Philipper 2:14f bezieht Pls Eschatologie und Mission aufeinander (251-256): "Paul continues the exhortation to mission activity by drawing richly upon Jewish traditions... Paul portrays the church in Philippi as the eschatological diaspora of God set in the midst of both Jews and gentiles and bringing to them the light of God's salvation" (283).

Entscheidend ist die genaue Bedeutung des Wortes ἐπέχω in Philipper 2:16a (LÜ: "dadurch dass ihr *festhaltet*"; so auch Bauer/Aland, Sp. 578). Nach detaillierter Untersuchung (256-270) schließt Ware:

> The sense *holding forth* is consequently the only possible meaning for the verb ἐπέχω in Phil 2:16a. The clause is accordingly to be translated "holding forth the word of life". This sense of the verb is also demanded by the missional context of the immediately preceding clause, which... describes the Philippians as "lights of the world" (2:15b). The "word of life"... which Paul's Philippian converts are to hold forth is identical with "the word of God"... which Paul describes the Roman Christians as daring to speak fearlessly (1:14), and is a designation for the gospel message. The clause λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες is thus an exhortation to spread the gospel (269).

Daher gilt:

> As such Phil 2:16 is very significant, for while Paul nowhere else in his letters gives an explicit command to his churches to spread the gospel, his exhortation to the Philippians to do so reveals that Paul did envision his churches as having an active mission to those outside.... Phil 2:16 reveals that Paul did not understand his apostolic mission as fulfilled in the establishment of firmly founded communities, but in the independent spread of the gospel from the communities he founded (284).

Phil 2:16b-18 beschreibt die Mission der Gemeinde und des Pls. Dabei nehmen die Philipper priesterliche Dienste wahr (2:17f). Pls möchte das Selbstverständnis der Gemeinde stärken, indem er "draws upon Jewish traditions of conversion to portray the Philippians as a mediatorial community of priests for the surrounding pagan world. The Philippians .. exercise this priestly function for the gentiles by holding forth the word of life which Paul first brought to them" (284). Pls beschreibt seinen apostolischen Dienst (und der Gemeinden) in 2:16b:

> ...the risen Christ is understood as at work in believers to carry out his mission as God's servant through the mission activity of the churches. For Paul, the mission of the church is the activity of Christ. This understanding in turn explains Paul's emphatic stress in Philippians on the activity of God and of Christ in the early Christian mission, as well as Paul's understanding, evident throughout the letter, of mission as an essential element of Christian identity. In Paul's thought, the mission activity of the Philippians is the fruit of their participation in Christ and his Spirit through the gospel (284).

Ware kann zeigen, dass Pls seine Gemeinden zum missionarischen Engagement auffordern und entsprechend motivieren wollte. Selbst wenn die von Ware hergestellte Fülle atl Bezüge nicht immer überzeugt, legt er dennoch eine interessante Interpretation von Philipper 1:12-2:18 vor, auch wenn sie an einigen Stellen gezwungen wirkt. Die enge Verknüpfung von 2:12 mit dem "Missionsauftrag" wirft interessante Fragen für die pln Soteriologie und Ethik auf. Für ähnliche Überlegungen Wares vgl. "The Thessalonians as a Missionary Congregation: 1 Thess 1.5-8", *ZNW* 83 (1992) 126-131. Für die pln Vorstellung von der Missionstätigkeit der Gemeinden vgl. auch J.P. Dickson, *Mission-Commitment in Ancient Judaism and in the Pauline Communities: The Shape, Extent and Background of Early Christian Mission* (WUNT II, 159; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); vgl. meine Rez. in *EJT* 15 (2006) 125-134) und R. L. Plummer, *Paul's Understanding of the Church's Mission: Did the Apostle Paul Expect the Early Christian Communities to Evangelize?*, Paternoster Biblical Monographs (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2006).

Christoph Stenschke

Ben Witherington III, *1 and 2 Thessalonians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2006), vii-xxxi, 286 pp., ISBN 0-8028-2836-1, $30.

Paul's letters to the Thessalonians are (among) the first in the Corpus Paulinum to have been written and therefore provide us with unique and fascinating insights into one of the earliest Christian communities. 1 and 2 Thessalonians are also among the most emotive of the apostle's letters and open a window into the pastoral strategies Paul employed as he grapples with his sudden, enforced severance from this fledgling community. These letters, however, have seldom been approached from a socio-rhetorical perspective, a point well acknowledged by Ben Witherington III who sets out to address this imbalance, in this the latest of his commentaries in this series.

Witherington begins with an informative introductory section that sets the tone for an insightful and illuminating exegesis of the text. This comprises four main sections: 1. the founding of the city and its history; 2. the date, authorship and occasion of the letters; 3. the epistolary and rhetorical situation of the letters; and 4. the social context of Paul and his spiritual offspring. Regarding 3, and given the low literacy rates in antiquity, Paul's letters were first and foremost oral discourses. Thus, how Paul's audience first *heard* and perceived its contents is fundamental to grasping the letters' message. In terms of genre, Witherington posits that 1 Thessalonians and 2 Thessalonians (written in that order) fall into epideictic and deliberative rhetoric respectively. In respect of 4, Witherington views Acts as "historically substantive" (p. 36) since Acts provides the backdrop for understanding how Paul ministered in the city. Regarding the apparent discrepancy between the three sabbaths Paul preached in the synagogue (Acts 17:2) and the thriving community he managed to establish in Thessalonica, Witherington rightly concludes that Paul must have stayed "longer than the few weeks" (p. 39). He further asserts that Paul either worked from Jason's house or set up shop in the town which he used as a base for his missionary operations. Paul's preference to work (2:9) so as not to be dependent on his converts as well as his injunction to his converts "to work with your hands" (4:11) suggest that the Thessalonians were from the lower socio-economic stratum of society.

The structure of the commentary and the exegesis follows the rhetorical categories found in the handbooks (e.g., *Exordium, Narratio*, etc.). Generally speaking, there is brevity about Witherington's remarks throughout the commentary which has impacted powerfully on this reader. For example, in the *Exordium*, a crucial point in any correspondence where Paul seeks to re-establish relations with his audience, the apostle gives thanks for and reminds the Thessalonians of his intercession on their behalf. Witherington comments how for Paul this represents "a rhetorically impressive beginning" where "[h]e depicts himself as a virtuous man of constant and earnest prayer" (p. 57).

The question of whether or not Paul expected his communities to engage in missionary outreach with the gospel is one which the Thessalonian correspondence (1:8-9) raises. Recently, some scholars (e.g., W.P. Bowers) have argued Paul had no such expectations; rather the Pauline communities are more centripetal (inward) than centrifugal (outward and proactive) in their missionary involvement. Though Witherington does

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not engage in this debate he appears to show an awareness of the discussion in the early part of the *Narratio* and rightly comes down in favour of the latter.

One of the more contentious issues among commentators is whether or not Paul in 1 Thess 2:1-12 is providing an apology or presenting himself as a moral exemplar. Witherington does not explicitly address this important, thorny issue, preferring instead to focus on the "rhetorical function" (p. 78) of Paul's language. He contends rightly that Paul would have been readily understood by his hearers against the social context of the day where itinerant charlatans not only relied heavily on the eloquence of their message but also sought to milk their devotees before swiftly leaving town. Witherington rightly notes that Paul distances himself from such behaviour though he does not go as far as to say that the many antithetical statements ("not x but y") seem to argue in favour of some kind of defence by Paul.

Witherington also takes cognizance of the unusual concentration of familial language in the Thessalonian correspondence, especially in 1 Thessalonians. Paul employs metaphors such as "nursing mother" (2:7), "father" (2:11), "children" (2:11) and most frequently "brothers/sisters" (e.g., 1:4, 2:1) to describe relations between himself and the Thessalonians and the Thessalonians' relations with each other. Regarding Paul's paternal relations with his spiritual progeny Witherington makes the following important observation: "the use of these paternal metaphors makes it clear that a hierarchical relationship existed between Paul and his converts" (p. 81 n. 88). Given that some scholars (myself included) contend that Paul's earliest communities were not entirely egalitarian in composition (e.g., J.H. Elliott) a further fleshing out of this important point would have been helpful and interesting. In addition to the above kinship metaphors, Paul uses other familial expressions in 1 Thessalonians such as "orphan" in 2:17 which the author does not note. Additionally, some scholars and translators of Bible versions (e.g., TNIV) have recently and vociferously argued for understanding the variant in 2:7 as "infants" rather than "gentle"—Witherington is singularly silent on this debate even though he sides with the latter reading.

One of the many strengths of the commentary are the excellent excursuses ("a closer look") in which the author discusses important issues which impact these letters. These include a mouth-watering and wide-ranging array of topics including, "Election, Persecution, and Perseverance in 1 and 2 Thessalonians," "Was Paul Anti-Semitic?", "Holy Wedlock and Unholy Alliances," "A Christian Manual on Manual Labor," "The Fate of the Dead," "The Parousia", "Exercising Restraint: Apocalyptic Answers to Difficult Questions," "On Doing Theology in *ad hoc* Letters," and "The Ancient Art and Labor of Letter Writing". These discussions add to and greatly enhance the commentary and alone are worth the purchase of the book. There are also useful sections entitled "Bridging the Horizons" which have become a characteristic feature of Witherington's commentaries. These deliberations helpfully bridge the gap between the ancient text and modern context and are pastorally sensitive.

The usefulness of rhetorical approaches to the Pauline letters continues to be debated and scholars are still divided over whether or not Paul was formally trained in Greco-Roman rhetoric (cf. 1 Cor 2:1-4). Whilst Witherington does not dismiss the importance of epistolary analysis he does conclude: "epistolary analysis for the most part only really helps us with the beginnings and endings of Paul's letters" (p. xii). Some interaction with the work of scholars (e.g., Weima) in this area would have been useful.

He also understands 3:10 to mean the Thessalonian believers had no "defects" but "deficiencies" in their faith and that Paul "is not correcting them so much as desiring to complete their understanding and basis for relating to God" (p. 97 n. 164). One such text which relates to this last point and the issue of sexual immorality in particular is Witherington's understanding of 4:4 (*skeous*) which he takes as "wife" and the infinitive as ingressive (i.e. "to acquire/take possession of").

In conclusion, Ben Witherington III's output in recent years has been voluminous and stimulating and this excellent commentary on the Thessalonian correspondence sets the same high standard of his previous work. The writing is fresh, provocative and suggestive. To be sure there are important and surprising omissions of a commentary or two (e.g., G.L. Green), monographs (T.J. Burke, A. Paddison) and recent scholarly articles (e.g., J.A.D. Weima, T. Sailors). These criticisms aside, Witherington has produced an important work that will more than usefully serve scholars, seminarians, busy pastors, and all those interested in these ancient documents which show us how Paul as missionary-pastor not only established but also regulated the affairs of a small Christian community in Thessalonica.

Trevor J. Burke

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Book Notes

Continuing Series

1. Erwin Fahlbusch *et al.* (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Christianity* volume 4 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Leiden: Brill, 2005) xxx + 852 pp. ISBN 9004145958 $128; volume 5 (2008) xxxix + 866 pp. ISBN 9004145962 $128. The publishers are to be commended for having produced the 5 volumes in this series so briskly: the first volume appeared in 1999, the last in 2008. All previous volumes have been reviewed in previous "Book Notes". Suffice it to state here that we now have 299 articles in volume 4 (P-Sh), covering such diverse topics as Pentateuchal Research (E.W. Nicholson); Paul (Roloff); the Book of Revelation (M. Karrer); Revelation (S.W. Sykes); Romans (Hübner) as well as entries on the papacy, priesthood, predestination and resurrection. As usual, the contributors represent an international and ecumenical body of scholarship. In volume 5 (Si-Z) 295 entries include "Theology" in 14 columns, "Theology in the 19th and 20th Centuries" (one of the longest pieces in the series at 104 columns); "spirituality" in 36 columns; "sin" merits 23 columns.

2. Hans Dieter Betz *et al.*, (eds.), *Religion Past and Present* IV *Dev-Ezr* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) cxi + 789 pp. ISBN 9004146884 €249. Among the many entries in this volume are Dogmatics; Early Church; Ebionites; Exegesis; Eusebius; Eucharist (including a contribution by F. Hahn); and Ezra. As is usual, most contributors are German but, where appropriate, English-language literature has been added to the bibliographies following the translated entries.

3. *Brill's New Pauly*. Three recent volumes have been published, one in each of the separate series under this title:

a) *Antiquity* 12 *Prol-Sar* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) lvi + 1004 columns ISBN 9004142176 €239. As well as distinctively classical themes, we note in this instalment entries of particular concern to readers of this journal: Prophecy; Psalmody; Pseudo-Clementine Literature; Qumran; Rabbinic Literature; Religion; Veneration of Saints; and, of course a long article "Rome", as well as interesting pieces on Pronunciation; Rhetoric; Sacrifice. Three further volumes in this sequence should complete the series "Antiquity".
b) *Classical Tradition* 3 *Jap-Ode* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) liv + 1290 columns ISBN 9004142237 €239. As is usual for this series, the classical remains in various cities and countries merit separate entries (here, for instance, London, British Museum; Jerusalem; New York; Naples; Netherlands and Belgium). There is also an important section

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on the various national research institutes. Entries of concern to *NovT* include Monasticism; Judaism; Lexicography.
c) A new series has just started under the general sub-title *Supplements* edited by Walter Eder and Johannes Renger. Volume I is *Chronologies of the Ancient World* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) xvi + 363pp. ISBN 9004153202 €158. The volume is mainly taken up with tables of names, dates and dynasties. These appear under two broad categories a) The Near-, Middle- and Far-East (obviously sections on Mesopotamia, Egypt and Israel and Judah will be of most interest for biblical studies) and b) Mediterranean and Western Europe, with substantial sections on Greece and Rome. These concise lists are obvious companions to many entries in the allied encyclopaedia. We congratulate the compilers for their patient assemblage of these helpful references.

Textual Criticism

D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) xxx + 368 pp. ISBN 0521719896 £18.99.

It is very timely that Parker has decided to produce this primer coming as it does from an active practitioner of textual criticism who is currently very much involved in researching and publishing on various projects, mainly as the director of a talented team based in Birmingham. He is thus well placed, knowing what has been achieved, what is being done and what awaits investigation in the field. Much of the book is deliberately introductory, as he tries to share his enthusiasm for our heritage of Biblical manuscripts. He encourages readers to learn what the extant witnesses reveal of the text they carry, the changes they contain (and reasons why change occurred), the contexts in which they were written and how their riches may be tapped. *En route* we are told about collating, classifying manuscripts and understanding textual variation. These slants may differ from other "introductions to textual criticism" but because of that manuscript-based approach to the subject, this is a book to welcome and recommend to those interested laymen, who need to be educated in what "lower" criticism can teach.

Apocryphal New Testament

1. Hans-Josef Klauck has produced two recent books in this field:

a) *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction* (Waco TX: Baylor Press, 2008) xxiv + 288 pp. ISBN 1932792409 $39.95. This is a translation of his 2005 German original (which was reviewed in "Book Notes" *NovT* 48 p. 201). The translation of his earlier *Apocryphal Gospels* (published by T&T Clark) was by Brian McNeil; he has also been responsible for the latest splendid translation. The English version has been modestly updated especially in its bibliographies. Klauck introduces the main five apocryphal Acts (those of John, Paul, Peter, Andrew, Thomas), retells their narratives and evaluates their significance. He also devotes a chapter apiece to the Gnostic text, the

Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles, the Pseudo-Clementines, and some later Acts especially the Acts of Philip. This entrée into these apocrypha and his engaging résumé of their contents should be a spur to newcomers to enter this genre of non-canonical literature.

b) Allied with that translation we note: *Die apokryphe Bibel* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008) x + 393 pp. ISBN 3161496868 €29 *(= Tria corda* 4). This small format (7 x 4½ inches) book refers to the *New Testament* apocrypha, and contains seven articles, most of them extensive essays, an appended bibliography and two indexes. Six of the articles are rewritings of lectures originally delivered in 2007 as part of the Tria Corda series at Jena University. The seventh comes from a lecture in Zürich. Each is stimulated by Klauck's recent researches into the riches of the apocrypha including the Pseudo-Clementine romance (the subject of ch. 5 here: "Simon Petrus und Simon Magus" and of ch. 6 on the exchanging of letters; here there are, as we expect from Klauck, many valuable insights from secular literature). Other topics are: New apocryphal Gospels (here Judas, Thomas, and Secret Mark); stories involving animals in the apocryphal Acts (e.g. the partridge, the bedbugs in the Acts of John; the seals, the lion in the Acts of Paul; the tuna fish in the Acts of Peter etc.) with a helpful analysis of the stories and links to classical parallels; the Apocalypse of Paul in the New Testament apocrypha and in the Nag Hammadi material (with an appendix giving a complete German translation of the apocryphal Apocalypse of Paul from Tischendorf's edition); an analysis of the correspondence between Paul and Seneca; an interesting analysis into the perennially intriguing topic of polymorphic appearances of Jesus in the apocrypha, the Nag Hammadi texts and in the New Testament. In these essays Klauck succeeds in covering the principal texts and the main genres of text. This welcome addition to the secondary literature on these writings is all the more significant coming as it does from a perceptive and active researcher in the field.

2. Frédéric Amsler, Albert Frey, Charlotte Touati, Renée Girardet (eds.), *Nouvelles intrigues pseudo-Clémentine: Plots in the Pseudo-Clementine Romance* (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2008) 511 pp. plus three plates ISBN 2940351120 (= *Publications de l'Institut romand des sciences bibliques* 6). The book contains thirty-five essays from an international team of contributors to the biennial conference on the Christian apocrypha held in Geneva and Lausanne in 2006. Frédéric Amsler and Étienne Barilier give introductory essays. Then come the main papers divided into: 1.) The text of the Homilies and the Recognitions from their sources to their receptions. Here there are essays on the relationship of the Pseudo-Clementine romance to the Acts of Peter, Photius' witness to the Pseudo-Clementines (by Stanley Jones, an acknowledged expert on this literature) and mediaeval understandings of these writings; 2.) The literary forms, communication methods and social practices: a section that includes pieces on the arguments, the rhetorical devices used, and liturgical elements; 3.) The Clementine environment, which allows writers in this section to explore the religious and philosophical influences revealed in and propagated by Pseudo-Clement. Inevitably, there are links across those divisions so that, for example, the role of Barnabas is explored in

two essays, one in part 1, the other in part 2. The roll-call of scholars contributing is impressive: Bovon, Bauckham, Filoramo, Nicklas, Piovanelli, Verheyden, Backus, Le Boulluec, invidiously to name only a few. Nine essays are in English, twenty-one in French and five in German. The usual high standards of appended indexes and bibliography we expect from Éditions du Zèbre are evident here. The often overlooked riches of the Pseudo-Clementines are mined and are to our benefit to learn from these separate studies into a wide range of themes to appreciate the significance of this romance.

3. Lenka Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli: Wege und Wandlungen einer orientalischen Apocrypha im lateinischen Mittelalter unter Einschluß der alttschechischen und deutschsprachigen Textzeugen* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) xvi + 1033 pp. ISBN 9004150552 €216 (= *Mittelaltlateinische Studien und Texte* 34). Jiroušková wishes to separate the Apocalypse of Paul from the later, predominantly Western, Visio Pauli with its concentration on the visits of Paul to Hades. The complete story of the literary and historical interrelationships of the two traditions is only now gradually unfolding and this hefty and well-researched thesis is one giant step forward on the road to our fuller understanding of its traditions. Here she investigates in full a larger range of manuscripts than those used by Silverstein and Hilhorst in their treatment of the three long Latin versions of the Apocalypse of Paul in 1997. Apart from the German and Czech versions referred to in the subtitle, most of this volume is concerned with a close linguistic analysis of various strands of the Latin tradition as revealed in a set of witnesses which she orders into discrete categories. Her bibliographies reveal an intense level of research and her impressive listing of the contents of her various manuscript library by library shows the thoroughness of her trawls. But she is also interested in the literary developments, setting out cautiously the ways in which the Apocalypse of Paul became the Visio Pauli.

4. Margaret Barker, *Christmas: The Original Story* (London: SPCK, 2008) xiv + 191 pp. ISBN 0281060504. Inevitably the concentration here is on Matthew and Luke, but a large and welcome portion does justice to the Protevangelium of James (and Dr Barker provides a splendidly fluent reading into English of the Greek from de Strycker's edition). Much in Margaret Barker's recent writings demonstrates the pervasiveness of the imagery of the Temple on Christian writers. Here too she sees many such links, not least Mary's upbringing in the Temple and her weaving the veil. She has fascinating insights into the significance of the star and the Magi as well as the numerous Jewish elements in the stories; many readers will be refreshed by her interpretations, although it is worth noting her not infrequent use of qualifiers like "possible", "perhaps" and "presumably". Her valuable pointers to often-neglected themes in intertestamental literature and the Old Testament are worthwhile. It is worth looking also at Barker's essay on Mary in Chris Maunder (ed.), *The Origins of he Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Burns and Oates, 2008) for further parallels.

Art and the New Testament

Barbara Baert *et al.* (eds.), Noli me Tangere, *Mary Magdalene: One Person, Many Images* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006) x + 124 pp. ISBN 9042918071 € 24 (= *Documenta libraria* 32). This book grew from an exhibition at the library of the Faculty of Theology at the Catholic University in Leuven in 2006. The library is named in memory of the distinguished Leuven New Testament scholar, Maurits Sabbe. His colleague, Raimund Beiringer contributes an exegetical essay here, in which he looks at the New Testament usage of negative imperatives and concludes that the present tense here can indeed indicate a prohibition to begin an action; present and aorist are used interchangeably with this meaning in the New Testament, and six out of one hundred and thirty-seven negative imperatives have the verb in the present. (Only at John 2:16 is the present used in a prohibition against an existing action.) The *v.l.* by $\aleph^{1}$ f^{13} *et al.* at John 20:16 also suggests that readers/scribes responsible for the addition understood Mary had not yet touched Jesus. Other essays are by Sabine Van Den Eynde (in which she compares the scene in John with Song of Songs 3:1-4 and Ruth), by Karlijn Damasure and Hannelore Devoldere (from the Centre for Women's Studies Theology (*sic*)), who, inevitably, take a "feminist" reading of the scene, and Barbara Baert (whose short piece is, in effect, an introduction to the pictures to follow in the main part of this little monograph). Those pictures (twenty three in the main catalogue plus six devotional images) and the accompanying critiques and perceptive comments (written by those already named above, as well as by Adelbert Denaux, Isabelle Vanden Hove and Liesbert Kusters) reveal spectacularly the ways in which artists working in a great variety of media have been inspired to interpret the episode—a few, admittedly, rather loosely; many of the close "readings" are helpful to an exegesis of John 20:17. It is also amazing that nearly all the images displayed at the exhibition happened to be accessible in Leuven and district. The bulk of the artists are not household names but the diverse images from the 15th Century to the present (all well-reproduced in this booklet) merit close and enjoyable examination.

J.K. Elliott

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